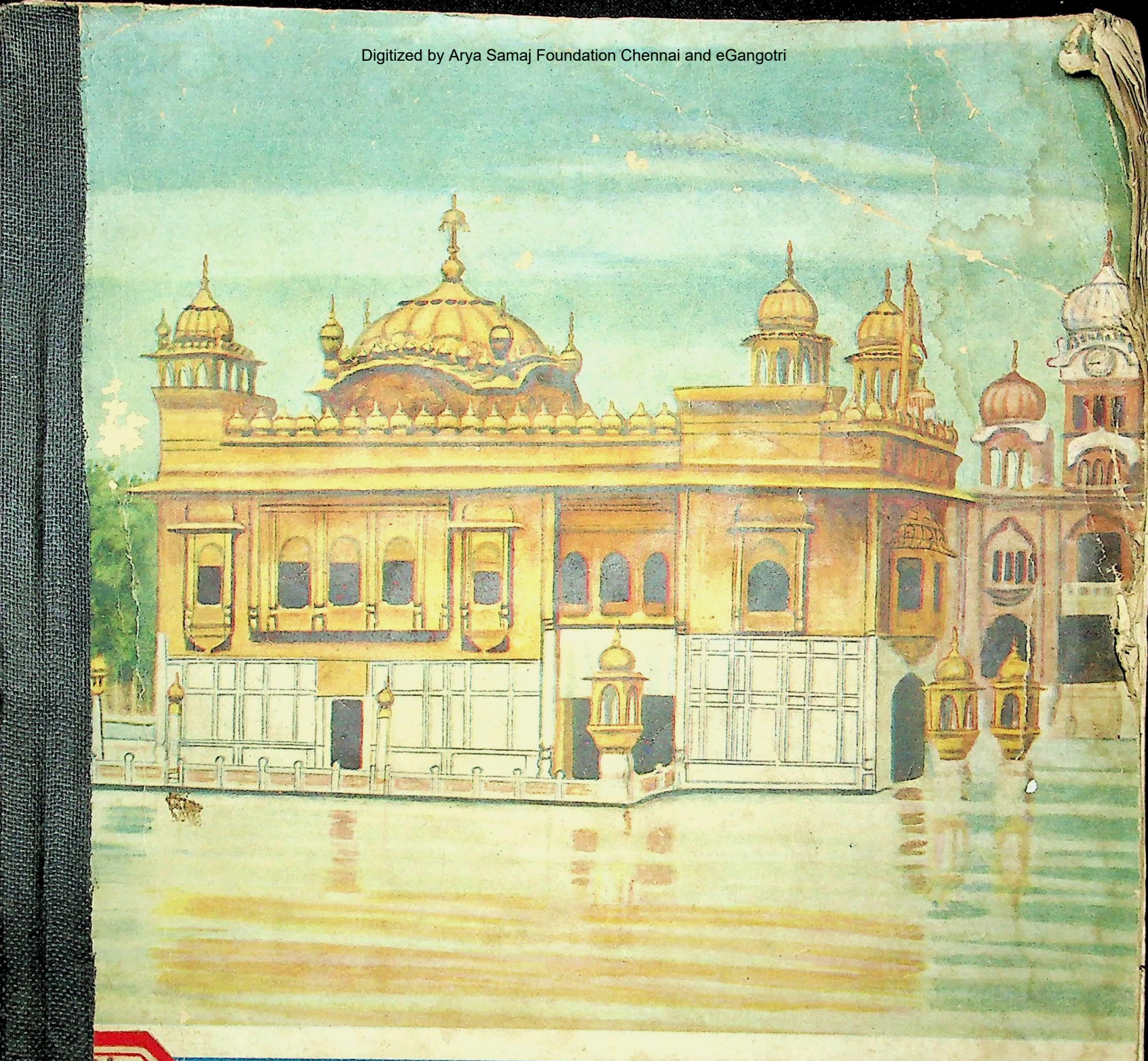
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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

SIXTY-FIRST SESSION

Souvenir

AMRITSAR, PUNJAB

February, 195

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पुस्तकालय

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न रखें।

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विश्वविद्यालय को दो हजार पुस्तकें सप्रेम भेंट

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स्टाक प्रमाणीकरण १९८४-१९८५

General Secretary.
Reception Committee
41st Session Indian National Congress

CH 1973
Initial

इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
न्यू एनेक्स, जवाहर नगर
दिल्ली द्वारा
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को
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Published by
Souvenir Publication Board
Reception Committee
Indian National Congress
Sixty-first—Amritsar—Session
First Edition 1956

Pinted in India by
Souvenir Press
59, Industrial Area, Najafgarh Road
New Delhi
Composition by Baluja Press
Fatehpuri Delhi

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HARIMANDER

Harimander, the Golden Temple of Amritsar, is a symbol of the culture and the conduct of the people of Punjab. It enshrines a liberal religious tradition consecrated by noble deeds of piety, sacrifice and heroism.

It has four doors opening out on four different directions offering welcome to people without distinction of caste and creed.

Foundation stone of Harimander was laid in 1673 by Mian Mir, renowned Muslim divine of that time at the instance of Guru Ramdas, the fourth Guru of the Sikhs. This grandiose project was continued and completed by Guru Arjun-dev, the fifth Guru.

The Golden temple, as it stands today, was built during the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh monarch. It is situated in the heart of the city of Amritsar, amidst a *sarowar* reflecting its golden spires on its crystalline expanse of pure waters.

From the point of view of solidity and design it is a noble piece of architecture, austere and divine in conception.

For Punjabees Amritsar is a city of unique inspiration—Harimander and all the history behind it are their proud heritage.

इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
च ट्रेनोम. जवाहर नगर
दिल्ली द्वारा
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को
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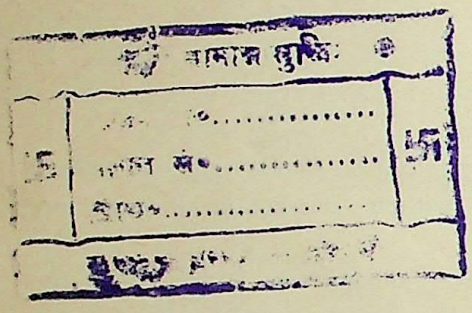


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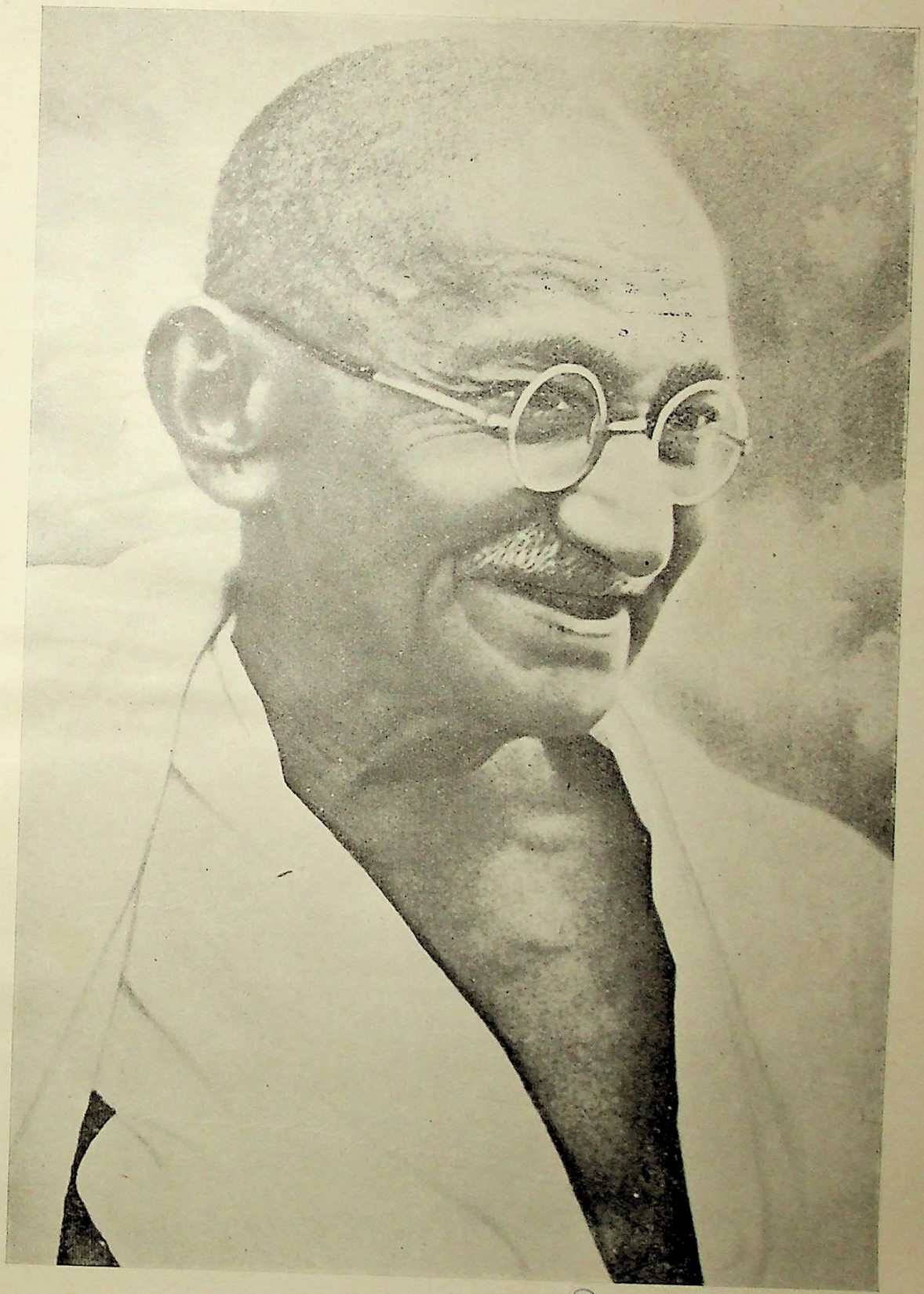
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M. K. Gandhi.

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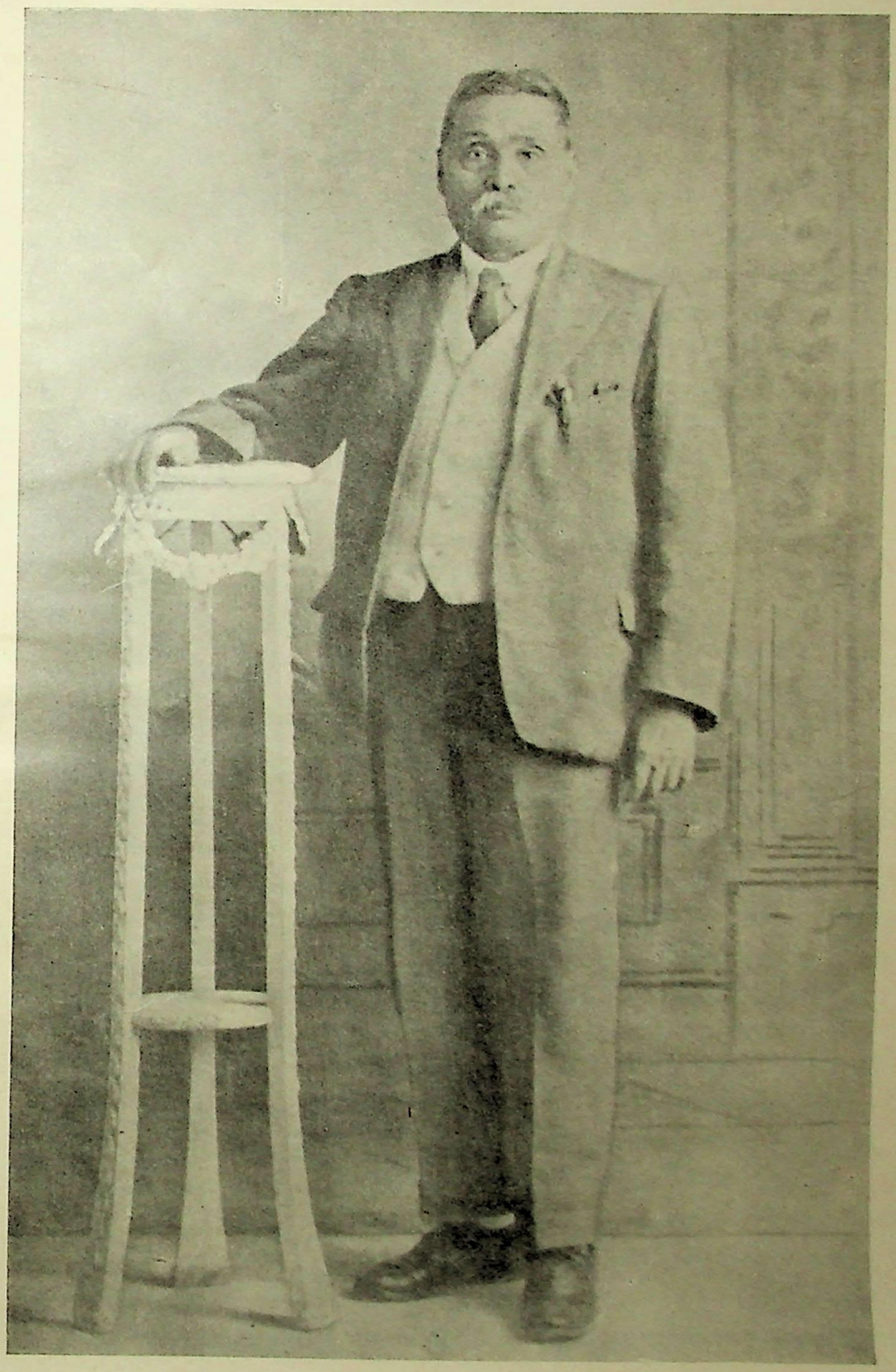


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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENTS FROM 1885 TO 1954

1885	1st Session	Bombay	W.C. Bonnerjee
1886	2nd Session	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji
1887	3rd Session	Madras	Badruddin Tyabji
1888	4th Session	Allahabad	George Yule
1889	5th Session	Bombay	William Wedderburn
1890	6th Session	Calcutta	Pherozshah Mehta
1891	7th Session	Nagpur	P. Ananda Charlu
1892	8th Session	Allahabad	W.C. Bonnerjee
1893	9th Session	Lahore	Dadabhai Naoroji
1894	10th Session	Madras	Alfred Webb
1895	11th Session	Poona	Surendranath Banerjee
1896	12th Session	Calcutta	Rahimtulla M. Sayani
1897	13th Session	Amraoti	C. Sankaran Nair
1898	14th Session	Madras	Ananda Mohan Bose
1899	15th Session	Lucknow	Romesh Chunder Dutt
1900	16th Session	Lahore	N.G. Chandavarkar
1901	17th Session	Calcutta	Dinshaw E. Wacha
1902	18th Session	Ahmedabad	Surendranath Banerjee
1903	19th Session	Madras	Lal Mohan Ghose
1904	20th Session	Bombay	Henry Cotton
1905	21st Session	Benaras	Gopal Krishna Gokhale
1906	22nd Session	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji
1907	23rd Session	Surat	Rashbehari Ghosh
1908	24th Session	Madras	Rashbehari Ghosh
1909	25th Session	Lahore	Madan Mohan Malaviya
1910	26th Session	Allahabad	William Wedderburn
1911	27th Session	Calcutta	Bishen Narayan Dar
1912	28th Session	Patna	R.N. Mudholkar
1913	29th Session	Karachi	Nawab Saiyed Mohammad
1914	30th Session	Madras	Bhupendranath Basu
1915	31st Session	Bombay	Satyendra Prasanna Sinha
1916	32nd Session	Lucknow	Ambika Charan Majumdar

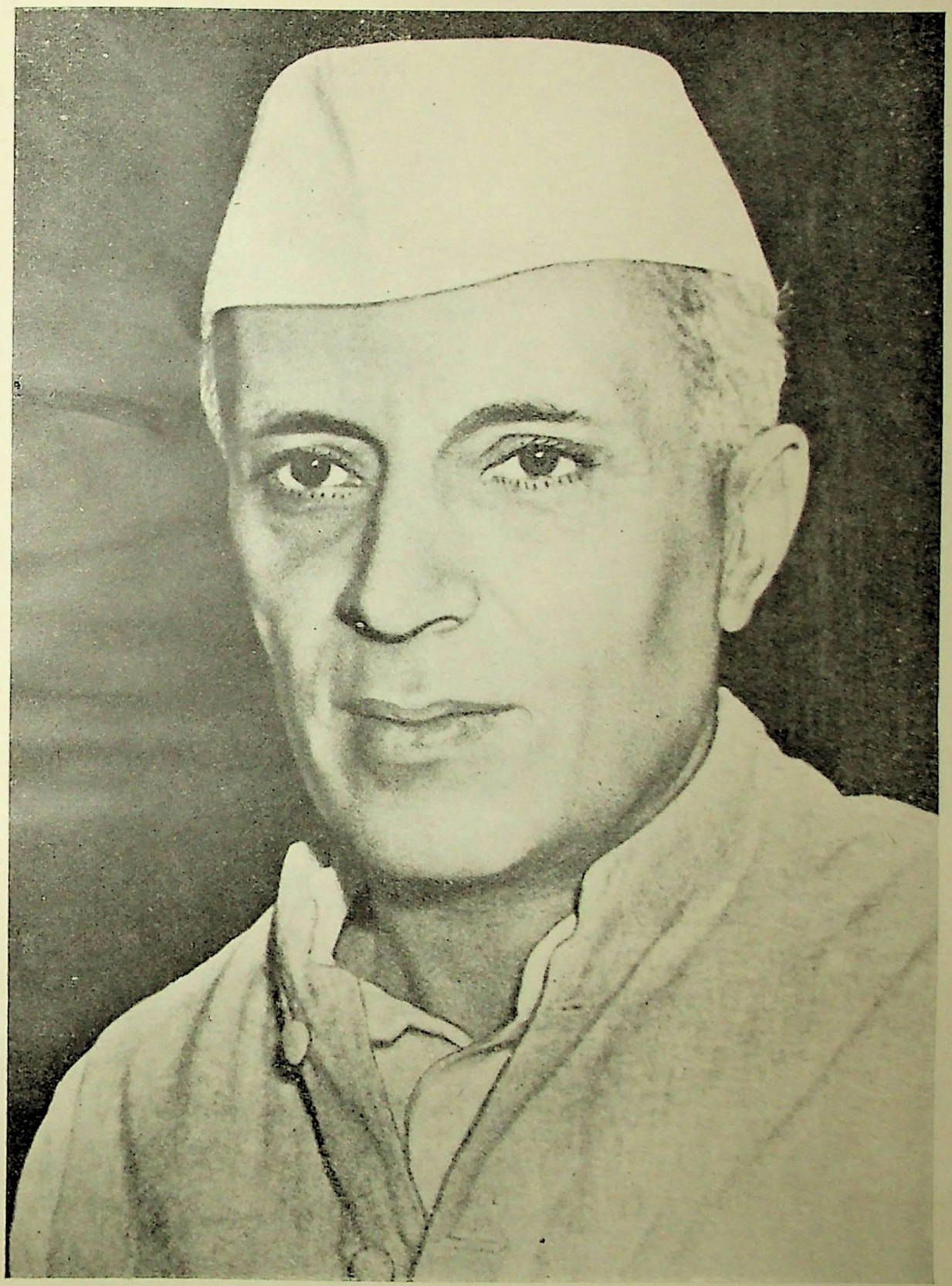
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1917	33rd Session	Calcutta	Annie Besant
1918	34th Session	Delhi	Madan Mohan Malaviya
	Special Session	Bombay	Hassan Imam
1919	35th Session	Amritsar	Motilal Nehru
1920	36th Session	Nagpur	C. Vijiaraghavachariar
	Special Session	Calcutta	Lajpat Rai
1921	37th Session	Ahmedabad	Hakim Ajmal Khan
1922	38th Session	Gaya	Chittaranjan Das
1923	39th Session	Coconada	Mohammad Ali
	Special Session	Delhi	Abul Kalam Azad
1924	40th Session	Belgaum	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi
1925	41st Session	Cawnpore	Sarojini Naidu
1926	42nd Session	Gauhati	Srinivasa Iyengar
1927	43rd Session	Madras	M.A. Ansari
1928	44th Session	Calcutta	Motilal Nehru
1929	45th Session	Lahore	Jawaharlal Nehru
1930	46th Session	Karachi	Vallabbhai Patel
	Session during Civil Disobedience Movement	Delhi	Seth Ranchodlal
1933	47th Session	Calcutta	Nellie Sen Gupta
1934	48th Session	Bombay	Rajendra Prasad
1935	49th Session	Lucknow	Jawaharlal Nehru
1937	50th Session	Faizpur	Jawaharlal Nehru
1938	51st Session	Haripur	Subhas Chandra Bose
1939	52nd Session	Tripura	Subhas Chandra Bose
1940	53rd Session	Ramgarh	Abul Kalam Azad
1946	54th Session	Meerut	Acharya Kriplani
1948	55th Session	Jaipur	Pattabhi Sitaramayya
1950	56th Session	Nasik	Purshottamdas Tandon
1951	57th Session	Delhi	Jawaharlal Nehru
1953	58th Session	Hyderabad	Jawaharlal Nehru
1954	59th Session	Kalyani	Jawaharlal Nehru
1955	60th Session	Avadi	U. N. Dhebar
1956	61st Session	Amritsar	U. N. Dhebar

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FOREWORD

The Punjab has played host to the Indian National Congress five times before. On the first three occasions, in 1893, 1900 and 1909, it held its sessions at Lahore. Amritsar witnessed an historic Congress Session in 1919, when Pandit Motilal Nehru presided. Those were the dark dismal days of the infamous Rowlett Acts and the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh. A reign of terror and oppression was let loose by O'Dwyer and fear gripped the hearts of our people. Then came the mighty Congress with its stalwart leaders, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya and others. Their voices shook with indignation as they denounced the authorities for their cruelties and barbarities to the Punjabees. They brought a new message of hope and confidence and our people lifted their heads once again.

Ten years later Congress returned to Punjab and on December 31st, 1929, on the banks of the Ravi, we took the pledge of complete independence under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. That sacred pledge has been redeemed and as citizens of a free Republic we welcome our distinguished guests from all over the country to this holy historic city of Amritsar.

Recent floods and devastation in Punjab disrupted and delayed our work. We are painfully conscious of our limitations and we seek your indulgence. The Reception Committee presents this Souvenir in Hindi, English and Gurmukhi to commemorate the holding of Sixty-first Session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. The Souvenir attempts to assess the progress our country has made since independence. It includes a survey of general progress in different States of our Union. It carries messages of goodwill and best wishes from the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees and the Chief Ministers. We have devoted a special section to Punjab so that our guests may get some idea about our state and its people, our art and literature, customs and folklore. A special article on Harimander or the Golden Temple will acquaint our readers with the significance and the historic importance of this beautiful place of worship.

We express our thanks to all the contributors to this volume ; to S. Thakar Singh, the local artist from whose painting the block for the cover was made ; to the Press Information Bureau for the supply of photographs and to Shri R. P. Dhamija for the selection and the captions thereof ; to Shri Madhusudan Singh who supervised the general production and spent considerable time in connection with the Souvenir work ; to Shri Kirpa Singh and Shri R. S. Mehdiratta for organizing very effective publicity for the Souvenir in a short period. The paper supply came from Shree Gopal Paper Mills Ltd. The material was composed at Baluja Press and printed at United Printers and Publishers, the Souvenir Press. They continued receiving material till the very last day and have executed the job under difficult circumstances. We appreciate this co-operation.

Our special thanks are due to Dr. Anup Singh, M.P. for devoting his entire time to the collection, selection and editing of the Souvenir material as a labour of love. Were it not for his painstaking efforts, the Reception Committee, with its numerous other pre-occupations, would have found it extremely difficult to produce the Souvenir. We are also grateful to Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, Lala Ferozechand and Shri A. N. Vidyalankar for their help in the editorial work.

We regret we had to cut out a number of features owing to limitation of space and time, however, we appreciate the efforts of the writers.

If the perusal of these pages gives our readers a glimpse of the onward march of our people, we would feel our labours have been amply rewarded.

Reception Committee, Indian National
Congress, Sixty First Session, Amritsar.

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I send through the Congress Souvenir my humble greetings to fellow workers and the people. The Amritsar Session of the Congress will take up a step further in the direction of our cherished goal of Socialist Pattern of Society. We are entering into a crucial period of our economic development. With the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan will begin construction in right earnest of the new economic order. The Congress has a role to play both organizationally as the tribune of the people and through administration to see that its pledge is fulfilled. More than twenty-five years ago we took a pledge in the historic surroundings of Amritsar. We have been privileged to fulfil that pledge. Once again we meet at Shaheed Nagar to renew the pledge of social justice. Let us go with the determination that we shall do everything in our power to fulfil this pledge also.

U. N. Dhebar
President
Indian National Congress.

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A WORD FROM THE CHAIRMAN RECEPTION COMMITTEE

(Gyani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, M. P., President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee)

The Punjab has been the venue of five Congress Sessions 1893, 1900, 1909, 1919 and 1929. Four of these Sessions were held at Lahore and one at Amritsar. Last two Sessions of the Congress, those of 1919 and 1929 were of extraordinary nature.

With the 1919 Session the Gandhi-Yug started—the era of direct action, mass contact and constructive work. The extremist opinion led by Lokmanya Tilak and Chitranjandas but tampered and shaped by Mahatma Gandhi asserted itself and the moderates led by Sirinivas Sastri and C. P Ramaswamy Iyer parted company. During the 1929 Session, Indian National Congress took its present shape and dynamism. Jawaharlal Nehru hoisted the tricolour flag on the bank of the Ravi and the Congress declared unequivocally and emphatically that complete Independence was its goal. A remarkable thing about these Sessions was that when they were actually held emphasis by the High Command was on co-operation with British Government in the measure in which it made gestures towards India's political advancement but almost immediately after the Sessions were over, non-co-operation movements of amazing magnitude and far-reaching consequences had to be launched.

Punjab Sessions of the Congress have thus always imparted a new note of dynamism to the organization and have led the country at one stride past many milestones. The present Session is also in line with the previous ones. It may even be considered one of greater importance.

The extraordinary importance of the present Amritsar Session lies in the fact that the fate of the States Reorganization Commission will be finally decided here. Another factor of even greater importance is the Second Five-Year Plan involving colossal financial outlay and aiming at substantial reduction in unemployment amongst the educated. This plan will emerge in its final form in this Session. For this alone, if for nothing else, the Amritsar Session will go down in India's history as the biggest contribution yet made towards India's economic prosperity. If the 1919 Session of the Congress at Amritsar changed India's political outlook, this Session will change India's economic outlook. I make bold to say that this is not only because of the plan but also because of the great emphasis on Socialistic pattern of Society. This Session will also effectively bring out the importance of cultural, artistic and social welfare activities. A blue-print for the next general elections will also be prepared and finalised in this Session.

If the 1919 Amritsar Session brought to the fore the dynamic figure of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Chitranjandas, and the 1929 Session that of Jawaharlal Nehru, this Session places another remarkable personality U. N. Dhebar in its befitting foil. The amount of constructive effort and the measure of political sagacity which this great son of India has brought to bear on issues, will be seen in proper perspective in this Session which will also high-light the concrete results of Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy which has given India such stature in the Comity of Nations that leaders of the eminence of Marshall Bulganin, Comrade Khrushchev, Marshall Tito, Col. Nasser, Messrs. Chou-en-Lie, Madame Soong, U. Nu and Soekarno have visited the land and assured us of their enthusiastic co-operation. It was this policy which secured for India the highest position in the United Nations Assembly by election of Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi as President of that body. It was this policy again which secured cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, led to establishment of an International Commission for that country made under chairmanship of India, made possible the Baundang Conference and led to the acceptance of the doctrine of Panchshila.

I have been particularly keen about giving due importance to cultural affairs during the Congress Sessions. A Special Sub-Committee was constituted in this connection. I am confident that the cultural sub-committee will do every good job in this respect. In another very important respect, that is constructive work, this Session is to prove a pioneering one. The Session week starts with big rally of constructive workers from all over the country who will frame a really ambitious programme for the year. Devoted workers of the Bhoodan Movement will terminate their great pilgrims track at Shahidnagar.

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GEMS FROM CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

(PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD)

BOMBAY

First Congress—1885

President : *The Hon. Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee.*

The more progress the people make in education and material prosperity, the greater would be their insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement.

BOMBAY

Fifth Congress – 1889

President : *Sir William Wedderburn.*

If the ryot had fair play, he might develop into a substantial yeoman instead of being the starveling he is.

NAGPUR

Seventh Congress—1891

President : *Mr. P. Ananda Charlu.*

Whether we resolve to rest on our oars or not, it becomes our bounden duty all the same to go more amid the masses and to saturate their minds with the aspirations of a nationality.

LAHORE

Ninth Congress—1893

President : *Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P.*

Manliness must be associated with love of justice, generosity, and intellect.

The evil of poverty must be boldly faced and remedied.

You can build up empire by arms or ephemeral brute physical force, but you can preserve it by the eternal moral force only.

Let us always remember that we are all children of our mother country. Our country is India ; our Nationality is Indian.

We must show that we believe in the justice of our cause by our earnestness and self-sacrifice.

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MADRAS

Tenth Congress—1894

President : *Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P.*

We must be prepared to meet misrepresentation and calumny.

No class, however lowly, however despised, must be shut out from our sympathies and our endeavours.

Education fits us for life and enables us the better to use and to enjoy life.

POONA

Eleventh Congress—1895

President : *The Hon. Surendranath Banerjee.*

If war has its victories, peace has also her triumphs.

We should be false to ourselves if we did not stand shoulder to shoulder, forgetful of all differences, in the one common endeavour to uphold the national interests as represented by the Congress.

Politics divorced from morality is no politics at all : it is political jugglery of the worst description.

Reform indefinitely postponed leads to violent changes.

The man of earnest faith is irresistible and all-conquering.

We Congressmen know what we are about. We know our minds, we know our methods ; we stick to them with resolute tenacity of purpose.

The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights.

CALCUTTA

Twelfth Congress—1896

President : *The Hon. Mr. R.M. Sayani.*

Even the most honest and the best regulated administration has constant need of proper criticism even at the best of times.

Keeping aloof from the Congress movement is not only undesirable but may even merit censure.

AMRAOTI

Thirteenth Congress - 1897

President : *The Hon. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair.*

We must insist on perfect equality. Inequality means race inferiority, national abasement.

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Liberty of person and property is a farce if you are liable to be arrested, imprisoned, and sequestered at the will and pleasure of Government without being brought to trial.

We claim equality for all, Brahmins and Pariahs alike.

LUCKNOW

Fifteenth Congress—1899

President : *Mr. R.C. Dutt.*

The real cause of the wretchedness and indebtedness is that the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvest in bad years.

It seems to be a mockery that the very country which was the first to organize village communities, village panchayats and village self-government, and cherished these institutions for 3,000 years, should be rendered to absolutely helpless, and should be ruled through the undesirable agency of the police.

CALCUTTA

Seventeenth Congress—1901

President : *Mr. D.E. Wacha.*

Injustice in agrarian legislation, where the cultivator is sought to be deprived of a larger and larger portion of the fruit of his labour, must eventually culminate in slavery.

AHMEDABAD

Eighteenth Congress—1902

President : *Mr Surendranath Banerjee.*

Mistrust is the weapon of the weak and the suspicious, not of the brave and the courageous.

Caution carried to the verge of timidity is a feeble instrument of Government.

I believe that the Congress has a divine mission. It is a dispensation of Almighty God for the unification of our people.

Is there a holier *Dharma*, a nobler religion, a diviner mandate than that which enjoins that our sacred duty is the duty which we owe to the land of our birth ?

Liberty is jealous goddess, exacting in her worship and claiming from her votaries prolonged and assiduous devotion.

The voice of the people is the voice of God.

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MADRAS

Nineteenth Congress—1903

President : *Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose.*

A just and honest administration has nothing to lose by courting publicity and criticism.

We can never hope to realise our aspirations unless the Congress, so shapes its policy as to bring the masses into line with us.

BOMBAY

Twentieth Congress—1904

President : *Sir Henry Cotton.*

Patience and perseverance, persistance, earnestness and resolution are the attributes of the leader of a national movement.

The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes.

Relax not your efforts, for the waves of progress are irresistibly dashing against the backwater of prejudice.

The prosperity of your country depends upon the diminution of its economic drain.

Strive to show yourselves constantly worthy of your cause.

Moral improvement is the only source of real unity and as such of dignity as well as happiness.

BENARAS

Twenty-first Congress—1905

President : *The Hon. Mr. G.K. Gokhale.*

Our movement is from darkness unto light, from bondage towards freedom.

The idea of *Swadeshi* or "one's own country" is one of the noblest conceptions that have ever stirred the heart of humanity.

The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves.

CALCUTTA

Twenty-second Congress—1906

President : *Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.*

There can be no national greatness, strength and hope except by the right political principles of self-government.

In any movement, you cannot stop at any stage, disappointments notwithstanding, or you lose all you have gained and find it far more difficult afterwards

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even to begin again. We may adopt such means as may be suitable at every stage, but persevere we must to the end.

Swadeshi is a forced necessity for India in its unnatural economic muddle.

SURAT

Twenty-third Congress—1907

President : *The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.*

However beneficient a foreign rule may be, no people in whom all manhood has not been killed out, will ever willingly submit for ever to the yoke, though it may be wreathed with flowers.

The Congress exists to draw us together and not to divide us.

A house divided against itself cannot stand, and we must be on our guard against the deadly peril of disunion.

MADRAS

Twenty-fourth Congress—1908

President : *The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.*

In a national movement, endurance itself is a victory and the keeping alive of the national spirit is itself an end.

LAHORE

Twenty-fifth Congress—1909

President : *The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*

Amongst the causes of discontent there is none greater than the deep poverty which pervades the land.

Compulsory primary education is the one foundation upon which the progress of the people can be built.

Let every particle of energy be devoted to the loving service of the Motherland.

In union lies the hope of a happy future for our country.

CALCUTTA

Twenty-seventh Congress—1911

President : *Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar.*

India needs bold and enthusiastic characters not men of pale hopes and middling expectations, but courageous natures, fanatics in the cause of their country.

BANKIPORE

Twenty-eighth Congress—1912

President : *Rao Bahadur R.N. Mudholkar.*

To create a nation by the fusion of what is jeeringly called a jumble of races,castes and creeds is the aim of the Congress.

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MADRAS

Thirtieth Congress – 1914

President : *The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu.*

Education is the bed-rock on which we must lay the foundations of our national life.

LUCKNOW

Thirty-second Congress—1916

President : *The Hon. Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar.*

Property is a man's accident, while liberty is his birth-right.

No people can be either self-respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves.

Hushed be the whispers of jealousy and spite and silenced be the discordant notes of rancorous dissensions amongst you.

Unite and stand solidly shoulder to shoulder resolved either to conquer or to die.

CALCUTTA

Thirty-third Congress—1917

President : *Mrs. Annie Besant.*

The magic of nationality is the feeling of oneness.

India is no longer on her knees for boons ; she is on her feet for rights.

AMRITSAR

Thirty-fifth Congress—1919

President : *Pandit Motilal Nehru.*

The faith of steadfast endeavour, of sacrifice and patient ordeal is the only way to reach our goal.

Let us march ahead with truth for our guide, and courage, our watchward, and before long we shall reach the promised land.

NAGPUR

Thirty-sixth Congress – 1920

President : *Mr. M.C. Vijiaraghavachariar.*

No man and no nation can wisely walk forward in the path of progress if they are not proud of their past glory.

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AHMEDABAD

Thirty-seventh Congress—1921

President : *C.R. Das (in prison).*

Acting President : *Hakim Ajmal Khan.*

The day is not distant when the conscience of the world will adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the world weapon against universal injustice and untruth. (H.A. Khan).

Freedom is that state, that condition, which makes it possible for a nation to realise its own individuality and to evolve its own destiny.

We break in order to build ; we destroy in order to construct ; we reject in order to accept. This is the whole history of human endeavour.

GAYA

Thirty-eighth Congress—1922

President : *C.R. Das.*

No regulation is law unless it is based on the consent of the people.

Where such consent is wanting, the people are under no obligation to obey.

It is the inalienable right of every individual and every nation to stand on truth and to offer a stubborn resistance to the promulgation of lawless laws.

Violence defeats freedom.

The revolution of non-violence is slower but surer.

Non-violence does not carry with it the degeneration which is inherent in the use of violence.

Judge us by our ideal, and not by what we have achieved.

Be it yours to offer yourselves as sacrifices in the interest of truth and justice, so that your children's children may have the fruit of your sufferings.

COCONADA

Thirty-ninth Congress—1923

President : *Maulana Mohammad Ali.*

Our Swaraj must be the Sarvaraj, the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifices of all.

I challenge any one to show another instance in the history of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India led by Mahatma Gandhi.

Death for a great cause provides the most piquant sauce for the most tasteless dish.

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BELGAUM

Fortieth Congress—1924

President : *Mahatma Gandhi.*

Non-violent non-co-operation has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people, of resistance through suffering.

Courtesy, inoffensive conduct, truthfulness, etc., are symbols of non-violence.

Non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness.

It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of humanity as untouchable.

That religion and that nation which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence will be blotted out of the face of the earth.

India is admittedly the best repository and exponent of non-violence.

Satyagraha is search for Truth, and God is Truth, Ahimsa or non-violence is the light that reveals that truth.

God is light, not darkness ; God is Love, not hate ; God is Truth, not untruth.

CAWNPORE

Forty-first Congress—1925

President : *Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.*

In the battle for liberty, fear is the one unforgiveable sin.

GAUHATI

Forty-second Congress—1926

President : *Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar.*

The legitimate interests of labour will never be sacrificed to capitalists interests.

We are ndians first and last and right through.

The need of the hour is not philosophy but action, not freedom for the individual but freedom for the nation, not alone unity in ideal and object, but also unity in method and action, direction and pace, and above all, not polemics and projects but organisation and discipline, first and last and right through.

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MADRAS

Forty-third Congress—1927

President : *Dr. M.A. Ansari.*

We must learn to differentiate between personal prestige and public weal and to sacrifice individual gain to the collective good.

Freedom and communalism are the very antithesis of each other.

The greatest misfortune that can befall a people is to lose its independence.

CALCUTTA

Forty-fourth Congress—1928

President : *Pandit Motilal Nehru.*

The aim of all education and progress is to develop the collective instinct in man.

National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul.

LAHORE

Forty-fifth Congress—1929

President : *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.*

The world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

If we ignore the world, we do so at our peril.

Logic and cold reasons are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust ; only faith and generosity can overcome them.

We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

So long as there is domination of one country by another or the exploitation of one class by another, there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order.

No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses.

Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come.

A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If today we fail and tomorrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium and to overcome the forces of disruption that are the bane of India.



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I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry.

India means peasantry and labour and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we succeed in our task. Their cause is really the country's cause.

The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group.

Our economic programme must be based on a human out-look and must not sacrifice man to money.

If the workers on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go.

Methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence.

Individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair.

Any great movement for liberation to-day must necessarily be a mass movement and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt.

We want quiet and irresistible action now and this can only be brought about by the strictest discipline in our ranks.

Success often comes to those who dare and act ; it seldom goes to the timid.

If we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers.

KARACHI

Forty-sixth Congress—1930

President : *Sardar Vallabbhai Patel.*

The nation cannot grow to its full height if it has not exclusive control over its finance.

My interest lies in helping the down-trodden to rise from their state and be on a level with the tallest in the land.

The gospel of Truth and Non-violence has given the masses an inkling of their dignity and the power they possess.

BOMBAY

Forty-eighth Congress—1934

President : *Babu Rajendra Prasad.*

Congress represents and exists for the toiling millions and it will become an irresistible power working not for greed or power but for the sake of common humanity.

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Independence means the end of exploitation of one country by another and of one part of the population of the same country by another part.

Let us not be deterred by the difficulties which confront us nor be diverted from our straight course by fear or favour.

LUCKNOW

Forty-ninth Congress—1935

President : *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.*

We cannot rest, for rest is betrayal of those who have gone and in going handed the torch of Freedom to us to keep alight ; it is betrayal of the cause we have taken ; it is betrayal of millions who never rest.

We take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against Fascism and Imperialism.

The Congress must be not only for the masses, as it claims to be, but of the masses ; only then will it really be for the masses.

Socialism is for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour ; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart.

I should like the Congress to become a socialist organisation and to join hands with other forces in the world who are working for the new civilisation.

The promised land may yet be far from us and we may have to march wearily through the deserts, but who will take away from us that deathless hope which has survived the scaffold and immeasurable suffering and sorrow ; who will dare to crush the spirit of India which has found re-birth again and again after so many crucifixions ?

इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
च द्वलोक, जवाहर नगर
दिल्ली द्वारा
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को
भेंट

FAIZPUR

Fiftieth Congress—1937

President : *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.*

We have too long thought in terms of pacts and compromises between communal leaders and neglected the people behind them. That is a discredited policy and I trust we shall not revert to it.

We must speak more and more the language of the masses and fashion our policy to meet their needs. We must carry the Congress organisation to every village, the Congress message to every mud hut.

We talk of Swaraj and Independence but in human terms it means relief to the masses from their unutterable sorrow and misery.

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HARIPUR

Fifty-first Congress—1938

President : *Subhash Chandra Bose.*

Only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions.

A policy of live and let live in matters of religious and an understanding in matters economic and political should be our objective.

I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines.

Our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a radical reform of our land-system, including the abolition of landlordism.

To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state ownership and state control will be indispensable.

A Free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world politics and will be able to look after the interest of its nationals abroad.

TRIPURA

Fifty-second Congress—1939

President : *Subhash Chandra Bose.*

We shall have to take steps to ruthlessly remove whatever corruption or weakness has entered our ranks largely due to the lure of power.

Due to Second world-war Congress met only once between 1939 and Independence.

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PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

The Indian National Congress may be compared to national organisations in other countries, but the comparison would not take us far. In its inception, it was perhaps not unlike similar organisations elsewhere but, as it developed, it was adapted more and more to suit the Indian pattern and was given a character which was peculiarly suited to India. Great leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and Gokhale moulded it. Then came Gandhiji who suddenly gave it a completely new turn and changed its content also in the process. Indeed, the new turn could not have been given without changing that content. It became a real mass organisation, representing our common people, disciplined for action and, naturally, looking up to those people for support and inspiration. Thus, it developed a social content which few purely nationalist organisations have done in the past. Gandhiji gave it also a method of action entirely based on peaceful means. That itself was a novel idea and required some time to be appreciated by the people. Thus, the Congress represented nationalism, a strong social outlook in favour of the masses, discipline and revolutionary action through peaceful methods. Such a combination was unique and was peculiarly suited to the genius of India, just as Gandhiji was the ideal leader for India.

The history of India during these eventful years became, progressively, the history of the national movement led and controlled by the Congress. Ultimately, after many pitfalls, we achieved freedom and thus justified completely the efficacy of Gandhiji's methods. Those methods were essentially revolutionary and at the same time constructive. That is to say, while they worked for and brought about tremendous changes, there was no break, such as violent revolutions bring about, and there was a continuity. The consequence was that these changes were brought about with a minimum of upsets and suffering and left no trail of bitterness behind. That also was a unique achievement.

After the attainment of independence, the Congress had, in a sense, finished its primary task, and the question arose what its future should be. This was no easy matter to decide as the binding link of opposition to British rule no longer served its purpose and other problems became more prominent. It was obvious, however, that India required a strong, widespread and disciplined organisation with a clear social outlook, to face the new problems that had arisen. There was no other organisation that could take its place and there was danger of separatist tendencies breaking up the unity of India which was so essential. There was also danger of extremist policies, both of the leftist and the rightist variety, working in

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sectarian groups, producing division and weakness in the country, and making it ver difficult to have any strong basis for advance, when political unity and social advance ha become more necessary than ever. It was only the Congress that could undertake thi responsibility.

Thus, the Congress, having fulfilled its historic mission to free India from foreign rul had yet to discharge another historic mission of leading the people of India to economi freedom and a realisation of the social goals before the country. It could only do so effectiv ly if it undertook these social tasks with strength and a clear mind. For some time, th Congress was in doubt and suffered pulls in different directions. Gradually, however, adjusted itself, and this process of adjustment was completed at the Avadi Session, when adopted the socialist goal.

Meanwhile, planning came into the picture and assumed growing importance. Th people became planning conscious. The success of the first Five-Year Plan gave the peop confidence and assurance.

In spite of this progress made and the strengthening of the Congress, separati tendencies have continued and the need for a real and emotional integration of India is sti a vital task which can only be performed by the Congress.

We stand now at the threshold of a fresh and major advance in many directions, an we have to make many vital decisions about the principles that should govern our futu policy. Broadly speaking, this has been determined but the time has come for greater clari of thinking and action.

The Amritsar Congress meets at this critical stage of our nation's history. It h a heavy task before it. I earnestly trust that it will perform it in an effective and worth manner.

Jawaharlal Neh

New Delhi,
December 31, 1955.

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MESSAGES OF GOOD WISHES

The great struggle the country had launched under the leadership of the Indian National Congress 70 years ago still continues notwithstanding the attainment of political freedom mainly through the efforts of this great Organization. The task ahead of us is still greater ; the country is to be emancipated from economic and social barriers, which are impeading our progress. The fight against poverty, disease, squalor and ignorance still goes on in all its vigour and must be continued till the country reaches its cherished goal of attaining "Sarvodaya". We are just on the verge of the completion of the First Five-Year Plan, which is nothing but the first stepping stone towards the progress and peaceful revolution, which our country is undergoing under the dynamic leadership of our beloved leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In this great and noble task of rebuilding India we must march as disciplined soldiers strictly adhering to the unique technique of Truth, Ahimsa and selfless service, practised and taught by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, and in that technique lies the secret of its glorious success in the past and still more glorious success in the future.

The map of India is to be redrawn afresh in the near future in pursuance of the decisions announced by the Government of India on the States Reorganization Commission recommendations. It behoves all sections of the public not only to approach the problem of States reorganization from the National rather than Sectional or parochial point of view but also in the words of our Prime Minister in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and co-operation.

I have no doubt that the forthcoming Amritsar Session will give a lead in the right direction.

Mukat Beharilal Bhargava
President, Ajmer Pradesh Congress Committee.

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We are all glad that the Reception Committee of the Amritsar Session of the Indian National Congress is bringing out a Congress Souvenir at the time of the next Congress Session. The Congress stands for a Socialistic Pattern of Society and is working for it. We believe that this Souvenir will help the Congress Workers and the Congress Organizations in India to establish a classless and casteless Society based on Socialism. Amritsar is a place of pilgrimage for the people of India. The stains of the blood of the Martyrs are still shining bright red on the walls of Jalianwala Bagh. Visitors to the Indian National Congress Session in Amritsar will surely come back inspired by their martyrdom. Punjab was very hard hit by the partition of India. The hurt that the partition inflicted on Punjab has yet to be healed but in spite of it let us at this auspicious moment renew our pledge to do our best for the unity of India. Let us hope your souvenir will go a long way to achieve it.

Mahendra Mohan Choudhury
President, Assam Pradesh Congress Commitee.

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It is, indeed, an honour to to the City of Amritsar that the 61st Session of the Indian National Congress is to be held there early in February. Great national and international problems of importance and significance will come for consideration before the Session. The redrawing of the map of India will be one of the questions that this historic session will have to decide. We are launching shortly our Second Five-Year Plan and on the implementation of such schemes depends the future of this great country. I am sure the Session will be a grand success and we shall be able to give the correct lead to our countrymen in all these important matters.

S. K. Patil M. P.
President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

It is indeed significant that the Sixty-first Session of the Indian National Congress should be held in Amritsar after many years. The Congress has constantly striven to establish conditions in which strength and prosperity of the common mass of men and women could be built in order to enable them to lead a life free from fear of ignorance, starvation and disease. The Congress Session at Amritsar will have to harmonise the new pattern of States just when the map of India is being redrawn for administrative purposes. Without this harmony of purpose, I do not think that our efforts to raise the standard of life of the masses will keep up the momentum which has already been created during the period of the First Five-Year Plan.

I wish every success to the Reception Committee in their endeavours to make excellent arrangements for the holding of this historic Session of the Congress at Amritsar.

Morarji Desai
Chief Minister, Bombay.

The country has made very good progress under the First Plan and now the country is thinking of the Second Plan. By our Avadi Resolution of the Socialistic Pattern of Society the Indian masses are enthused and we have to utilize that enthusiasm for building up a prosperous and happy new India. We have to eradicate unemployment and under-employment during the Second Plan. The country is looking up to the Congress and our beloved leader Pandit Nehru to give a bold lead in this direction in the present Session.

The other important task before this Session is to work out some programme to check the fissiparous forces brought to light by the recent question of reorganization of States. The All India Congress with its unique records of service of the motherland and its well-knit country-wide organization has to strengthen the unity of the country.

Shanker Dayal Sharma
Chief Minister, Bhopal.

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The Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress was a landmark in the history of Congress as it envisaged the future constitution of India in its "Fundamental Rights" resolution. In Avadi by adopting the "Socialistic Pattern of Society" resolution the Congress has made further progress towards that ideal. I am sure, this Session of the Indian National Congress in Amritsar will give a new lead to the public in general and Congressmen in particular to bring about that change of outlook in our people which will expedite our efforts towards establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society in our country.

We, the people of this part of India, have always looked to the Punjab as a source of inspiration for the courage and sufferings of the people of the province of five rivers. I pay my homage to the people of the Punjab for their sufferings and express my confidence that they will be in forefront of the social revolution which is envisaged in the Avadi Resolution of the Indian National Congress. I also take this opportunity to express my whole-hearted sympathy and sense of sorrow for the sufferings the Punjab had to bear due to partition.

I, on behalf of the Congressmen and the people of West Bengal, wish the people of East Punjab continued progress, prosperity and peace.

Atulya Ghosh
President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

Souvenirs published at the time of General Sessions of Indian National Congress provide useful and instructive information about the works of the Congress and Congress Governments. They also give much other useful material. I have read an outline for the Souvenir to be published at the time of Amritsar Session. I am sure it will serve the purpose and serve the visitors also.

Kanayalal N. Desai
President, Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee.

The 61st Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Amritsar will be a very momentous and historic session. The eventful period of sixty years has indeed registered the significant development in the political movement in our country. For over three decades, the powerful personality of Gandhiji gave a shape and edge to the political movement. Even today, the principles enunciated by him from time to time guide our policy both at home and abroad. Gandhiji had indeed left an indelible mark on the minds of Indians. Ever since the Independence, our country has made considerable progress. Today we are facing a knotty problem, the reorganization of the States. This reorganization will alter the map of India with the intent of bringing into play the latent potentialities of the respective areas to the common good of the country. All of us must strive hard to see that our hard-earned freedom is not jeopardized in any way. The basic factor in any reorganization is unity of India. Whatever may be the distance that separates us we are all pervaded with the idea of maintaining this unity and implementing the socialistic pattern of society. I am one of those who believe that the task of bringing about this desired change rests on the Congress organization. We are sure that under the dynamic leadership of Pandit Nehru who has, by his unique personality, sagacity, wisdom and experience cast our nation in a heroic mould in the international politics, we will be able to reach the goal sooner than expected.

J. V. Narsing Rao
President, Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee.

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It is a matter of great pleasure and pride for the whole of Northern India that the Sixty-first Session of the Indian National Congress is being held at Amritsar, a place sanctified by the blood of martyrs during the Jallianwala massacre, which is an important landmark in the history of our freedom movement.

The Congress sessions, since their very beginning have given lead to the country and the decisions taken therein have moulded the destiny of our nation. The history of these sessions is a compendium to the history of India in the recent more than half century. The nation has always looked forward with great interest and hope to the messages that have come forth from time to time from these historic sessions.

After independence, we have entered into a stupendous task of developing our country and of raising the living standard of our masses. Great forces are at work in India at the present and great changes are taking place in our national life. Besides, it is a solitary example in the history of the world that the prestige of a nation has risen so high in international sphere within such a short time after its emergence from slavery, as is the case of India.

The Sixty-first Session of the Indian National Congress is being held on the eve of our entry into the Second Five-Year Plan. It is also the time when the importance of India in international spheres is being increasingly felt by nations of the world. This historic session has, therefore, a very great significance in the life of our nation.

I wish this session a great success and look to its forthcoming deliberations with great expectations.

Y. S. Parmar
Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh.

We have travelled forward hopefully since 1947 in spite of the obstacles that stood in our way on the eve and immediately after Independence. The Indian National Congress as the premier political organisation of the country has naturally played a decisive part in shaping out the future pattern of New India. Last year at its Avadi Session, the Congress concertely laid down the principles for the establishment of a just and equitable social order in our country. This is a historic landmark as it envisages a peaceful social transformation of our masses.

During this year many significant developments have come about in the international field and India has pronounced the cardinal principles for the regulation of relations between nations. In the Panch Shila the world has found the key to the promotion of understanding, good-will and peaceful co-existence among countries governed by different social systems. This is a welcome sign which promises to reduce international conflicts with the ultimate aim of banishing war and violence and increasing economic and cultural cooperation. This policy has already paved the way for the solidarity of Asian and African peoples. In this common endeavour the participation of Arab countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia in particular is a hopeful symptom of national awakening in West Asia which has for centuries remained the hunting-ground of imperialism.

In our country we stand on the thresh-hold of far-reaching changes which impose heavy responsibilities on every man and woman of India. The Second Five-Year Plan is being launched in next spring and in the light of experiences we have already gained we have to secure maximum opportunities for ourselves in the shortest possible time to enable India to occupy the front rank among the comity of nations. This can be possible only

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on the basis of our economic strength and cultural regeneration and the path of planned development which we have chosen opens vast possibilities for all to participate in this high adventure of building a New India of our dreams.

It is unfortunate that at a time when the need for unity is supreme, certain tendencies have become manifest which threaten to weaken the fabric of our national life. I do not believe that the problmes facing us are such as cannot be solved satisfactorily with mutual consultation. But once passion is brough into the argument, judgement is apt to suffer. It is good to see our people full of energy and life but they must be used in the proper way for the fair name, glory and honour of the country and not frittered away in fruitless and violent controversies.

I have no doubt that this Session of the Congress will afford full opportunities to the delegates from all over India to deliberate calmly and soberly on all the national and international issues so that the people have the benefit of a leadership gifted with vision and wisdom responsive to the needs and aspirations and urges of our countrymen to make India worthy of its ideals and its heritage.

G. M. Bakhshi
Prime Minister, Kashmir.

Indian Nation has stood to the test of time in national and international sphere. It is a matter of historical importance that this mighty task has been performed through Indian National Congress. Let all the devoted followers of Congress feel the confidence of their capacity with the ambition of strengthening their mother organization so that the nation may reach the heights of glory.

G.B. Khedkar
President, Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee.

The eight years that have rolled by, since India became independent, have been years of trials, tests and tribulations. But they have also proved that the spirit of service and dedicated endeavour which our people had imbibed during the freedom struggle, will sustain and strengthen them in the tasks of re-construction that face them now. Madras has had during this period, perhaps more than her legitimate share of troubles. It was a determined fight against food scarcity which we had to wage during successive years of adverse seasonal conditions. That spurred us on to greater efforts to increase production and also helped to strengthen the sense of social discipline and solidarity. The foundations for progress and plenty are being surely, and by no means slowly, laid. A new spirit of creative activity and co-operative endeavour pervades the people. The greatest dynamic force in the reconstruction of India is the people's active, willing and whole-hearted co-operation in public affairs.

With the creation of this social consciousness and awakening, an atmosphere has been created which is most conducive and helpful to the great social reforms which have been introduced. Prohibition is the greatest

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of these ; it has seen the resurrection and rehabilitation of thousands of men, who have now taken their right place as useful citizens. The crusade against untouchability has helped to create a new life in the village a promoted a feeling of brotherliness and equality. With the abolition of the Zamindaries, the last vestiges feudalism have disappeared, and measures are being taken to see that the ryot's position is safeguarded and t he is assured the fruits of his labour. The separation of the Judiciary from the executive was a long-cherish dream, which has now been fulfilled and is in operation throughout the States. All these are mighty achie ments, the full benefits of which our successors will perhaps appreciate even more than we can. But the great achievement of all—and one of which we can justly be proud—is the new awakening among the masses— awareness of their responsibilities and a readiness to lend a hand in shaping the destinies of our great country.

K. Kamaraj
Chief Minister, Madras.

Amritsar has been chosen as the venue of the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress for t second time. It is a matter of great pride for the town and its people. The Punjabis as a whole feel no l honoured.

The thrice-blessed town of Amritsar is hollowed by the sacred memory of the Sikh Gurus and t 'Golden Temple'. It also occupies a unique place in the annals of the national struggle because it was h that the Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place and the blood of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims flowed for t emancipation of the Motherland.

We stand at the crossroads of destiny with future in the palms of our hands. The whole question tur on the manner in which we acquit ourselves today. The lesson of history is before us to learn if we woul united we stand but divided we fall. The Punjabis have always been known for their sturdy common sense. is my earnest hope and prayer that they will give a lead to the rest of the country in promoting commu harmony and concord and direct all their energies into constructive channels.

Bhim Sen Sachar
Ex-Chief Minister, Punjab.

The Sixty-first Session of the Indian National Congress has a vital significance and importance for t whole of India. It is being held at a time when the political map of India is being redrawn on a rational ba for the first time consequent upon the publication of the Report of States Reorganization Commission, wh India is about to complete her First Five-Year Plan with success and to embark upon her Second ambitio Five-Year Plan, when India is facing agrarian and industrial revolution in the process of achieving her aim establish a Socialistic Pattern of Society and when India's sound Foreign Policy has been crowned with succe and has accomplished for her a unique and enviable position amongst the Nations of the world. All th achievements are the outcome of deliberations of our great leaders held at the previous Sessions of the Ind National Congress where policies in all spheres were discussed thread-bare and resolutions of far-reaching i portance in creating a landmark in the history of the Congress and in shaping the re-construction of India a Welfare State.

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I look forward to the Amritsar Session in eager expectation of guidance from the recognised leaders of our Nation and for the inspirations which politicians always derive from contacts with their "masters" on such occasions.

Brish Bhan
Chief Minister, Pepsu.

On the great historic occasion of our Republic Day, we are reminded of the great task which we have undertaken. Our country is progressing towards greater objectives. Are we not confident that with our peaceful methods, and with our urge and enthusiasm we will get out of the shortage and unemployment. Let India determine to produce more, consume more and spread more. The Socialistic Pattern which we aim at is sure to materialise if our means and ends are noble and above reproach.

Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, Poona.

I am glad to know that it is proposed to bring out a Souvenir on the occasion of the 61st Session of the Indian National Congress. India stands at present on the cross-roads of her destiny. Since the attainment of political freedom from the foreign yoke, our efforts have been directed towards the emancipation of the people from the intellectual stagnation, social evils and economic backwardness, which are the inevitable legacy of an alien rule. The Indian National Congress was the spear-head of national struggle in the past. The fight for us is not yet over. The struggle has assumed a different form in the changed context. The mission of the Congress is now to fight against poverty, disease and squalor—in brief, against the arrested economic development of the country. This requires not only a reorientation of our values, but also the same faith in the sublimity of our cause and the same spirit of dedication that guided our steps in our long but successful march towards freedom. Our dream of a splendid tomorrow for the common man can only be realized if our vision is not blurred by parochial loyalties and our efforts are not dissipated in fruitless controversies. It has to be fully understood that those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must like man, undergo the fatigues of not only supporting it but also broadening its scope and contents so as to ensure the establishment of a socio-economic order based on social justice and dedicated to the dignity of common man.

Mohan Lal Sukhadia,
Chief Minister, Rajasthan.

It is indeed gratifying that Sixty-first Annual Session of A.I.C.C. is being held at Amritsar. It is in the fitness of things that the Silver Jubilee of the National Pledge should have been celebrated in the Punjab where twenty-five years ago the Congress adopted a resolution which came to occupy a place in our history which Magnacarta occupies in the history of United Kingdom.

It is also gratifying that the Providence has spared us the man who was instrumental in giving a definite direction and goal to our freedom movement. He is the man who today is not only the chief architect of the Nation, brain trust and dynamo of the Congress but also an unquestioned leader of mute millions of the world and a representative voice of Asia. Under his leadership at Amritsar once again Congress will take vital decision, the political and economic importance of which will be felt not only within the country but also outside India's borders.

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In Amritsar in 1930 Congress pledged itself to the political freedom of the country and resolved tha would remove all the economic and social inequalities which had devitalized our nation. For long seven years, ever since, Congress fought hard to fulfil its pledge and succeeded in throwing out the alien rule in year 1947.

But the task that befell the Congress as a ruling party proved much more onerous and put the nat and leadership to severest tests. Luckily we have come out triumphant through these trials and have pro to the world that we have richly deserved what we had althrough been fighting for. Today if one starts compar the dismal picture of post-independence period to the situation that obtains in the country today, he or sh startled at the pace of the progress we have made in almost all the fields of human life and our achievem which should go a long way to enrich human life in India.

Much before we were called upon to share the burdens of State the Congress had had a scheme of plan development of the country prepared by our own experts. As soon as we succeeded in restoring the cou to normal peaceful life after a bitter fight against communal frenzy and quailings of the victims, we had scheme reviewed and reprepared because division of country and its resources as also the urgency of mee other uncomitants of the division necessitated a fresh review.

When we embarked upon first phase of our development as envisaged in our First Five-Year Plan prepared, we started with some diffidence and with insufficient awareness of our ability to mobilise requisite and resources but as months and years rolled on, robust optimism replaced the above psychological condi with the result that though still about two months to go by we have already achieved 87% of the goals set in plan. The sight of construction of a number of plans, digging of canals, building of power houses etc., turned even a confirmed cynic amongst us into an enthusiastic votary of new life. It is indeed a miracle within such a short period we have been able to bring more than 80 lacs of new acres under irrigation and m than a lac of villages have been covered by self-help, self-development programme, known as Community D lopment Programme all the world over. Millions of our country men and women are pouring their reso together to create fresh life in the country-side and they are being ably aided and assisted by intensively tra personnel provided by the Government. This has created in the country-side an awareness that with ou operative efforts we can overcome all hitherto considered insurmountable adversities and earn for ourselve the material decencies.

Even our opponents admit today that we have turned the corner and have placed our political free on the firm foundations of social and economic progress. It is also true that after the advent of freedom stock of Congress was at no other period so high than what it is today. We started with an industrial ind 97.2 in 1947 which today is in the vicinity of 150 and during the first 3 years of the Plan the National inc recorded a 3 per cent rise per year which had wholesome addition of 2 per cent during the remaining perio the plan. Such a bright, exciting picture of our progress has in conjunction with our declared adhesion to philosophy of democratically planned collectivism, stirred up our creative faculties and has created in yearning of and determination for further progress.

Despite all these achievements we have as yet to go a long way to fulfil that part of the *National p* which has been reiterated and epitomised in the Avadi Resolution and which deals with economic and s freedom. We have still to create an atmosphere and reality of plenty and have to co-relate our progress the conception of population which is recording at 1·2 per cent rise every year while calls upon nation to pr for 45,00,000 newcomers every year.

We seek to achieve these targets through the implementation of Second Five-Year-Plan. In the Plan problem of creation of a wide net work of small industry in villages receives top priority.

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At Amritsar not only will the Congress be called upon to give its sanction to the Plan but will have to give its verdict on the great problem, whether or not we should accept foreign aid—a problem which has already become a subject of great national debate. If we decide against acceptance of foreign aid we will have to find fresh ways and means to make good the loss.

Congress meets at Amritsar in Session to take vital decision also on problems other than economic and social ones the importance of which is by no means less. We have taken a courageous stand on linguistic redistribution of our administrative units so that direct participation of all linguistic groups in the affairs of nation could be possible and robust nationhood could grow. Congress at Amritsar will put its moral seal on the measures so far taken in this direction and will take upon its shoulder the over-all responsibility of promoting the forces of National Unity.

We are meeting at Amritsar at a time when country is preparing itself for general election. The decisions we will take on these and other subjects, therefore will effect the whole course of our National History of coming 6 years and more. One, therefore, cannot but earnestly wish and pray for that a Session of such a tremendous importance should be an equally tremendous and resounding success.

Munishwar Datt Upadhyay
President, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.

I am glad to hear that the Reception Committee for the forthcoming Amritsar Session is bringing out a Souvenir. Such a retrospective review of the work done would certainly help in looking forward for a brighter future. The progress which our country has made after Independence has added to our national pride as it has not only been of a great magnitude, but it has also permeated into a vast population of 350 million.

I wish all success to your Souvenir

Shambhu Nath Shukla
Chief Minister, Vindhya Pradesh.

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OUR FARMERS

By Ch. Ranbir Singh M.P., General Secretary Farmers' Forum India, and Reception Committee, 61st Session, Indian National Congress, Amritsar.

Indian Farmers, owners and labourers deserve appreciation for turning the economic corner of th country through hard work. No sooner " The Grow More Food Campaign " slogan was raised by ou Prime Minister, the Indian farmers acting upon his advice engaged themselves in the production battl They spared no toil, no sweat, no drudge and no opportunity to turn their country from deficit to sel sufficient one.

The Government provided the necessary provisions and facilities in the form of canals, tubewell electric power and means of transport in addition to timely taccavis and improved varieties of seeds an animal breeds. Increased facilities for irrigation, introduction of radical land reforms and maximum securi against eviction to tenants have greatly helped in our agricultural uplift.

Facts and figures speak for themselves. We, the farmers, have been responsible for saving a hu amount which used to go outside our country and hundreds of crores of rupees that we used to spend f imported grains have been saved.

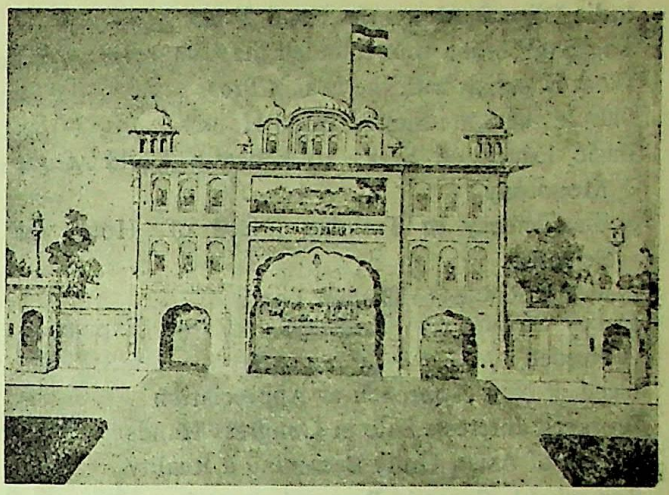
The Second Five-Year Plan is being finalized. Indian farmers want their due share in this pla Let us hope that the planners of the Second Five-Year Plan would not overlook the interests of those who ha faithfully served the country. Undoubtedly necessary emphasis should be laid on the Industrial progre but the legitimate interests of the hardworking farmers should not be neglected. I wish to exhort m farmer brethren not to feel satisfied with their achievement and not to rest for a moment. Our nation 36 crores is on the march. The Kisans and farmers of India have to act as vanguard of the Nation. L them tighten up their belts, take strong hold of their agricultural implements and continue working hard keep the Tricolour flying. All greetings to the brave sons and daughters of the sacred soil.

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SOUVENIR
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(SIXTY-FIRST SESSION)
AMRITSAR

Editor : Dr. ANUP SINGH, M.P.



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INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

(Speech delivered by S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India)



Your Excellencies and Friends,

May I express to you and the members of your Party, on behalf of the Parliament, the people and the Government of India, our most cordial welcome and say how delighted we are that, for the first time, after the October Revolution in 1917, we have the honour of having the leaders of Soviet Union with us though only for a short time ? We were all deeply touched by the very warm and cordial way in which our Prime Minister was received in your country this June, and I wish to assure, though my assurance is unnecessary, for you have seen with your own eyes, that our welcome to you is sincere, warm and friendly. Informal contacts from such visits make for understanding and understanding casts out fear and suspicion.

Men of my generation have watched with profound interest your steady growth in power and influence. In the conditions of 1917, with an inefficient and absolutist government, a corrupt Church, with the flower of Russia's manhood scattered in innumerable war fronts, with unspeakably difficult economic conditions of famine and chaos, with the memory of successive defeats by the Mongol Khans, by the Turkish Beys etc. until 1917, you felt that the revolution such as the one you had was essential for removing the sense of despair and creating a world of hope. You have succeeded in transforming a State centuries behind advanced nations of Europe into a powerful modern nation with vast industrial and economic development. The Civil war and foreign intervention which occurred in the early years led to the adoption of certain attitudes of strict control within and suspicion of foreign nations. Such causes have such effects. The conditions today are, however, different. Foreigners are visiting Russia in large numbers and Russians are visiting other countries also. Visitors to Russia are persuaded that you and your people are eager to get on with others and live with them in peace and friendship. It is irrelevant to quote Marxist doctrine or Lenin's theory for the logic of facts is more powerful than the logic of doctrine or theory.

As you are doubtless aware, we are attempting to do in 10 or 20 years, work which will ordinarily take as many generations. We are recasting our society on a socialistic pattern in ways which are consistent with our history and agreeable to our tradition. Lenin's observation is to the point : "All nations will reach Socialism ; this is inevitable. But all nations will not reach Socialism in the same way." You offer to share your scientific and industrial experience with us. We are grateful to you for it. We are willing to accept it so long as it does not impair our independence in any manner or involve pressure or interference. You trod the hard way and raised yourself. Our progress depends on our inherent strength, moral fibre, willingness to work in a spontaneously co-operative spirit. We have faith in our people ; so confidence in the future. Though

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our ways are different, our goal is the same and there are many fields in which we can co-operate to bring about a safer and saner world.

History is being made at greater speed than ever before and if we are wise and willing we can help it forward and establish a world community. We have to live together and work together. The United Nations is the symbol of what we all desire, a world community. But unfortunately it is not today representative of all the great nations of the world. China, for example, has no place in it with the result that Conferences are to be held outside the United Nations Organization which itself diminishes the effectiveness of the U.N.O.

In your recent speeches you rightly spoke about o age of science and technology as containing the pos bility of an earthly paradise or of a breakdown of civ lisation. Given modern method of war and technolo what another war means is terribly clear. If by ac dent or design we plunge the world into it we will down in history not as responsible leaders but as lunati The verdict on civilisation will be suicide while in state of unsound mind. What we are suffering from a sickness of mind and heart. You and our Prim Minister have subscribed to the *Panchsila*. The fi principles are not empty phrases. If we take them s riously, we must turn back on our past, forget our bitt feuds and irrational passions, abandon our fixed ide



Prime Minister Nehru's tour of USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy, U.K. and Egypt won a good deal of understanding and support for Panch Shila among people in these countries.
In the picture Prime Minister Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi receive enthusiastic welcome from people of Magnitogorak during their tour of USSR.

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and sterile negations, temper our minds with a new vision, a new spirit, a new humanity, a new forbearance. Unfortunately, however, there is still too much of egoism in the world, too much of organised selfishness. Nations eager to augment their political power are sometimes rigid, exclusive, suspicious and aggressive. The conditions in the Far East, in West Asia where a dangerous arms race is developing, the disappointing results of the recent Geneva Conference are illustrations. At a time like this we should not higgle about details. Pettiness is irresponsible. Our minds must become large and our hearts big. We have to work for peace, with tenacity and patience, lift the pressure under which we live and let the world breathe a sigh of relief. In this endeavour of civilisation, all peace loving countries can count on our unstinted co-operation. Not by might, not by power, but by understanding and co-operation among nations can we reach our goal.

Concluding Speech :

We are grateful to you for the speeches you have made explaining to us your domestic and foreign policies.

We are greatly touched by your observations that the writings of Tulsidas, Gandhi, Prem Chand and Jawaharlal Nehru are available in Russian translations and are widely read. I may inform you that we read and profit from the writings of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostovevsky, Chekov, Turgenev and Gorki. We hope that we may have greater co-operation in the fields of art and literature.

Mr. Khruschev told us about intellectual freedom and religious liberty in the Soviet Union. Of course, they are the best authorities on the subject and we are delighted to hear about these freedoms in Russia. Now that the Soviet Union has consolidated its base and provided its people with the vital things of life without which they cannot live, we hope they will give them opportunities to develop the graces of mind and the virtues of spirit without which life is not worth living. We now look forward to the production of great works of literature and art which will delight and illumine the world.

It is our hope that desire to work as friends and partners in building up a great new world of peace and prosperity, freedom and justice, of real democracy.

Sarvas taratu durgani sarvo bhadrani pasyatu sarvas sadbuddhim apnotu, sarwas sarvatra nandatu.



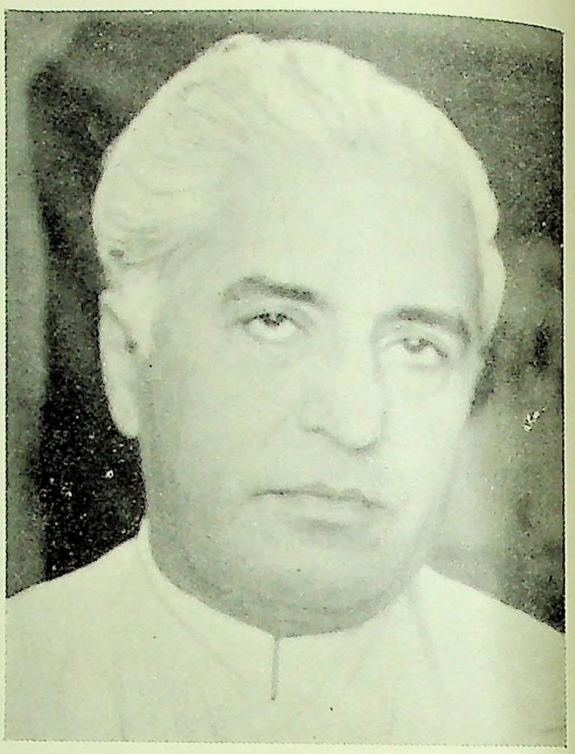
The two Russian leaders M. Balganin and Mr. Kruschev examining famous Poosa Wheat in New Delhi at the Poosa agricultural Institute the two leaders recently toured India at the invitation of the Government of India.

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INFANT REPUBLIC CAMPAIGNS FOR PEACE

by
Dr. Anup Singh, M.P.



"A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materialized. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed." Thus spoke Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on August, 15, 1947 Independence Day. In a short period of eight years, the new star has already become a symbol of hope and peace in the world.

Our infant Republic is playing a vital role in world affairs far out of proportion to her economic or military strength. She has revived old contacts and forged new links with several countries.

Due to her geographic and strategic position, India has always influenced world politics. She was the linchpin of the British Empire. Britain succeeded in spreading her sway far and wide largely because she was in a position to exploit India's vast resources in men and materials. The British empire roused the envy of other great powers who, too, established their foothold in Asia and country after country in Asia lay prostrate before imperialistic powers. Asians were used as helpless pawns on the chess board of power politics. British foreign policy with respect to Asia was shaped with a view to preserving her hold on India. For a long period our men and materials were exploited for Britain's imperialistic purposes and Indian troops were despatched to farflung corners of the earth to subjugate other peoples.

With the emergence of nationalism we became painfully conscious of our helpless position. The Indian National Congress agreed to help Britain in World War as it expected Britain to redeem her pledge of Dominion Status for India at the termination of hostilities. The hope was belied. The reward for our sacrifices was the infamous Rowlett Acts and the ghastly massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh.

Year after year from the early twenties the Congress passed resolutions declaring that unless India was granted freedom she would refuse to fight Britain's battles and that the Indian people themselves would decide their course of action regarding various international issues. Before independence India was a member of the League of Nations and of several other international bodies, but her spokesmen, capable persons in their own right, echoed the voice of their masters who nominated them. That position continued till 1947 when India achieved independence.

The foreign policy that our country has been pursuing is based upon certain basic moral principles and it has behind it a great historic background—the ideals, the sentiments and the urges of our people. The architect of the policy is, of course, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The initiative is this, but it must be pointed out that the policy that is being piloted by him is a projection of the ideas that have been evolved by the Congress through the freedom struggle. The only difference is that India can now not only enunciate a policy but also in a measure, implement it.

What has the Congress stood for ? As far back as 1921 the All India Congress Committee in its first resolution on foreign policy proclaimed that the foreign

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policy adopted by the British Government did not in any way represent the interests of the Indian people, and she informed her neighbouring countries that they had nothing to fear from free India which would have no designs on any other country. Year after year the Indian National Congress declared that free India's foreign policy would be based on four basic principles :—

(i) Strong opposition to Imperialism;

(ii) Active support to subject peoples fighting for freedom ;

(iii) hatred of war and abiding desire for peace in the world ; and

(iv) avoiding of foreign entanglements as far as possible.

The Indian National Congress stood squarely for democracy and it repudiated the doctrines of Fascism and Nazism. When Mussolini raided Ethiopia, the Congress condemned that brutal aggression in the strongest terms. When Japan invaded Chinese territory, the Congress called upon the Indian people to boycott Japanese goods as a token of sympathy with the Chinese people. Similarly, the Congress protested against the British attempt to coerce Arabs into accepting the partition of Palestine. In sum, the Congress extended its moral support to people fighting for freedom anywhere and preferred its hand of friendship to all peoples.

II

Soon after Independence Pandit Nehru made it clear that free India would continue to follow the great moral principles enunciated by Gandhiji. And he has since declared on so many occasions that India will formulate and follow her own policy and will refuse to become a satelite of any power. Within a very short period after her Independence India established embassies, legations and consulates in almost all the countries. All the major countrises of the East and West are represented at New Delhi.

India has played a noteworthy role in Asia and she enjoys great prestige among her Asian neighbours. The new awakening in Asia is a phenomenon of far-reaching historic significance. Asia which was the cradle of civilization fell an easy victim to foreign domination. This bondage inevitably resulted in economic servitude and cultural stagnation and for three centuries or so, the once dynamic Asia was relegated to a back row in the onward march of history. During the period of eclipse, its destiny was shaped by its alien masters. But, today, resurgent Asia is vibrant with rekindled vitality once agiain. It is determined that from now on, it alone shall decide its destiny.

This new Asian consciousness of a common destiny emerges from our common heritage and the recent struggles for freedom which had similar aims. In march, 1947 the Asian Relations Conference met in New Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, and with the moral support of the Indian Government. The delegates came from almost all the countries of Asia except Japan and including the Soviet Republics of Central Asia. The Conference deliberated on such vital issues as racial problem, colonial and industrial development, Inter-Asia immigration, the status of women and cultural co-operation. Subsequently, in Jan., 1949, the Prime Minister of India called a Conference at New Delhi to consider the situation in Indonesia arising out of the second Dutch '*Police Action*'. Besides condemning the Dutch Police Action, the Conference expressed the view that the participating governments would consult among themselves to explore ways and means of establishing suitable machinery, having regard to the area concerned, for promoting consultation within the frame work of the United Nation."

Again the South and South East Asian countries in addition to Australia met in May, 1950, at Bogor in the Philippines. Later the Colombo Powers—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met at Colombo in April, 1954 to evolve a common approach to such vital problems as peace in Indo-China, the recognition of the people's Republic of China by the U.N. and ending colonialism in Tunisia and Morocco.

In April, New Delhi played host to three hundred delegates from 20 Asian Countries who came to participate in an unofficial Asian Conference—another landmark in the history of Asian Peoples.

The steps taken by these Conferences, on India's initiative culminated finally in convening the historic Conference at Bandung. Almost all the Asian and African countries, who had independent governments, were invited. This was the first time that so many countries, representing more than half of the population of the world, met and agreed on certain basic and common principles. There was near unanimity on certain essentials. These essentials were :—

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(i) Respect for Sovereignty and territorial integrity;

(ii) Non-aggression;

(iii) Non-interference in the affairs of other states.

(iv) Security and mutual benefit and respect for justice and international obligations.

(v) Affirmation of faith in fundamental human rights and principles of U.N. Charter.

The delegates stressed that men must learn to live in peace with each other regardless of differences of ideology and cultural background, and that they must banish suspicion and mistrust from their minds. They warned the West that the peoples of Asia and Africa would not tolerate foreign domination and interference in their internal affairs. Said Pandit Nehru in his concluding speech," "No dictation there is going to be in fu 'no yesman' in Asia, India or in Africa," and Neh declaration was greeted with thunderous applaus it echoed the innermost feelings of the delegate great significance was the agreement reached at the ference that arrangements for collective self-def should not be used to serve the interests of any of th powers and that no country should exert pressur other countries. The Conference was not conv to constitute an Asian-African bloc, nor was there desire to evolve a common foreign policy. The ference reflected the yearning for peace and the d sition not to bow to force or dictation by any po It belied the wishful thinking of some Western sce who expected it to end in fiasco. They had imag



The King of Saudi Arabia on a visit to India speaks to admirers at Bombay. He recently visited India at the invitation of Government of India.

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that such divergent countries could not possibly arrive at agreements. But Bandung achieved a dramatic success. It caught the imagination of people everywhere and far-reaching were the repercussions of its deliberations.

Besides the role that India has played at various Asian Conferences, both official and non-official, India has helped in focussing the attention of the world on some basic problems in Asia and also had a hand in the solution of others. India has repeatedly exposed the absurdity of the Big Powers ignoring the emergence of Red China and permitting a representative of the discredited Chiang Kai Shek regime to represent it in the U. N. Pandit Nehru has often declared that unless the People's Republic of China is admitted to United Nations, no major problem of affecting Asia can be solved. In September, 1950, India raised the question of admission of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. Assembly. The resolution states : "The Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government functioning in the territory of China as now constituted."

To ignore deliberately this patent political reality, the emergence of a new government in China, is a monumental political blunder, for without the active and full co-operation of the Chinese People's Republic no major issue affecting Asia can be solved and no major disputes before the United Nationas can be settled without China's participation.

Prime Minister Nehru has rejected the theory of two Chinas. He says, "It is a most extraordinary state of affairs that the U. N. calls the islands of Formosa-China. In fact, it is nobody's case that there are two Chinas. We have recognised only one of them, because it is the real China. Obviously Formosa is not China."

President Truman declared on June 6, 1950, that "the United States had no desire to establish military bases in Formosa and the Government had no intention to pursue the course which would lead to civil involvement in China". In complete disregard of that solemn assurance, a fantastic theory of two Chinas has now been concocted to camouflage military designs. And those purposes were made crystal clear by General Mc Arthur with his characteristic bluntness. He said, "From this island chain we can dominate every power over the Asiatic parts from Vladivostock to Singapore preventing any hostile movement into the Pacific." The discredited Chiang-Kai-Shek regime is bestered up and Formosa is used as a military base by the United States. Both Mr. Truman and President Eisenhower have changed their former stand to line up with General Mc Arthur's strategy.

Defeated and humiliated after the Second World War, Japan has re-oriented her outlook and is prepared to work in co-operation with her Asian neighbours. While India opposed the old aggressive policy of Japan she always had the friendliest feelings for the Japanese people. Recently, when the Japanese Peace Treaty was signed at San Francisco, India refused to be a party to it. She objected to the inclusion of the provision that the existing occupation troops might stay on in Japan as part of the defensive aggrement with the U.S. India had a notable hand in resolving the bloody conflict in Indo-China. The agreement reached at Geneva last year regarding Indo-China represented the triumph of peaceful negotiation. The settlement was hailed everywhere, for here peace was the only victory. Our Prime Minister had proposed in a statement in Parliament direct negotiations between the parties concerned. This proposal was subsequently endorsed by the four Asian Prime Ministers when they met at Colombo. India has assumed a heavy responsibility as Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and she is prepared to discharge that responsibility to the fullest estent.

On the question of Korea India has consistantly followed an independent policy. The Indian delegate, Shri K.P.S. Menon, our present Ambassador to the Soviet Union, represented India on the United Nations Temporary Commission which supervised the elections in South Korea and witnessed the establishment of the People's Korean Republic. India did not accord recognition to the South Korean Republic, as she apprehended that premature support to one government in Korea might jeopardise the chances of Korean unity. At the outbreak of hostilities in Korea the Indian delegate at the U.N. voted for the resolution that condemned North Korea as the aggressor. According to the New York Times' representative at Delhi Pandit Nehru's decision was highly courageous, as many Indian Newspapers held the view that the struggle in Korea was a matter of internal unrest, which should be left to settle itself. The employment of United State's arms was condemned in Asia as another instance of Western intervention. On October 7, 1950,

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the Indian delegate voted against the U.N. Assembly's resolution which implicitly endorsed the attempt to unify Korea by the United Nations armed forces. India warned the world that the crossing of the 38th Parallel would provoke the great people of China and that the war would be prolonged. India's misgivings on this score were subsequently vindicated. Finally it was on India's initiative that a feasible formula was evolved which brought about the end of hostilities in Korea. India assumed the enormous responsibility as Chairman of the Ropatriation Commission and the Jawans of free India were despatched to supervise the exchange of prisoners. How admirably they acquitted themselves in the face of threats and bluster by Korean armed forces is now history. The precarious peace that Korea enjoys today, has been brought about largely by the efforts of the Indian Government.

Within her own borders India has been facing the problem of Goa. This little patch of land, now under Portuguese rule, is an integral part of India. The Government of India has made repeated efforts to negogiate with Portugal, but Portugal has treated these peaceful overtures with indifference, silence and crude threats of use of force. The Portuguese authorities have imposed a rigid press censorship, freedom of speech and the right to assembly have been denied, public meetings are banned and there have been innumerable instances of arrests without warrant. Unarmed Satyagrahis have been shot dead. What is the Portuguese plea in defence of these atrocities, these barbaric atrocities, as Pandit Nehru has appropriately characterised them? Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal recently declared in one of this typical outbursts, "If Portugal has to leave its Indian settlement of Goa nothing good will remain there, but a ravaged uncharacteristic land and not even a bit of a nation."

India has shown extraordinary patience in handling this exasperating situation in Goa even the non-violent movement of the Satyagrahies has been called off. The tragedy of Kenya, Morraco, Tunisia has always roused the deepest sympathies of the Indian People. Pandit Nehru declared at the Bandung Conference that the tragedy of Africa was greater than that of any other and that "when we think of it everything else pales into insignificance before the infinite tragedy of Africa".

India has also focussed the attention of the wo on the degrading practice of racial discriminat The discriminate against a person on account of his r or creed or colour is the very negation of our com humanity. The Atlantic Charter recognies the nity of human personality.

India made her position very clear in the U. regarding the issue of racial discrimination. Her pute with South Africa, she asserted, was not a disp between two states. It drew the attention of the members to the fact that when a section of the po lation of a country is denied elementary human ri on the basis of race, the issue ceases to be domestic such discrimination violates human decency. I has taken her stand, therefore, on moral grounds.

India's relations with Pakistan, her next door ne bour, unfortunately, continue to be strained and problem of Kashmir continues to elude solution. objective appraisal of the situation, however, will re that India has made repeated efforts to solve the d lock, and that she has faithfully lived up to her in national commitments. There is ample testimony the fact that despite differences the people of I and Pakistan want to forget the bitter past. One only hope that in the not too distant future wiser co sels would prevail and the two neighbours would m together triumphantly towards progress.

From this brief survey it is clear that India has sistently stood for the freedom of subjugated pe in Asia. She has sought to resolve all disputes peaceful negotiation.

India's message to fellow Asians may be summar thus :-

Fellow Asians, we are on the threshold of a new pe of history. We have witnessed periods of glory w remain our precious heritage, and the memories of th days are enshrined in our hearts. Together we h also witnessed periods of stagnation, exploitation national humiliation-dark dismal periods. We are of the valley now, and there are new urges and strirri in the hearts of our millions. We are on the m having dedicated our lives to the preservation of freed that hard earned freedom which we are determined n to lose again. We are wedded to peace, for peace re sents the spirit of Asia. We still face many mig problems but they are inevitable in a period of mig

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transition. Let us not be disheartened, for we shall solve them together, marching forwanrd hand in hand. We shall open up a glorious future for our peoples. We shall harness their vitality and their creative impulses for the transformation of society. In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that illustraious Asian, "Let us, above all, have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolised for these long ages past".

III

India has played a very distinguished role at the U.N. From the very beginning India wholeheartedly subscribed to the principles of the U.N. Charter which are in conformity with the ethical principles cherished by the Indian people. The great hopes once aroused by the U.N. ave unfortunately been somewhat betrayed, as the two rival power blocks try to utilize the U.N. machinery for narrow sectional interests. India has deliberately refused to side with one bloc or the other and such as consistently treated each and every issue that has come up before the U.N. strictly on its intrinsic merit without pre-judging it. The inevitable result of this policy has been that at times we have earned the ill. will, even hostility, of both the camps. It is gratifying that our great leader, Pandit Nehru, has refused to deviate from the policy of neutrality. He has defied threats and spurned overtures.

Speaking in the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru stated, "I have no doubt that fairly soon, in the course of two or three years the world will find this attitude justified and that India will not only be respected by the major protagonists in the struggle for power, but a large number of the smaller nations which today are rather helpless, will probably look to India more than to other countries for a lead in such matters." This prophetic utterance has been thoroughly vindicated.

In India's view the U.N. should be utilized primarily for negotiation, conciliation and mediation, and not for coercive purposes, which will definitely defeat the very purpose for which the U.N. was established. If the choice were between an apparently effective organization which might grow into an instrument of one power block and an ineffective organization representing all the major political elements in the world, India would choose the later. On the vexed question of the veto, which has been a perennial source of trouble, the Indian view is that the frequent use of the veto by the Soviet Union represents a symptom in international relations. Its abolition cannot possibly cure the basic disease. India is in favour of limited powers for the U. N. in such important matters as the enforcement of collective measures for control and ownership of atomic energy. India is opposed to giving absolute control of the production of atomic energy to the U.N., as it apprehends that its control in the hands of industrially advanced countries might jeopardize the chances of the undeveloped countries utilizing this great source of energy for the welfare of their people. India opposed the Western Plan for the control of atomic energy because she feared that the proposed international agency might become a tool in the hands of a great power or a power bloc. On the question of membership India has always championed the cause of all applicants, as she is in favour of universal membership.

On the question of nuclear weapons India has also made some contributions. The paralysing fear that grips mankind today is that of the weapons of mass destruction. Whether these diabolical messengers of death and destruction will spell our doom or whether we shall harness atomic energy to constructive purposes, is the challenge of our times. Thermo-nuclear bombs were detonated by the American Atomic Commission on the Marshall Islands. Reacting immediately, the Prime Minister of India stated that it could not be an accident that the sites where these experiments were carried out were nearer to Asia than to Europe. Asian peoples are justly indignant that the first atom bombs were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, killing and maiming thousands of Japanese. The experiments in Bikni, which affected Japanese, have shocked the moral conscience of the world.

In a statement in Parliament on April 27, 1954 the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru proposed a "stand-still" aggreement in respect of explosions; he proposed full publicity by those principally concerned in the production of these weapons, the calling of private meetings of the sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission to consider the "stand-still" proposal, and active steps by the States and peoples of the world to curb the menace.

It is a testimony to the general appreciation of the role that India has played in the U. N. that Mrs. Vijay Lakhshmi Pandit was enthusiastically elected Chairman of the U.N. Assembly. The writer recalls that in 1945 at San Francisco, she pleaded for the independence of

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India through the press and the radio while the Conference which was laying the foundation of the U.N. was in session. Mrs. Pandit the rebel of 1945 was given the exalted position of Chairman of the U.N. Assembly in 1952. I recall that whenever the late Sri B.N. Rao rose to speak, the delegates to the U.N. and pressmen loitering in the galleries invariably made a dash for their seats. Recently Shri V. K. Krishna Menon by his consummate skill as a negotiator and by his dialectical ability has earned for himself and for our country a great name.

IV

India and China have recently offered to the world the celebrated five principles embodied in the Panch Shila.

What is the real meaning of these principles and what do they represent in their totality?

The *first* principle guarantees full freedom of all countries without which there can be no peace and without which the fear and threat of war will for ever plague us.

The *second* principle provides a gurantee against aggression. That gurantee alone, and nothing else can create that climate for peace for which we yearn.

The *third* principle ensures that each country will be free to develop in its own way without any outside interference, direct or indirect, free to adopt whatever system its people may choose, consistent with their indigenous conditions, their traditions and ideals.

The *fourth* principle ensures the development of normal economic and cultural relations between nations without discrimination and restrictions, relations based on equality and mutual benefit, instead of the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the imperialists.

The *fifth* principle, the key principle, recognizes the right of different countries to have different systems of governments. It categorically rejects the theory that different systems cannot co-exist peacefully side by side.

It is a great tribute to India and China that many other countries have subscribed to these principles. A day after leaving India on his way back to China, Mr. Chou-Enlie met Mr. Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, and in a joint statement they subscribed to the principles of the Panch Shila. On December 23, 1954, the Prime Minister of India and the President of Yugoslavia, Marshall Tito, endorsed in a joint statement the policy of non-alignment successfully pursued by both countries.

When the great statesman had assembled at Ge Prime Minister Nehru submitted for their considera the following six-point programme to resolve the d lock in Indo-China :—

(1) A climate of peace and negotiation has to promoted in dissipate suspicions and the atm phere of threats that prevailed.

(2) that the Cease Fire item be given priority the Indo-China Conference agenda.

(2) (b) that a Cease Fire group consisting of actual belligerents viz., France and her th associated States and Viet Minh be created.

(3) that Indo-China be guaranteed complete free and that its sovereignty placed beyond all do by the Government of France.

(4) that the conference should immediately initi direct negotiations between the parties concern

(5) there should be a solemn agreement on n intervention, direct or indirect, by the c batants.

(6) that the good offices of the United Nations sh be utilized for conciliation and not for invo sanctions.

At the invitation of the Government of the U.S.S Shri Jawaharlal Nehru paid a visit to the Soviet U and he was accorded the most impressive reception given by the Soviet Government and the Soviet pe to any foreign dignitary. The unprecedented welc he received can be explained only in terms of So appreciation of Pandit Nehru's policy of peace. two Prime Ministers supported the five principle peaceful co-existence. They recommended that People's Republic of China should be given its righ place in the United Nations. They declared that question of disarmament was fraught with grave co quences and they declared categorically that noth should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposi of a complete ban on the production, experimenta and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. T expressed implicit faith in the possibility and desirabi of states of different social structures existing side side in peace for the common good.

In July, 1955, the Prime Minister of Egypt and In issued a statement at Cairo, which among other thi stated that, "it is their conviction that involvement military pacts or alignments with Great Powers does

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serve the cause of peace. The cause of peace can be further strengthened only by peaceful methods". The recent visit of Bulganin and Khruschev is still fresh in the minds of our people. The enthusiasm and spontaneity with which the two great leaders were received by our people have never been surpassed. Pandit Nehru was hailed in the Soviet Union and our people reciprocated the gesture. The distinguished Soviet guests immediately caught the imagination of our people. Although the political and economic systems of Russia and India are different, yet there is bond of kinship between the two countries. The Soviet Government, like Indka, has expressed its solemn faith in peaceful co-existence. A joint statement by Pandit Nehru and Bulganin subscribed to Panch Shila.

The visits of the Soviet leaders were followed by that of Madame Sun Yet Sun, the wife of the illustrious leader of China. Her visit revived the memories of ancient bonds between India and China. New Delhi was host also to his Majesty the King of Saudi Arbia who represents the great Islamic culture. He expressed great satisfaction with the progress that India had made and in a statement gave a personal testimony to the fact that India was genuine secular state where the Mohammaedans, his co-relgioniists, had the same religious freedom and rights as the Hindus. The visit further cemented the bonds and kinship and friendship between the Islamic countries of the Middle East and India.

V

Our contemporary world is torn by dissensions and sundered by divisions. In spite of the extraordinary progress that mankind has made in so many fields, particularly in technology and science, ours is an age of conflict, of hate and violence, of death and destruction.



Prime Minister Nehru's tou of USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy, U.K. and Egypt won a good deal of understanding and support for Panch Shila by a number of States.

At the conclusion of his visit to Yugoslavia Prime Minister Nehra and Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, signed a joint declaration approving of and accepting the Panch Shila Principles.

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The fear of nuclear weapons continues to haunt the imagination of mankind. Whenever the possibility of the heads of the powerful nations coming together is even whispered, humanity in anguish immediately feels a sense of relief. That is why recently people exulted over the Geneva spirit. Though the brief spells of relaxation of world tension are interrupted by fear, distrust and recriminations, in a sense, there has been an improvement in the international climate. There is a better understanding in general, of other people's point of view. There have also been some sincere attempts at reconciliation of differences which at times appeared to be unbridgeable.

The peoples of the world yearns for peace and security and happiness. So desperate is the need for peace amity among nations that the foreign policy of each and every country must be judged in terms of its impact on prospects of peace. How far a policy promotes peace and how far it jeopardizes the stability of our world in the crucial test—the only criterion by which it should be judged. Of course, every country plays some role, big or small, in world politics. The real question is what is the sum total of the various contributions made by different policies. Hilter too played a great, a frightfully great role, but that was an ignoble role, a contemptible role. Our country also played a role in world politics when it was a slave nation. But that was an abject role of a puppet. Since freedom the role we have played has been of our own choice and the moral responsibility of our actions and the consequences is entirely ours. We claim no perfection or infallability of judgement. As Pandit Nehru has stated so often, we seek no leadership. We make only the modest claim that we have endeavoured to follow a policy in conformity with legitimate interests, and in the best interests of w peace. The reputation of our country in the ternational world is high and people. in difficu anywhere turn to Pandit Nehru for counsel and guid He has given our country and our people a new p and a new stature. Shall we be able to sustain reputation and prove worthy of the trust that pe have reposed in us in that is the challenge that we

One thing is crystal clear. The foreign polic any country is a projection of its inner structure. country can be weak at home and strong abroad, country can be revolutionary at home and reactio abroad.

We have launched gigantic multi-purpose plans programmes for the uplift of our people. We have hopes that after the successful completion of the five plans we shall be able to give decent clothing and sh to the millions of our countrymen, to educate the terate and to uplift the backward. All this is pos of achievement but in the ultimate analyses much depend upon our unity and strength. The recent turbances in many parts of the country have ri disturbed us. We have to learn to transcend our row sectional, communal and parochial loyalties ar subordinate them to the larger national ioyalty. that happens we shall be able to realize dreams greater India, a nobler India, the dreams dreamt by sons and daughters of the motherland who chee laid down their lives for its liberation. This strong united India will march forward triumphantly, ha hand with the countries of the East and West, to what Lincoln once called 'man's vast future'.

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FOREIGN TRADE SINCE FREEDOM

(*By D. P. Karmarkar, Minister of Commerce*)

The conscious direction of India's foreign trade dates ck to the crucial years of the last world conflict when dia's trade policy was geared to the requirements of war economy. During the war time it was necessary the then Government to conserve the available ources within the country and to curtail exports. ports also were curtailed to the extent required by the rtage of shipping and other means of transport.

Eversince independence, however, the direction and trol of foreign trade have been influenced by considera- ns of placing the national economy on a sound footing. the import side the requirements of food, machinery, ustrial raw materials and consumer goods have had determinative influence; on the export side, pro- tion of export subject to availabilities of surpluses r meeting the internal requirements have been the ermining factor. The partition of the country rived India of some of her major raw materials and l-grains with the result that the available foreign hange resources had to be strained to the utmost to ain these supplies from elsewhere in order to main- the production in the industries concerned and to e available essential food supplies.

Food Imports

Our difficulties were accentuated also by the fact that availability of foreign exchange has varied from year ear. Our exports have varied during the period of 3-49 to 1954-55 between 459 and 733 crores. Our irements of food, however, could not be resisted and recently they were a substantial drain on our foreign hange resources. In 1948-49 we had to import food he tune of Rs. 102 crores; in 1949-50 our requirements t up and we had to import food to the extent of Rs. crores, and then we found that during 1950-51 it unted to Rs. 180 crores. During the next year 1-52 they rose to the huge sum of Rs. 229 crores. 1952-53 we had to import food to the tune of Rs. crores and it is only during 1953-54 that our imported bill came down to Rs. 72 crores and during 1954-55 s been still less, viz., Rs. 68 crores.

Not only food but the other items of industrial machi- and industrial raw material and essential consumer ls were also an unavoidable necessity, and so we find that the deficit in our balance of trade was very high during the earlier years, being Rs. 185 crores in 1948-49, Rs. 142 crores in 1949-50 and Rs. 221 crores during 1951-52. That deficit has, however, tapered off during the last three years.

Balance of Payment

Owing to our invisible earnings and partly foreign aid, the balance of payments has not been as adverse as the balance of trade, taking the 5 years from 1950-51 together. Nevertheless, our task has always been to adjust our regulation of our foreign trade to varying vicissitudes over which we had practically no control. But during all these years the Government policy has been guided by its policies of giving priority firstly to food, secondly to capital goods, thirdly to industrial raw materials, and fourthly and lastly to essential consumer goods.

With the improvement in the production of food as well as raw jute and raw cotton, the position has eased considerably. The import bill on food-stuffs has, as I observed a moment ago, substantially fallen. Similarly, the bill for industrial raw materials like raw jute and raw cotton has fallen from about Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 70 crores during the years 1951-52 to 1954-55. The net result of this improvement is that it has been possible to liberalise the trade policy and many of the vexatious restrictions have since been removed.

Objective of Control

The main objective behind the exercise of control over the country's foreign trade has been to ensure the maximum availability of goods required for the internal economy of the country within the limits of the availability of foreign exchange. The mere balancing of foreign trade is not the only consideration in a growing economy. It is easy enough to adjust the balance of trade by cutting down imports; but the effect of such a step would be disastrous. Our main effort is to maximise both imports and exports in order to provide for the higher standards of production and consumption we are aiming at. In the process, we have to ensure that the contents of our import and export trade are so adjusted as to fit into the general scheme of a growing economy, and, at the same time, to secure some measure of stability in the matter of import and export control policies. I now propose to tell you how far we have succeeded in these objectives.

In spite of the fact that after devaluation and particularly after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea when the world as a whole was facing conditions of scarcities and sharp rise in prices, we were successful in India in averting any major shortages developing for any length of time and in fact in holding the price level in check.

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Export & Imports Liberalised

As a result of improvements in our agricultural position, both imports and exports have been liberalised to the maximum extent possible consistent with the needs of our economy. Imports of industrial raw materials and machinery now have the highest priority in our import programmes and account for nearly 60 per cent. of our total import bill. In order to sustain the higher standards of living which we are aiming at, imports of consumer goods are now being allowed more freely. Imports of non-essentials and luxuries continue to be restricted and their imports, during normal period, have not exceeded 4 to 5 per cent. of our total imports. Study of statistics over a period of time also shows that although the import policy has been adjusted from time to time, wide fluctuations in policy have been avoided.

Reasonable Stability

Such major fluctuations in our total trade figures, as may be found, have been only on account of imports of commodities like foodgrains and jute and raw cotton because of fluctuations in internal production. In respect of other items, there has been reasonable stability throughout. This stability is, however, no indication of a stagnant economy. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that our demands have increased so considerably, the fact that our total imports have remained steady is itself an indication of the agricultural and industrial progress made in the country. A few instances will illustrate this point :—

Imports of bicycles have dropped from nearly Rs. 4¼ crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 2½ crores in 1954-55; imports of oil engines have fallen from nearly Rs. 15 crores in 1951-52 to about Rs. 1 crore in 1954-55. Imports of electric machinery have fallen from nearly Rs. 5½ crores in 1952-53 to a little more than Rs. 3½ crores in 1954-55.

Export Restrictions Removed

On the export side, all restrictions which were necessary in earlier years have been removed as a result of the improvement in the internal supply position. In fact, except for a few isolated commodities in which Government is most anxious to see that no shortages are allowed to develop, exports of most major items are being allowed without any control. In fact it would be correct to say that about 30 to 85 per cent. of the country's export trade is today free from control. If anything, the accent today is on export promotion.

From the purely short-term point of view, one could say that the economy of the country is in good balance and there should, therefore, be no cause for anxiety. Sterling balances have remained more or less stationery. The terms of trade which had begun to go against us in 1952-53 have been gradually improving. There has been an improvement in our terms of trade from during 1952-53 to approximately 101 in 1955. Alt there have been period when the balance of tra been against us, the position of our balance of pay has remained satisfactory on the whole.

No Room for Complacency

From the long-term point of view, however, is no room for complacency. According to th estimate so far available, as the second Five Ye progresses, we should be falling short of foreign ex at the rate of about 80 to 100 crores of rupees, pe or about 4 to 5 hundred crores of rupees over th period. Even after allowing for such foreign aid a be forthcoming, it will be necessary for us to str efforts to the utmost in order to increase our earnings, if we are to provide for the imports wh be required for the progress of the Plan.

For this purpose, it will be necessary not only new markets, but also to diversify the export tra both in respect of commodities as well as in re countries. Today, more than 50% of our total trade is accounted for by 3 articles, namely, t goods and cotton textiles, and about 50% of o exports go to U.K. and U.S.A.; our exports to Asian countries and West Asian countries taken account for less than 25 per cent. With growin petition in the world markets the scope for ex exports in these 3 commodities only is limited therefore, necessary that we should explore oth kets and promote trade in other lines.

Export Promotion Measures

The Government of India are taking a open to them to promote the export trade. Promotion Councils have been set up to promot of cotton textiles and silk piece goods, engineerin plastic manufactures, cashew and pepper. It is posed to set up Export Promotion Councils for bacco, shellac and leather manufactures. Thes tion Councils are being given liberal financial Their main functions are to conduct research markets, to do publicity, to lay down standa duct inspection and settle dispute apart from of other activities. Fiscal concessions are being the trade by removal of export duties and by gr drawback of import duties on raw materials being used in the maufacture of products int export.

Exhibitions are being organized on a large participation in International Fairs and Ex and also by holding wholly Indian exhibitions countries. On an average, we are participating

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to 14 exhibitions each year. Greater attention is w being paid to markets in West Asian and East ian countries. Some of the important exhibitions in hich we have recently participated are : The British dustries Fair, the Canadian International Trade ir, the Damascus International Fair, the Milan Inter- tional Trade Fair, the Pakistan Industries Fair, the usanne Fair and the third Djakarta International ir. We are also shortly going to participate in the ade Fair to be held in Ethiopia and another in Cam- dia, later this year. We organized a wholly Indian hibition in Cairo.

Show Rooms & Emporia

Our participation in some of these exhibitions as in past has helped to create an awareness about our ort potential and our stalls have won for us in some ntries great admiration. Our stall in Toronto was judged to be the best and our participation in the Milan ir and in the British Industries Fair was highly mmended. Show rooms and emporia have been esta- shed in almost all important countries in the world erever we have diplomatic Missions.

Increasing provision is being made each year for pub- ty, show rooms and exhibitions. In addition to these w rooms, emporia have been opened in Singapore, ngoon, Thailand and Aden to promote direct sales our handloom products. Trade Centres have also n opened in New York and in Geneva. It is proposed open similar centres in Hamburg and Cairo. The vernment are also contemplating the introduction of e form of an Export Credit Guarantee Scheme similar the schemes in operation in several other countries, ich are intended to insure exporters against the risks trade, which are not normally covered by insurance npanies.

Trade Agreement

The Government of India have also entered into de Agreements with almost every important trading ion in the world. But since we believe in multila- alism and practice non-discrimination, these agree- nts do not bind either country to import or export ds upto any specified limits. Nevertheless, they ve a very useful purpose. They focus attention on trading possibilities. They provide an opportunity discussion of such difficulties as may be found to st in the course of trade and for removal of these diffi- culties. In certain cases, they have helped in promoting our trade very substantially; for instance, with China and Russia there have been substantial increases in trade. We believe in multilateralism because we consider that multilateralism creates the proper atmosphere in which world trade can flourish. It allows full play to free competition and permits traders to buy and sell in the best market. Bilateralism on the other hand freezes the pattern of trade and in the last analysis inhibits development of total world trade.

As I said above Government are doing their best for promoting exports. But there are obvious limits to what Government can do in this matter. I have often emphasised that only determined and sustained effort on the part of the trade can deliver the goods. The work of marketing research, publicity, contacts with importers abroad and arrangements for settlement of disputes are matters in which commercial organizations have a great part to play. Studies about different aspects of foreign trade are essential and I am happy to note that in addition to the various materials now being published through Government organizations, organizations like the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry are also bringing out useful studies in this regard. I wish that our commercial community shows greater enterprise in this field than it has done till now.

Healthy Trend in Exports

Our exports are showing a healthy trend of development; in addition to usual items like textiles, tea, jute, oil, shellac and mica and the like new items of finished products like sewing machines are showing a slow but steady rise in the volume of our exports. Happily for us the climate for expansion in our exports is good. We are friendly with all countries and there is visible increasing tendency to welcome Indian goods in foreign countries. Our exhibitions are receiving more attention. Our diplomatic and commercial representatives abroad will give the best possible co-operation and assistance to intending exporters. Those of our countrymen who are engaging themselves in foreign trade can help the cause by greater adventure and more healthy commercial practices in their dealing with their customers abroad. I do hope that the period of the Second Five Year Plan will show distinct improvement in the volume of our exports thus promoting industrial production as well as making available greater resources for importing essential capital goods and raw materials for our industry.

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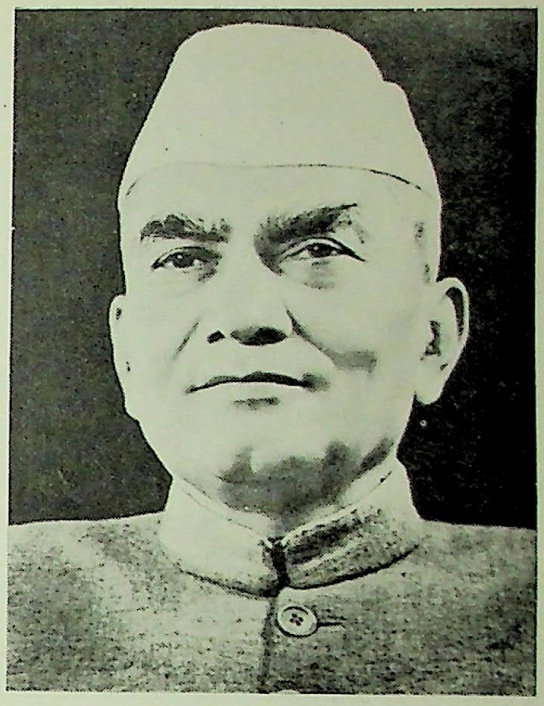
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A NEW SPIRIT PERVADES THE ARMY

(*By Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Minister of Defence*)



The advent of Independence has led to many wonderful developments. I think one of the most wonderful has been the way in which the Indian Army has managed to find its way to the hearts of the people of India. The Indian soldier is a gallant individual, and his renown for bravery on the battle-field goes back to ages past. In the past times, however, he owned his loyalty and allegiance to individuals—Kings and Emperors—and later when the British acquired supremacy in India he owed his loyalty to his British masters. The Indian soldier served in many areas of war, his record of service in the World War I and the World War II was a great and glorious one. Not only in bravery but also in endurance, fortitude and in splendid ingenuity to meet all sorts of difficult positions, he established a record for himself among the armies of the world. His contacts, however, with his own countrymen in those days were rather slender. Independence came and he showed his mettle ; his patriotism was abounding, his devotion to duty intense ; his capacity to bear hardship was shown on the snow peaks of the mountainous ranges in Kashmir. His anxiety to serve his countrymen in natural calamities of every kind was great. He did his best to relieve their miseries and render all possible assistance during the frightful months immediately succeeding the Partition. The Indian Army came to the rescue of the refugees coming into India in a most active, efficient and disciplined manner. And then, by their bearing abroad, they have won laurels for themselves and the Indian Army in Korea and Indo-China. To-day, the position is that the Indian soldier is held in the highest respect and esteem, the Indian Army is considered to be one of the bravest and the most efficient forces throughout the world. The Indian people are proud of the officers and Other Ranks of all branches of the Armed Forces. They hold them in great affection and people are anxious to promote their welfare and improve their conditions of service and their environments in every way.

The Indian Army is in a sense both old and new. The present structure owes its origin to the British days but the spirit now pervading the army is a new and noble one. It is the people's army and it owes its loyalty to them and not to any foreign masters. An Indian soldier now serves Mother India. Furthermore, the old traditions of his country influence his daily life and conduct in every way.

This is a matter of vital importance. In the British days the Jawans were all Indians, but the officers were mostly British and the standards of conduct and the modes of living were mostly those which have pervaded the British army during hundreds of years. These are all admirable in their own way but our traditions, our outlook on life and our way of living have been different. The Indian Army has now undergone a transformation from top to bottom. It is all Indian. There is no British element left in it and it is a matter for rejoicing that the old traditions are coming to life again and the Indian soldiers, officers and men alike, endeavour to follow the ancient teachings as to how a soldier should behave during war and in peace time. A soldier has not only to be a brave soldier, but also a good and decent citizen and of good and exemplary moral behaviour. That, I am proud to say, our Indian soldiers have proved to be in this free India. Wherever I go

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in military cantonments, the civil population is full of praise for the admirable conduct of our Indian soldiers in every walk of life and on all occasions.

Our armed forces, these days, comprise not only our Army but our Navy and our Air Force also. The Indian Army has a long history behind it. The other two, the Air Force and the Navy, are of recent growth. They are growing well and they will soon develop into fine forces. India has had a long naval tradition in the past but, as luck would have it, during the British regime we almost lost our sea-faring instincts. Times have again changed and a fine Navy manned throughout by Indians will soon come into existence. One of the most agreeable features about our Navy is the strong appeal that it has made to young men living in all parts of India. It is not only the coastal states and areas which respond to the call of the Navy, the response comes stronger and more enthusiastic from what may be the land-locked provinces. It indeed makes one to go on board a ship or in a naval training school see the whole of India mirrored before one in the officers and ratings.

So also is our Indian Air Force. It has been pletely Indianized from the Air Marshal downwa the airmen. Here again, our young men displa keenest desire to serve and fly. Indeed, I have across young men who assert that they would frustrated if not allowed flying.

Aeroplanes are expensive, so are ships in the but we are doing our best to build up both the Navy the Air Force as rapidly as we can. One point



Indian army tanks at the Zojila in Kashmir during operations to protect Kashmir.

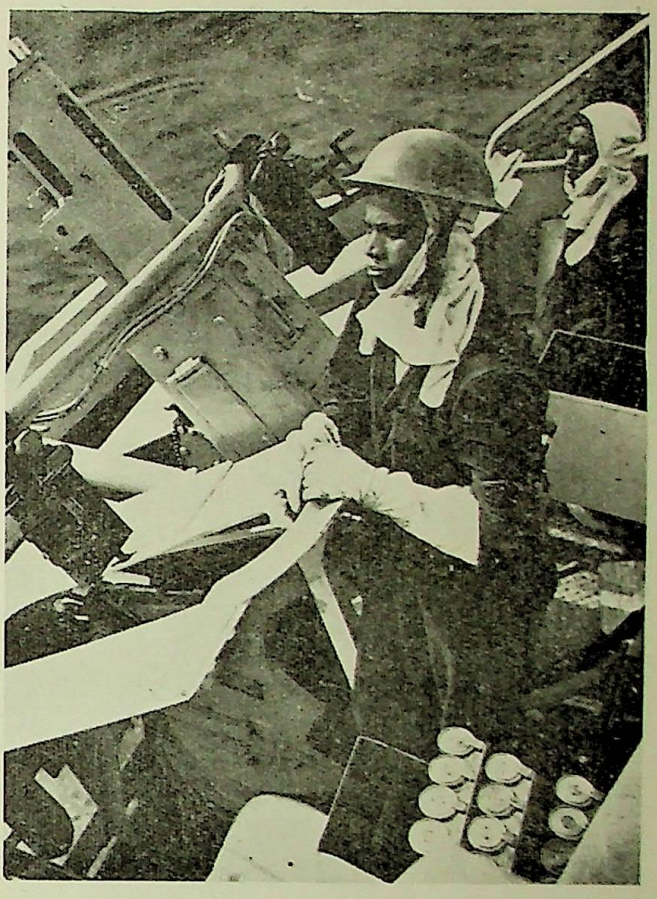
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ber is the imperative necessity for India's becoming
ufficient as early as practicable in every way so far
ur armed forces are concerned. At present we
rt many things. We do manufacture lots of arms
equipment of all kinds in our ordnance factories
we have still to import a lot. We are trying our
to make progress in this direction also so that we may
le to stand on our legs within the shortest possible
The situation is the same with stores of all other
also. Be it remembered that the armed forces
to keep ready for all emergencies and arrangements
be made to meet all their requirements at a
nt's notice for long periods.

our internal and external policies are based on
ful settlement of all disputes and controversies.
ave no territorial ambitions of any kind whatso-
we wish no harm to any countrry ; indeed, we wish
ss and prosperity all-round, to all people. Our
forces are meant purely for the defence of the
y against external aggression. India of old was
continent well protected by nature. In the North
were the mightiest mountains, the Himalayas,
the other three sides we had the seas. The par-
has brought about physical changes and now there
ng line stretching hundreds of miles from North
th dividing India and Pakistan. We stand for
osest friendly relations between ourselves and
an. We have so much in common and share a
leal of past history for centuries. But the border
be guarded against all eventualities. It is the
ne task of the armed forces to protect the borders
sides, East and West, North and South—and I
nfident that our forces may be depended upon to
ir duty in this respect most efficiently.

t me emphasise one enormous change that Inde-
nce has brought about, *i.e.*, the complete dis-
rance of all distinctions based on the so-called
of the martial and non-martial races. That
tion was invented and introduced by the British
for their own purposes. Our Constitution has
etely abolished it. Every single Indian citizen
itled, as a matter of right, to serve in the armed
He cannot be excluded on any ground of colour,
faith or creed provided he complies with the
ite qualifications prescribed for recruitment
armed forces. It is a matter for gratification that
in the armed forces is attracting young men of



Naval gunners at practice.

all sections of the community and from all parts of India. There was not only the distinction between martial and non-martial races, but a vast number of people inhabiting the smaller princely States were denied all opportunities to serve. So were members of the Scheduled Castes. All that is now past history. The eradication of all these restrictions has added greatly to the moral strength of our armed forces, and our capacity to resist external aggression and maintain the security and unity of India. India is not a Republic in mere name, people feel that it is a Republic in which each one is entitled to share the responsibility for defending India and preserving its independence. This is a great psychological factor which makes the people ready to defend the country with their own lives whenever any danger faces them. This attitude of mind is again strongly indicated by the great response which people are making to the various organisations calculated to supplement the armed forces. I refer to the Territo-

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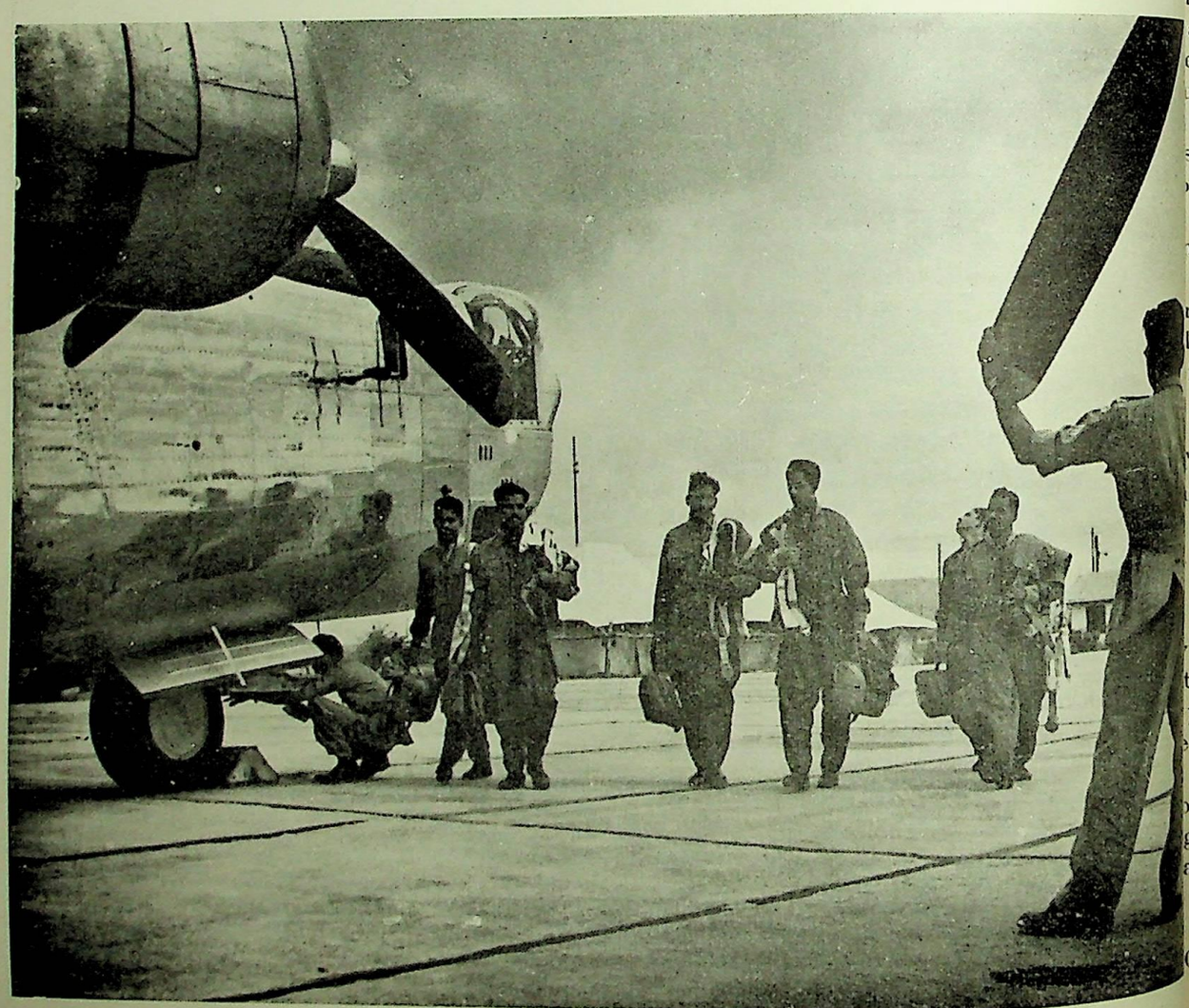
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rial Army, the Lok Sahayak Sena, the National Cadet Corps, and the Auxiliary Cadet Corps. It is a welcome sign that the youth of India is becoming intensely conscious of its rights and duties in matters relating to the defence of the country.

The armed forces are prepared to fulfil their task. It is our duty to remove many difficulties which face them in their daily life. The first and the foremost is one of accommodation. For single officers and men there is not much difficulty. There are barracks and quarters available for them. The real difficulty is the scarcity in what is called "married accommodation" *i.e.*, accommodation for married officers and Other Ranks. Government is trying to do its best to provide such accommodation. It is necessary to do so that our officers and soldiers may remain contented and lead a happy family life in what are called family stations. And t should be provision for amenities of various ot Among them the most urgent is arrangemen cation of children. Be it remembered that o and men very often live far away not only f homes but from their States, and proper edu a child in his mother tongue sometimes becom difficult problem.

Whenever I go to military stations, and Unit or see soldiers on their exercises I say that here are the real sons of our great Bha Outside, one hears on all sides and reads in papers about controversies arising out of ling provincial considerations. We become som engrossed in these differences that we forget

(Contd.)



Indian Air Force getting ready for a flight.

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PUBLIC SECTOR WILL GROW IN SECOND PLAN PERIOD

(Gulzari Lal Nanda, Minister of Planning)

The First Five-Year Plan, which is now drawing to a , was the first large-scale attempt at introducing principles and techniques of planning into the acti- of a big democratic State which had recently me independent and was all astir with new ideas rding progress and development. Large and ambi- schemes of reconstruction and development were lly taking shape and had to be implemented with- avoidable delay. Every Ministry at the Centre every State Government had a number of plans for ution, but all these had to be harmonised and woven a whole in order that the nation made the most resources. It was in the midst of such national ccupations, characterized by a sense of urgency, the First Plan was evolved. Naturally, many nes were sanctioned and started long before the was made final. Fortunately, the draft of the nd Five-Year Plan, which has recently been publ- , suffers from no such handicap. It bears, I hope, imprint of a great deal of thoughtful discussion has gone on during the last year or more.

hough the First Plan was ushered in under mstances by no means wholly propitious for scien- planning, the plan has in many directions more fulfilled our expectations and dispelled the sceptі- felt in certain quarters in regard to the utility efficiency of planning. That Plan concentrated ily on food production, largely because of the t food shortage experienced by the country in preceding years. The imports of foodgrains had up from 2·25 million tons in 1946 to 4·72 million in 1951. As a result, our foreign exchange resources, adly required for developmental purposes, were g taxed to the utmost by food imports and had to ved from an avoidable burden. It was in the light of urgency to achieve self-sufficiency in regard to food the First Plan made an allocation of as much as Rs. 0 crores for agriculture, community development, and irrigation and power out of a total outlay of Rs. 2,331 crores for the whole Plan. The results achieved have been gratifying. The food production has gone up by 11 million tons and the production of cotton by about 1·3 million bales. The area under irrigation is expected to go up by about 17 million acres and the power potential by about 1·2 million kilo-watts. In the industrial sector also, there has been substantial achievement. The index of industrial production rose from 105 in 1950 to 146 in 1954 and to 158 in February 1955. The production of key commodities such as cloth, cement and sugar registered a marked increase. The net national output increased by 12 to 13 per cent between 1950-51 and 1953-54, and if allowance is made for the increase in population, the per capita net output increased by about 8 per cent over a period of four years. It would not be proper to attribute all this progress, particularly in the agricultural sector, to the Plan. A succession of good harvests coincided auspiciously with the efforts put in under the Plan. It is, however, obvious that but for the Plan whatever opportunities existed could not have been used to the best advantage and the results achieved would have been of a much smaller magnitude.

The Second Five-Year Plan is being evolved with certain definite social and economic objectives. "The National aim," says the resolution on economic policy adopted at the last session of the Indian National Congress, "is a welfare State and a socialist economy." We have to consider what exactly these expressions mean ? In broad terms, the basic aims of the new concept are four-fold : first, a socialistic pattern of society has to be brought into existence ; secondly, this has to be achieved by the democratic method, *i.e.*, by the voluntary and willing association of the mass of the people with the various aspects of planning; thirdly, a substantial advance has to be made towards solving the problem of unemployment ; and finally, the Plan should lead to a rate of increase of national income which is appreciably higher than that achieved during the first Plan.

The most important requirement of a socialist economy is the bringing of the principal means of production under social ownership or control and a substantial speeding up of production. This envisages a large and growing public sector, especially in regard to basic industries, minerals, transport, financial institutions and foreign trade. Where social ownership is not possible for any reason, effective measures

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of social control have to be exercised. We already have a large public sector, the importance of which was emphasized as early as 1948 in Government's Industrial Policy statement. The Policy then enunciated has not found its full scope in practice, largely because of the shortage of financial and technical resources at the disposal of Government for the purpose of development. So far, the net output of Government enterprises has amounted to less than three per cent of the net domestic produce of the nation. The Second Plan contemplates large-scale industries in the public sector. The three iron and steel factories that are being planned or constructed, the proposal to develop State-owned collieries for securing much of the additional requirement of coal and the establishment of large basic industries, such as the heavy electric equipment factory and the expansion of the Hindustan Shipyard, will make an appreciable difference to the size and importance of the industrial wing of the public sector. Large-scale extensions of such basic services as transport and communications, almost exclusively in the public sector, will further strengthen the scope and extent of that sector.

Intensive development of the public sector does not mean that there is any immediate proposal for nationalization of existing industries or that there is no scope for any other sector. The resources available to the State are not unlimited and have to be used to the best advantage in furtherance of the general objectives of the Plan. One of the chief aims of the Plan is to speed up production by all possible means. There would, therefore, be no point in diverting the available resources for the nationalization of existing industries in present circumstances. The private sector has, therefore, ample scope in the new economy of the country, provided, however, that it is able to adjust its approach and outlook to the new trends of thought implied in the acceptance of a socialistic pattern of society by the State. The profit-motive has to be subordinated to the larger interests of the community. Private capital can still expect a reasonable return, but there should be no place, as in olden days, for any excessive or unconscionable rate of return which would be incompatible with the new ideas of social justice in the country.

While the private sector will receive every encouragement, it should be our objective to build up the Co-operative sector to the fullest possible extent. Co-operative organization can make a great contribution to progress in certain fields of public activity, particularly agriculture, small-scale industry and commerce, *i.e.*, wherever individual resources are too small to be able to secure the advantages of large-scale and scientific organization and also where the middleman comes in to rob the primary producer of the large amounts due to him. Co-operation should be a very important objective in the achievement of a socialistic pattern of society. Its importance in relation to the entire aspect of rural economy is immense. It should be our aim to bring at least half of the economic activity of the nation under co-operative organization within a period of ten to fifteen years.

Of the four basic aims mentioned earlier, those relating to the solution of the unemployment problem and the raising of the national income have largely been responsible for deciding the size of the Plan as set forward in the Plan Frame papers which have formed the starting point of the present phase of planning. Of these, the problem of unemployment and underemployment is undoubtedly the more important. According to a rough estimate, the total working force of the country is about 152 millions. While there is a very considerable amount of under-employment in the country, particularly in agriculture and other rural occupations, the total number of unemployed persons at present has been estimated at about 5·6 millions. During the period of the Second Plan, new entrants into the working force will be of the order of four millions in urban areas and six millions in rural areas. Thus the number of jobs required to tackle the problem of unemployment effectively during the period of the Second Plan is of the order of over 15 millions. It is obvious that unless we create at least 10 million additional jobs during the period of the Second Plan, the unemployment situation must inevitably deteriorate further.

Almost equally important is the objective of raising of the national income and the connected problem of the rate of capital formation. Against the target of 13 per cent increase in the net national output envisaged during the four years of the First Plan, a conservative estimate would demand that the increase during the five years of the Second Plan should be of the order of 25 per cent, at the rate of about 5 per cent per annum. The net rate of capital formation has been fluctuating between 6 and 7 per cent of the national income during the last four or five years. It is obvious that

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plough back into investment far more if we wish to create more national income.

It was in the light of these broad objectives that the Plan Frame contemplated a total investment of Rs. 5,600 crores during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, of which Rs. 3,400 crores were to be in the public sector and the balance in the private sector. The investment in the public sector, together with a developmental expenditure of Rs. 900 crores was expected to make up a total expenditure of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector under the Plan. A closer scrutiny of the physical target set by the Plan Frame papers has since shown that an outlay of Rs. 4,300 crores cannot produce either the 11 to 12 million jobs or the five per cent per year increase in the national income aimed at for the purpose of planning. The All-India Congress Committee, which considered this matter at its meeting held in September 1955, came to the conclusion that "if the size of the Plan at present indicated at Rs. 4,300 crores, is not sufficient for the purpose of realising this target, it should be increased." It also stated that "the income content of the Plan should be of an order which will lead to considerable rise in the standard of living of the people." The A.I.C.C. felt that as a large part of the resources had to come from the people in general, a suitable atmosphere should be created whereby the resources necessary could be secured on the principle of equality of sacrifice. In particular, it was of the opinion that the amount raised through loans and small savings could be increased by about 50 per cent and that the public could be prepared for shouldering larger tax burdens. It also felt that the limit to deficit financing should not be rigidly set and that it should remain flexible depending on the success achieved in increasing production.

In the light of these and other considerations the Planning Commission has reviewed the resources position and has come to the conclusion that even though an unbridged gap of about Rs. 400 crores would still remain, it should be possible to find enough resources to support a plan of the order of Rs. 4,800 crores. That is the basis on which the draft of the Second Plan has been prepared.

When resources are inadequate for all the developmental schemes that we would like to plan and execute, the question of priorities as between the various subjects of development and as between various schemes in the same field assumes special importance. In a detailed plan involving both investment and development, an important consideration is that the growing social services should be maintained out of revenue resources. It follows, therefore, that a steady growth of social services postulates a steady increase in revenue resources. Both in view of this consideration and of the need to ensure the maximum possible resources, it is imperative that the people should be prepared for both larger taxes and larger savings.

The Second Plan will concentrate on industrial development. It is essential to develop basic heavy industries for the manufacture of producer goods in order to strengthen the foundations of our economic independence. The basic strategy of the Plan is, therefore, to increase the purchasing power of the people through investment in heavy industries, particularly in the public sector, and through expenditure on various social services and to meet the increased demand for consumer goods by a planned supply. The building up of basic industries will not only reduce our dependence on foreign sources for essential machinery but simultaneously reduce our foreign exchange requirements, which are at present very large. The Planning Commission has made tentative allocations for the various sectors, but these are liable to be changed as further examination and discussions take place. The allocation in the public sector for investment in industry, at present envisaged, is about Rs. 891 crores. Taken with the investment likely to be made in the private sector, this would mean a total investment in the industrial sector of the order of Rs. 1,500 crores. Industrialization on such a large scale would be impossible without comparable investment in Railways, Transport and Communications. For these purposes, an allocation of Rs. 1,384 crores has been made. The total expenditure contemplated in the Central sector comes to about Rs. 2,586 crores.

An important consideration that has gone into the making of the Second Plan is that the increasing demand for consumer goods caused by the progressive increase in the purchasing power of the people should be met, as far as possible, by an adequate expansion of household and hand industries. The Plan-frame suggested an allocation of Rs. 200 crores for the purpose. It was after full discussion and approval of

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this proposal that the Karve Committee was set up to evolve a scheme for the utilization of anticipated allocation for that sector. Subsequent to the receipt of the Committee's report criticisms have been heard that its recommendations, if implemented, might have the effect of perpetuating the comparatively backward techniques prevalent in that sector and of imposing undue burdens on the consumer in the form of subsidies and preferential excises. These apprehensions arise from an inadequate appreciation of the general approach to the household and hand industries sector and of the requirements of our economy. Obviously it would be wrong to encourage and perpetuate backward techniques. There should be a planned scheme of progressive replacement of backward techniques, and while the process of technical improvement must start immediately, it would be wrong to throw overboard all such techniques and to entrust the production of consumer goods on a large scale to modern factories. Any sudden change will have many economic and social repercussions. Existing capital equipment, skill, and labour will become redundant and remain unutilized; large sums of fresh capital which we can ill afford at present will be needed to establish modern factories; and, what is far more serious, large numbers of the population now getting a modest living out of this sector will be thrown on the streets. In present-day conditions one would even go to the extent of saying that in the interest of increased employment it would be quite justifiable to expand that sector while improving it, care being taken to ensure that within a reasonable time the efficiency of the sector is raised to an adequate level. The house-hold and hand industries sector is highly labour-intensive. The Karve Committee's estimate of the employment content of its schemes costing Rs. 260 crores is fuller employment for over three million persons, part-time employment for over four lakh persons, and whole-time employment for over four lakh persons.

The decentralization of the consumer goods industry implicit in the Karve Committee's Report is one of the principal means of achieving a more widespread distribution of the national income and hence of giving a direct impetus to the building up of the socialistic pattern of society. Undoubtedly, active assistance to household and hand industries will mean some current sacrifice on the part of the consumer through subsidies or other methods of assistance. If, however, that assistance helps to produce greater employment, greater incomes to the under-employed, better distribution of the national output, and further strengthening of rural economy, it could hardly be called a sacrifice it would then bear every resemblance to a policy long-term rodpuctive investment.

It is in the light of these considerations that present discussions on the merits or demerits of the bar Charkha should be viewed. The experiments are being conducted by experts will show in a few mo whether the Charkha is technically sound and whe it can be organized on a scale large enough to meet the additional requirements of yarn in the Second F period. There are strong indications that the Char could prove to be a success, and its potentialities vast. According to an estimate made by the Khadi Village Industries Board some time ago, the Am Charkha programme, culminating in the productio 1,500 million yards of cloth in the fifth year, can vide 34 lakh jobs to spinners and carders, over 8 l jobs to weavers and 4 lakh jobs to organisers and oth *i.e.*, a total of over 46 lakh jobs. In terms of full continuous employment throughout the year the t number of jobs may be somewhat less, but even so th figures indicate the scale on which employment can found in the decentralized sector. If the whole of production were entrusted to the mill industry, the a tional number of jobs that will be created will be of order of 2 or 2½ lakhs. The Ambar Charkha, theref opens out the possibility of a big decentralized sec spread all over the country, which will provide wh time and part-time employment at reasonable rate remuneration to a large number of the rural popula at their very doors. The present version of the Am Charkha costs in all Rs.100 and produces 16 hanks of y per shift of eight hours against 3½ hanks produced an ordinary charkha. The Ambar Charkha is, howe capable of considerable improvement without becoming prohibitively costly, and it is only to expected that during the first two years of the org zation of the decentralized sector a much impro Charkha would be evolved, so that the improved m could be distributed on a large scale for meeting the of the demand of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The evolution of a common production gramme harmonising the objectives and achievem of village industries, small-scale industries and la scale factory industries is not an easy task. There invariably be differences in the prices and qualities

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the products manufactured in these sectors and it will be for the State to consider from time to time how best a policy of co-existence as between the various sectors can be worked out through such expedients as reservations, rebates, excise duties, etc. This task is extremely difficult, but it has to be faced if the employment content of house-hold and hand industries is to be secured for the success of the Plan.

If the development of basic industries for the manufacture of producer goods is necessary for strengthening the foundations of our economic independence, the building up of social services is equally important, for it is the latter which impinge heavily on the day-to-day life of the bulk of the people. Social services have also the effect of dispersing purchasing power over a large section of the public, both urban and rural. Education and training, in particular, have a special role to play in the Second Plan, for without their active assistance economic planning alone cannot prepare the masses for the approach and attitude inherent in a socialistic pattern of society.

In the early stages of planning it was considered that the Plan, as envisaged in the Plan-Frame papers, might lead to an increase in employment opportunities to the extent of 11 million jobs, but closer investigation has thrown doubts on this assumption. While the direct employment content of the schemes contemplated for the Second Plan can be estimated with a fair amount of accuracy, the present state of statistics in the country does not permit of any such close study of the indirect employment that follows development. Recent estimates indicate that the total employment content of the Plan is about 8 millions in the non-agricultural sector, additions in the agricultural sector being treated as going to reduce the large under-employment prevalent in that sector. While this will go a long way towards absorbing practically all the new entrants into the labour force in the urban sector and over three-fourths of the new entrants in the rural sector, it will unfortunately not solve the existing volume of unemployment. We should, however, remember that with a total working force, urban and rural, of the order of 152 millions, a small measure of unemployment would lead to no more than temporary inconvenience to the people affected by it.

For the State Plans, a provision of Rs 2,214 crores has been made. This covers such important items of expenditure as agriculture and community development, irrigation and power, road development and social services. Though the provision made in the Second Plan for social services is Rs. 946 crores against Rs. 509 crores in the first plan, *i.e.*, only a little less than double the previous amount, there is much else that we would have wished to do had we the necessary resources. However, the strengthening of the country's economy through investment in industries is essential even for a further expansion in social services.

If the Second Five-Year Plan is to achieve one of its main purposes, namely, the ushering in of the socialistic pattern of society, it is necessary that substantial social changes should be brought about in a planned and co-ordinated manner. Equitable distribution of wealth is one of the fundamental concepts of socialism and that can be achieved only through appropriate measures to reduce disparities in wealth and to ensure greater dispersal of incomes at any rate of the additional incomes accruing as a result of the Plan. Taxation is a potent weapon for this purpose. Estate duties, taxation of total wealth, and similar measures directly lay claim to a portion of past accumulations and seek in a measure to remove past inequalities. Measures could also be devised to impose appropriate taxation on luxury, ostentation, and excessive consumption as a means to putting a brake on current waste and misuse of privilege. The question of a ceiling on public salaries and total annual incomes also becomes important in the context of social justice. It is necessary that all such measures are consciously evolved and impartially applied both as a means of adding to the resources of the State and as a measure of bringing about the new pattern of society we have in view.

I hope I have mentioned enough to show how big the problem of development of the country is and how difficult it is both to find the necessary resources and to arrange for their orderly allocation and expenditure. The machinery of Government has had to bear a very heavy load in recent years. At the time of Independence there was a great drain on the experienced personnel of Government services and though this has since been made good, the ever-increasing requirements of development have taxed our resources in the matter of personnel to the utmost. In the building up of our public services, we have had another problem and that

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is to attune the approach and attitude of the services to the requirements of a welfare State. While the services have, generally speaking, responded adequately to these efforts, there is naturally scope for constant improvement. Old traditions die hard, while new ones, especially if based on ideas of service rather than on authority, are hard to build. Though we have, on the whole, reasonably adequate and substantially useful public services to support our developmental plans, it is obvious that when the country as a whole has to be revitalized and developed, the people themselves must take a direct hand in bringing about the desired result. Governmental machinery, however earnest and competent, can do no more than to give the requisite stimulus and encouragement to local initiative and co-operative effort. The latter must come from the public themselves.

The development of the country is the greatest experiment in putting the principles of co-operation into actual practice. In this respect we have had very encouraging results in community projects and National Extension Services, with the result that there has been a unanimous demand for the extension of these programmes throughout the country. In view of the encouraging response of the people, programmes of public co-operation assume special significance in the fulfilment of the Second Plan. Our resources in money and material may be limited, but there is practically no limit to the amount of willing labour that our large population can put in. That means a very great addition to our resources. The many instances of shramdan and village co-operatives organized in recent months have given us hope that the potentialities of contribution of this source of wealth are immense. It is for Government and the leaders of the public to harness the latent energies of a willing public in the interests of national development. Our success in this endeavour may well be the answer to the gap that economists find between our resources and requirements. It will also be the means of strengthening our entire social structure by developing co-operative effort, inculcating social and civic sense, and generally building up the socialistic pattern of society to which the country as a whole is committed.

(Contd. from page 4)

Indians first, and everything else afterwards. P
vation of the unity of India should be our paran
duty. Often, however, all this is forgotten. In this re
I wish the people were to learn a lesson from our a
forces. There they will find men hailing from dif
parts of India, belonging to different communities,
different mother tongues, all living together and l
each other as comrades in arms, as the sons of one
mother. This is how we should all, each in our
sphere of life, live and imitate our soldiers, sailors
airmen.

I meet them often and tell them that India look
to them with pride and that they not only collecti
but each one of them individually, is the standard
er of India. He holds aloft the honour and pre
of India. His personal conduct may raise or, to
extent, mar the glory of the Indian Army. I su
to them further that while their main duty lies in
paring themselves for the defence of the country
should also prepare themselves for taking part in
great war which we are now waging against disease
poverty. I advise them that when they go home on l
or on retirement they should place at the dispos
their local communities all the lessons in discipline
leadership that they have learnt in their army ca
and render distinguished service for the betterme
their villages and endeavour to promote the welfa
their countrymen in their own areas.

Let me conclude by asking my countrymen to ex
if anything, still greater affection for the personn
their armed forces. They lead a dedicated life. T
undergo almost continuous strain from day to day
are engaged in laborious tasks. They are entitle
our esteem and sympathy and consideration also.
us also not forget the soldiers who have retired
finishing their quota of service. Our social struc
to-day recognises no privileged classes, no castes or
other artificial distinctions but I do suggest that p
who have, for years and years, offered to serve
country with their lives should, in their retirem
in their own social circles be the recipients of es
and help whenever they need it.

Jai Hind

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PARLIAMENT HAS VITAL ROLE TO PLAY

(By G.V. Mavalankar, Speaker Lok Sabha)



The subject suggested to me by the Reception Committee for an article for the souvenir on the occasion of the session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar is a tempting one. At the same time, I feel, it is too early to have any assessment of the achievements of Parliament. The task is also an embarrassing one for a man like me who is occupying office as Speaker of Lok Sabha. All the same I shall attempt something. I am applying myself to the task with some hesitation because I feel that in the present transitional as also the formative period, when we are trying to lay deep and well the foundations of democracy, we should turn our attention to ourselves and have some introspection.

In the public life of this country, it is the Congress which at present holds the field and will hold it at least for some years more. People have faith in the Congress because of its past achievements, sacrifice of its leaders and their capacities to guide the nation. It has also to be noted that there was not and is still not such a well-knit and disciplined body of persons as the Congress with a country-wide organisation, prestige and trusted leadership.

Yet whether one may like it or not, we have to see the realities and admit that the Indian National Congress has ceased to be sole representative of the entire nation, since the attainment of Independence. What I mean by this is not that it has ceased to have a national outlook or has changed its ideals or conception of Swaraj, but it has ceased to hold within itself people of all shades of ideologies, inclinations and views regarding the ways of life, the economic development and various other things which affect national interest as it did prior to independence. The Congress programme has in recent years been purely or substantially of a political character as its main function has come to be to contest elections to legislatures, and for forming governments to carry out its ideals in various fields. The Congress, having practically become the Government of the country, has got to face tremendous problems for maintenance of peace and order, the problems of administration, problems arising out of all types of conflicts—communal, provincial, ideological etc.

The necessary result has been that the Congress has not been able to take up through non-governmental agencies constructive and nation building programmes. There has also come a current opinion that, with the establishment of national government, there is now practically no need or scope for any constructive programme by the people as such. The State being a welfare state the responsibilities are transferred to the State and, therefore, it is enough for the Congress to have disciplined majorities in legislatures so that the desired goal of the welfare State may be achieved through official agency. This is true, but only very partially. The result has been that Congress which was before independence a spearhead of all-round service of the people has practically come to the position of the ruling political party, though a powerful political party. I may here quote what an eminent Englishman has said with reference to situations that arise usually when self-government is attained. The learned author says : "Self-government does not solve all difficulties. While

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the struggle for independence goes on everyone concentrates on this single aim. When it is attained or is well in sight, the nationalist movement begins to break up into sections with different views and interests."

This is what has happened in our country as one can see from the number of parties that have sprung up for fighting elections and the tendency seems to be towards increase of such parties. One will appreciate the correctness of this observation if he were to look at the composition of various legislatures in the country including Parliament.

To my mind, the major success which the Congress has attained today in the matter of governance of the country and the moulding of democracy is largely due to the personalities of the top-ranking Congressmen. It is they who formulate the policies and bring forward measures before legislatures and are able to put them through because of the disciplined majorities that they have in the legislatures. This does not mean that the members of the party are not consulted but in substance the leading part is played by the few top ranking Congressmen. The Opposition has made its appearance only very recently since the elections of 1952. But it is feeble and divided. Again the impression on my mind is that they are not looking at the problems before the legislatures purely from a detached national point of view, but from the point of view of their own parties. Their criticisms, therefore, many times do not carry that weight and force which what one calls the national opposition carries and is entitled to carry.

In the above background the legislatures in India are, to my mind, not yet fully representative of what one may call parliamentary government and this is but natural at the initial stages where we have yet to build up standards of public life. Sometimes one feels that public life in our country is too personal and there are very few people who are capable of taking an objec-



Parliament House

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tive, impersonal view of questions before the legislatures. It is either the personal view or the party view mainly dominated by personal ideology, likes and dislikes and by party interests. Thus, I should think, the essential pre-condition of a certain level of public life necessary for a proper functioning of parliamentary democracy is yet lacking, though it is in the process of being buit up.

If there is to be a successful parliamentary system, the several parties and groups must become a Government and an effective opposition. Prior to independence the leaders were often colleagues in the fight for self-government and it needs considerable restraint to avoid personal ill-feeling when differences appear. A successful Parliamentary democracy depends on a basis of mutual respect, a spirit of tolerance and a desire to understand the differing points of view.

Let us now see, in the background of what I have stated above, the role which Parliament or the legislatures in the country have played. We have undoubted democratic forms in which our legislatures are constituted. We have an elaborate system of elections by adult franchise and it is a matter of satisfaction that our nation-wide elections in 1952 have proved that the average Indian voter, though illiterate and, therefore, miscalled uneducated, is a person of strong commonsense who can think for himself and choose which party he would like to be in power. The functions in the legistatures are also carried on in the same way as legislatures in democracies of the West. And yet I would make bold to say that, we as a nation or as a people have yet to reach the soul of democracy. We have got all facilities for that and we have got the body but the soul has yet to appear. Democracy is not a mere matter of form, but it is a way of life.

As Speaker of Lok Sabha I have occasions of coming in touch with the Presiding Officers of the various legislatures in the country as also of knowing generally as to how these legislatures are functioning. Ever since 1950 all presiding officers have been meeting annually in Conference to discuss the various problems of democracy, to compare notes and exchange views and try to evolve conventions and traditions best suited to develop democracy in India ; and I am happy to say that one distinctly feels that we are making an advance towards the desired direction. Our progress is slow mainly because of intolerance by and among members of all parties or groups—majority as well as minority which, in turn, brings fear-complexes and, to a large extent muzzles free expression of opinion. There is a tendency to turn down or treat as opponent any one who does not agree with us and this in turn brings suppression and false appearances and fear complex. This will disappear with general advance of integrity and fearlessness in society and people will begin to think more in terms of public good and national interests.

These are being wrought out by our legislatures through common thought, discussion and legislation.

Though we have a substantial unity all over the Indian Union in the matters of culture and philosophy, during the last few centuries a narrow outlook of communalism, casteism and provincialism has had a strong hold on us. The British rule brought about a large measure of political unity but not social integration; on the other hand, sectional, communal and provincial thinking was encouraged and even today our minds are running predominantly in those grooves of thought and outlook. A social integration is, therefore, the basic need as a foundation for a stable and just democracy. A high standard of integrity and spirit of service are also *sine quo non*. The success of Parliamentary democracy is closely related to the social conditions in which there exists a sense of duty, sense of justice, sense of equality and above all a sense of common interest and of unity.

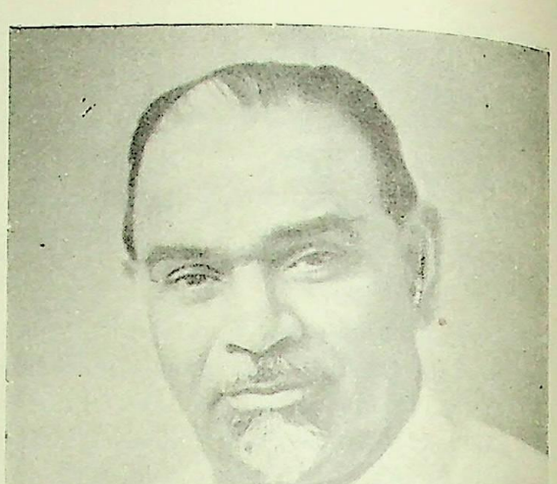
The change is slow and imperceptible. We have also been able to establish, through our legislatures certain good conventions which, I am sure, in course of time will materially help the healthy growth of parliamentary democracy. In this respect the role that Parliament is playing is to act as spearhead and guide to all legislatures and it is of great value to democracy in general.

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THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT SUCCEEDS IN INDIA

(*By Sardar K. M. Pannikar*)



Most observers in the West were at first critical of India's declared intention to establish a democratic system of government. During the last fifty years they had witnessed so many abortive attempts to transplant democratic institutions on Eastern soil, in Persia, in Egypt, in China and even in Japan. India seemed to them especially unsuited to the democratic experiment. A caste-ridden community seemed to deny the very postulates of democracy. Over about two-fifths of the area of India a strong monarchical, and in places a well established feudal tradition, seemed to hold sway. Over 80 per cent of the population was illiterate. Besides a large percentage of population of India consisted of what were described as depressed classes and backward tribes. More than all it was felt that the growth of regional oyalties, as evidenced by the demand for linguistic states would steadily weaken any central government that was established and would make the working of democratic institutions on an all-India basis impossible. These considerations seemed to justify the conclusion that, however well meaning the desire and however heroic the effort to work a full scale democracy in India, it was doomed from the beginning to fail.

And yet the political events of the last seven years have belied these gloomy prophesies. The most remarkable thing about the developments in India, after her independence, is not the major social, economic and political changes that have taken place in the country, but the way they have been brought about. A democratic constitution based on adult franchise, both at the centre and in the states of the federation, was promulgated after the fullest discussion in an elected parliament. This constitution enfranchised over 180 million people, and made India far and away the largest democracy in the world. With literacy extending only to 20 per cent of the population India conducted a general election both to the central Parliament and to the provincial legislatures in which over 100 million people exercised their franchise. The legislatures so elected have been functioning smoothly in 27 units and at the Centre.

This in itself is a major achievement in democratic methods, but the policies enforced by the new governments provide even greater evidence of the strength of democratic ideas. All over India land legislation was enacted which abolished large scale landlordism. These measures were passed in provincial assemblies after the fullest possible discussion and though powerful sections of the community were adversely affected, and position was vociferous both in the country and in the legislature, they were accepted everywhere without any political or social disturbance. In large areas comprising of former Princely states—in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, where the system of land-holding was feudal and the Rajput nobility enjoyed great political power, the newly established democratic governments found no great difficulty in abolishing the *jagirdari* (feudal fiefs) and divesting the Thakurs (barons) of the power they had so long enjoyed. In the social sphere also, the legislation enacted by the Centre was radical in its character and revolutionary in its effects. To mention only two examples, the age long custom of untouchability was not only abolished by law but its practice made penal.

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Even more far reaching was the legislation concerning Hindu marriage, which modified its sacramental character and permitted divorce. No government except a democracy could have undertaken these measures which touch the very basis of Hindu society. The planned economy which India has put into effect, again, cuts across provincial boundaries, overrides powerful vested interests and seeks to utilise the resources of every area for the benefit of the whole. Finally, the Parliament is now engaged on re-drawing the map of India. To have even taken up this problem for a comprehensive solution is a measure of the strength of the democratic idea in India, for any reform meant to redraw the boundaries of states leading to a new re-integration is bound unavoidably to arouse regional passions, and local loyalties. The procedure followed by the Government of India in this matter is a study in democratic methods. The Parliament first appointed what was called a "High Power Commission" to enquire and report on the problem. The Commission toured all over India, interviewed representatives of every section of opinion, undertook local studies and submitted a report. Though violent reactions were forecast what followed was a great Debate in which every section of the people took part. For over 6 weeks the people from one end of India to another engaged themselves in hot discussion. When the provincial legislatures were given an opportunity to express their considered views. The intention of the Government of India is to proceed with legislation after this comprehensive democratic process has been completed. No clearer evidence of the strength of democracy in India can there be than the way this most complicated problem is benig dealt with.

The question naturally arises how in the face of the great handicaps, which undoubtedly exist, the democratic tradition should have been so firmly established in India. An examination of the history of India during the last hundred years will provide the answer. In the first place, though Indian society was undoubtedly based on caste inequalities, the great system of Indian law was based on equality. The Macaulyan code under which India has lived for over 120 years proceeds on the principle of the equality of the Brahmin and the Pariah, the Raja and the peasant before the law. This tradition which has not only taken root but has become one of the major facts of Indian life, made the conception of political equality seem natural and easy. Secondly, the system of education based on English for which again Macaulay was responsible was essentially equalitarian. It embodied in a rationalised form the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity, which the post revolutionary English thinkers had made respectable. Though education in English was confined only to a small percentage of the population, the development of the regional languages, which is one of the governing factors of Indian life during the last one hundred years, was based on the New Learning which had spread all over India through English. It is thus to Macaulay, not a popular name with Indian intelligentsia, that India owes in a large measure, strength of her democratic feeling. The third factor which is equally important is the long experience which India gained in local self-government. This is a fact which is seldom recognised. The reorganisation of local self-government by Lord Ripon in 1882 introduced the principle of elected representation in the cities and districts of India. During the 65 years that lapsed between Lord Ripon's reforms and independence, India had worked a democratic system of local government, which had familiarised the people of the rural areas with the method of government by elected representatives and has established in their minds the principle of obedience to majority decisions. Also, at least from the time of the Minto Morley reforms, 1909, the methods of parliamentary government had been practised with success both at the Centre and in the provinces.

Apart from these changes in ideas and the growth of tradition, there is another factor of the greatest importance which requires to be emphasised. The national movement under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership functioned on a purely democratic basis. The Congress was organised at the taluk, district, provincial and national levels on a broad democratic foundation. Its discussions, decisions and even quarrels were conducted in public. The extraordinary hold that the Mahatma exercised on the nation has led most people to think that the democratic facade of the Congress concealed an autocratic dictatorship. While the nation undoubtedly accepted Gandhiji's leadership it is seldom remembered that he had to fight for it and victory did not lie with him always. To mention only two examples : in 1924, in the teeth of Mahatma's opposition, the late C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru got the Congress to accept the Council entry programme ; again, Subhash Bose was elected a second time to the presidency of the Congress in spite of the Mahatma recommending another candi-

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date. The internal democracy in the Congress was always strong and it laid the foundations of the democratic party government.

Also the discipline the Congress brought into political life is something which is of fundamental importance to the working of Indian democracy. When it is realised that the leadership of the opposition parties including the Communists is drawn from those who were originally trained in the Congress, the significance of the discipline that Gandhiji enforced on the national movement for over a period of 25 years will be appreciated.

In calculating the prospects of democracy in India, there is one other important factor that needs mention. A fundamental feature of Indian life, deep rooted in Hindu society, but emphasised during the last 100 years of uniform legal administration is the veneration for law and the acceptance of the Rule of Law. "Law which never sleeps, which rules us even when we sleep is God," declares the Mahabharata. To what extent the Rule of Law is accepted in India may be seen from the fact that all opposition to the changes, including legislation which involved the abolition of landlordism was resisted only by legal procedure, and never, anywhere by force.

The last factor which has helped to maintain the democratic tradition in India is the existence of a trained bureaucracy highly skilled in the technique of administration. Democracy can succeed only when the policies enunciated by Parliament and embodied in laws are administered uniformly throughout the country. India was fortunate in this matter for not only had she a living tradition of administration, inherited from the time of the Mauryas (4th century B.C.), but a highly efficient machinery developed by the British and taken over by the new Indian government. This Civil Service had already, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms developed parliamentary tradition. In any case the existence of a competent administrative machinery capable of rendering advice on policy, of processing proposals, drafting legislation and of administering the legislation once it was passed by Parliament was an invaluable asset without which government based on democracy could not have established itself in India.

So far we have analysed the forces in favour of democracy in India. To make a just estimate of its prospects one has to examine the dangers it may have to face, and the weaknesses it may develop in course of time. The first obvious weakness of the dem... system in India is the illiteracy of the vast maj... its voters. This is undoubted, but it has to be ... bered that it is a gradually diminishing weakness. the experience of the last seven years has sho... the Indian peasant and agricultural labour, tho... may be illiterate is certainly capable of politica... ment at least on matters which are of immediate ... to him. One significant fact which has generally ... notice in this connection is that in many provin... rural electorate showed a tendency to reject urban ... dates even when they had strong party supp... second weakness which in the opinion of many ... observers is a more serious one is the importa... caste loyalties into electoral fights. Caste gro... are a major factor in Indian rural life and conse... loyalties based on caste affiliations tend to play a ... role in deciding the fate of candidates. This undou... is a serious factor which had led Mr. Nehru ... to attack what he calls casteism in politics. ... again caste loyalties are getting weaker and th... will take a long time before they disappear alto... there is no question that party loyalties ar... cutting across caste, especially after the em... of Communism. The fast developing economic ... of thinking mainly as a result of the Com... Projects which now cover over 100,000 village... which are expected to cover all the villages in I... 1961 is another factor which will help to dissolve ... loyalties in rural India.

The absence of a powerful opposition is ... pointed out as another weakness of Indian dem... This is only partially true. During the last ... years opposition parties have begun to play a ... part in India's parliamentary life. Both the S... and the Communist parties have provided effective ... sition inside and outside Parliament. It is true ... in the Central Parliament their strength is not ... great, but in the State legislatures the opp... parties have been functioning most effectively. E... the Central Parliament their work on select com... and other machinery of democratic administrati... been very valuable. The strange fact in India ... the opposition is mainly from the Left. Such conser... parties as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan ... (peoples' party), etc., found little support a... election.

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Another fear, which is often voiced is that there may be a gradual decline in the quality of civil service, when the present generation of officers trained under British practices gradually disappear. This is no doubt a danger, but is one to which the government is fully alive. The recruitment and training of the civil services are matters to which the government is giving constant attention. It is under continuous examination by experts at various levels and the recent establishment with government encouragement of an Institute of Public Administration and the emphasis which many universities are giving to research in this field show that the government is fully aware of the importance of this problem and is determined to see that the efficiency of the services does not suffer as time goes on.

Lastly, there is the question of a possible development of fascism and totalitarianism. This was a fear which was widely prevalent at the time of India's independence. At that time organisations based on the leadership principle like the R.S.S. loomed large on the national horizon, and the government faced with troubles in Kashmir, the problem of 7 million refugees, and a menacing food shortage seemed inadequate to meet its responsibilities. But not only did the government, following an unwavering course of democratic action, succeed in overcoming these difficulties, but was able to strengthen itself by enacting a constitution and holding general elections under it. The menace of the fascist organisation was never serious after that.

The other danger to the development of Indian democracy is the growth of Communist opinion. Undoubtedly Communism has become an important factor in Indian political life and the danger to democratic institutions from its growth should not be underestimated. But here again it should be remembered that the militancy of Communism has suffered a great deal as a result of the general acceptance of the democratic idea and the smooth working of parliamentary institutions. The destructive strength of Communism in India was at its height when during the first two years of independence the country was faced with economic and political troubles resulting from the partition which was further complicated by a very serious food shortage. In the minds of many people the future of democracy seemed dark at the time and the Communists tried to make the best use of the situation. The Razakar regime in Hyderabad gave them a slogan of national liberation ; a red area was established in Telingana which it was fondly hoped would be the new "Yenan". An attempt was made to bring about strikes and disturbances. But all this adventurism collapsed when the Communists had to face democratic realities. When the constitution was promulgated the Communist party had to choose between parliamentary work and activities outside the constitution. The dilemma was a serious one. If they refused to take advantage of the electoral machinery their influence in the country, would, they knew, suffer an immediate set back. If they opted for parliamentary work, they would have to accept the constitution and work within it and thereby greatly weaken their revolutionary activities. After much heart searching the Indian Communist party decided to contest the elections and enter parliament. Since then it has been functioning as one of the major opposition parties, participating fully in the work of legislation.

This was indeed a notable victory for Indian democracy. While it cannot be said that the danger to the democratic institutions in India from Communist action has been eliminated, or has even become negligible, it cannot certainly be denied that it has become definitely weaker. Also, the internal and external policies of the government have left the communities without an effective platform for national propaganda. In the result the Communist attack on democracy has become increasingly ineffective in India.

One last point may now be considered. It is often said that democracy in India is dependent on the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and that after him in the absence, it is alleged, of outstanding leadership the present tendencies may be reversed. Undoubtedly Nehru's leadership has contributed a great deal to the growth of a genuine broad based democracy in India. It is equally true that no other leader who may succeed him will enjoy the same unique prestige and authority. But the great advantage of democracy is that in normal times, it does not require outstanding leadership. Democracy is essentially a political system of dispersed leadership and not one depending on a unique personality. In times of crisis such unique

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PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

(*By Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, Minister of Agriculture*)

Agriculture is the main occupation of the large majority of the people in India. But no concerted and nation-wide action has been taken till recently for its improvement. As the progress of the country is inseparably linked with the improvement in the living condition of the farmers, there is hardly any necessity to emphasise the need for a planned and progressive devel pment in this direction.

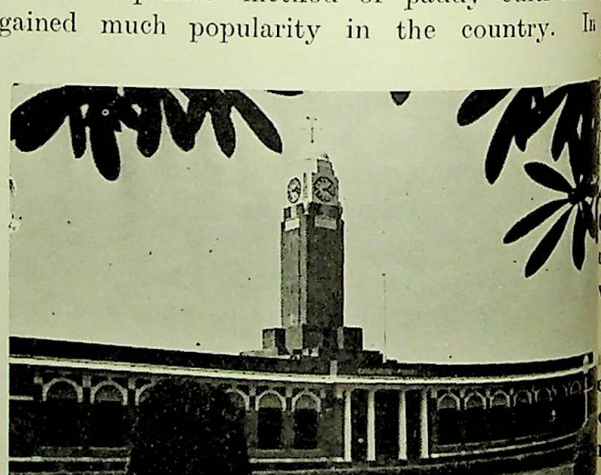
There was no definite Government policy for the improvement of agriculture till the beginning of the present century. The first steps to initiate organized research in agricultural problems were taken in 1905 by the establishment of the Indian (then Imperial) Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa in Bihar, which was subsequently shifted to New Delhi in 1936. It was realised that in the programme of planned development of agriculture, the Central Institute should function as a co-ordinating agency in respect of a network of research organisations spread all over the country. In accordance with this policy separate departments of agriculture were constituted in most of the States. In 1889 a Central Institute of Veterinary Research was established at Poona which was transferred to Mukteswar in Uttar Pradesh in 1893. This Institute was primarily meant to carry out investigations on the animal diseases and animal husbandry.

In 1919 constitutional changes took place. As a result agriculture became a transferred subject under the control of the State Governments. Thus the responsibility of the Centre was limited to the administration of Central Research Institute. In 1929 the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research was constituted with the primary object of promoting, guiding and co-ordinating agricultural research throughout India. This Council now functions as the supreme body to chalk out a programme of planned development in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry research in the co... I am glad to recall that I was associated with the... of the Council in its very early stages.

Even though agricultural research has ... conducted in the country for many years pa... received an impetus only during recent years. ... shortage was the most serious problem facin... country as the production was not sufficient to ... the requirements. As a result of research leadi... the adoption of better strains and improved me... of cultivation during recent years, this proble... been satisfactorily solved and there is now a ... surplus particularly in rice.

Rice is an important cereal crop of the co... It occupies an area of about 73 million acres p... cing about 22 million tons of rice annually. ... crop is now receiving great deal of attention ... research workers. Improved varieties of rice, ... tant to drought, flood and insect pests, and suit... geographical and seasonal conditions have been ... ved. These improvements and the adoption of ... Japanese method of paddy cultivation have re... in higher yields of this crop which were hardly ... dreamt of. High yielding foreign varieties of ... are also being now introduced in the country. A... these, the Chinese varieties have proved very succe... in Kashmir and Assam.

The Japanese method of paddy cultivation ... gained much popularity in the country. In ...



Pusa Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi

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method great care is exercised in the selection of seed, in raising the seedlings and in their transplantation in the field and in the application of adequate quantities of manures and fertilisers to the crop. Adoption of these practices, together with interculturing of paddy fields at suitable intervals, have resulted in high yields of paddy. Over four lakh acres of paddy were brought wholly under this method of cultivation in 1953-54. The increase in yield was about 16 maunds per acre, while the total additional production was in the neighbourhood of two lakh tons. Saving of seed done could not be less than three lakh maunds. Increased production by partial practice of the method would not be less than seven and a half lakh tons. In 1954-55 we covered 13·2 lakh acres giving us an additional production of over 6·5 lakh tons. Partial adoption added another twelve lakh tons at least. I make bold to say that but for the Japanese method and reduction of acreage under paddy of the order of three million acres we should have been back to the old days in respect of the national food situation. Figures given in this para are most conservative and the absolute minimum. They are in terms of paddy and *not rice*.

Another important foodgrain crop, which is the staple food of a large section of the people is wheat. The area covered by this crop is about 24 million acres. Unfortunately wheat suffers from a disease known as rust. It is a serious disease which reduces yield and affects the quality of the grain. Rusts are of three kinds and these are divided further into many races on the basis of their ability to attack different varieties of wheat. This has complicated the problem of evolving rust-resistant varieties of wheat. However, due to the intensive work of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in co-operation with the State Governments, a variety of wheat known as N. P. 809 resistant to all the three rusts has been evolved. This wheat has fared well particularly in the hills.

The Bombay State has done valuable work in evolving rust-resistant wheat varieties. A strain called *kenphad* has been evolved by crossing a rust-resistant Kenya wheat with *Niphad*-4. This variety was found to be resistant to all varieties of black rust prevalent in the peninsular India. Madhya Pradesh has also done valuable work in this field. Some of the promising varietise produced in the Punjab are C. 217, C. 250, C. 281 and C. 253. *Kanpur*-13 a variety evolved by the U. P. Agricultural Department is popular in the State.

Millet is the main food crop in the areas where the rainfall is low and uncertain. This crop occupies about 80 million acres and the annual production is about 12 million tons. Considerable research work has been done in producing improved varieties of millet and in evolving better methods of cultivation. Improved methods of dry farming have been evolved after years of research and these have been put to practice in some of the dry areas. The Bombay State has also evolved an improved method of dry farming system which enables the cultivators to grow crops even when the rainfall is scanty and variable. Both the *Kharif* and *Rabi* cereals also came under the influence of the Japanese method propaganda with the result that different methods like the *dibbling* methods are being practised on an increasing scale by wheat, jowar and other growers. The result is that these foodgrains have also recorded an unprecedented increase not only in some cases but in country-wide average yields.

An important problem of crop production has confronted the research workers. This is the wide difference in the yield of crops on the Government farms and the average grower. In fact, there is equally great disparity between a few growers and the rest. The main reason is the indifference and inability of cultivators to manuring of crops and the adoption of better farming methods as recommended by the Agricultural departments. A good deal of work has recently been done in this direction and the cultivators have now begun to appreciate the advantages of applying fertilizers to crops. Large-scale demonstrations have been conducted in the last two years for popularising the use of new fertilizers such as urea and ammonium sulphate nitrate. In 1954, 60,000 demonstrations were carried out in the cultivators, fields in the *Kharif* season and about 1,60,000 tons of different fertilizers were distributed during the season. As these fertilisers are becoming popular with the cultivators, the Government is thinking of establishing more factories for increasing their production.

Several varieties of new potatoes have been evolved; these have been tried out in different parts

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of the country. A well-known disease-free commercial variety, *up-to-date*, locally known as *Numbri* has been produced and arrangements for its multiplication in the hills are under-way. Potatoes grown in the hills are the main source of supply of seed potatoes for the cold season crops in the plains.

The majority of the Indian people are vegetarians and, therefore, their food is deficient in proteins. This deficiency is being met by the use of large quantities of pulses which are rich in proteins. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has been financing research schemes for the improvement of pulse crops. Improved varieties of *urd*, *arhar*, *mung* and *gram* have been evolved and are now under cultivation in different parts of the country. In Uttar Pradesh, *mung* type-1 has figured prominently as a short-duration legume crop to replace monsoon fallows, and to serve as a dual purpose crop for green manuring and grain production.

Several varieties of fruits are grown in different parts of the country. The total area under fruits is about 32 lakh acres ; this is about 1·5 per cent of the total cropped area. The total annual production is about 60 lakh tons per year. Four ounce of fruits are required per head per day according to nutritional standards. To meet the demands of the adult-population forming 80 per cent of the total population of 36 crores, the quantty of fruits needed is 120 lakh tons. This means that the area under fruits has to be doubled to meet the requirements. Horticulture has received special consideration in the next Five Year Plan.

In collaboration with the States, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have been financing research on fruits. Appreciable progress has been made in this direction. It has recently been decided to set up six regional stations in different parts of the country for research on mango, citrus, guava, pineapple, grape and apple. In order to extend the area under fruit cultivation, the Government is advancing long term loans to cultivators for planting new orchards. It is also proposed to assist the growers in increasing the yields by adequate manuring and the adoption of suitable cultural practices.

Sugarcane is an important cash crop of the cultivators in certain States Research on this crop is conducted at the Sugarcane Breeding Institute Coimbatore which was established in 1912. High y ing and disease-resistant varieties of sugarcane been evolved at this station and these have sp to all the sugarcane areas in the country. Some well-known varieties evolved are Co. 312, Co. 31 412 and Co. 453 ; these are suitable for cultivati sub-tropical climatic conditions. Co. 419 has be very popular in the tropical areas of the cou Among the recent varieties, Co. 630, Co. 644 an 686 may be mentioned as combining early mat with high tonnage. Some time last year we ca out an intensive campaign for top dressing o sugarcane crop on a limited acreage in U.P., Bihar Punjab. But this appeal and propagation was ponded to by other sugarcane growers all over country with the result that not only we produced highest quantity of sugar ever produced in India the average yield per acre has gone up by over two per acre in the whole country. This is another inst of how right kind of commonsense propaganda rich dividends. We have also several schemes making available better irrigation. If what was in 1954-55 is followed in the current year, as it app to have been, there should be no need for us to lo any imports for meeting our vastly increased nee consumption.

Cotton is the major cash crop in the cou With the partition of the country in 1947, large tract cotton growing areas were transferred to Paki It became imperative to increase the area under c to meet the growing demand of the textile indu The Central Government with the co-operation o State Governments decided to encourage larger pro tion of cotton since 1950-51 season. It is gratif that the production has increased from 29 lakh in 1949-50 to over 42 lakh bales in 1954-55, the t fixed under the First Five Year Plan. Here also has been an improvement in average yields also. of this additional production of cotton is aga better quality. It is hoped that with the inaugur of the Bhakra Nangal canal system, the country be able to produce extra long staple cotton of inch staple which is at present imported from Africa and the U.S.A. It may be appropria mention in this connection that two new varieti cotton have been responsible for increasing the under American cotton in the Punjab to about

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times of what it was in 1947. The two varieties are 216F. and 320F. The first one is recommended for growing in the southern districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Karnal. The other variety has proved more useful for growing in Amritsar, Jullundar, Ludhiana and Ferozepur. The variety 320 F. is early maturing and is resistant to jassids; one of its special characteristics is that it does very well in the humid sub-mountain area where cotton growing was not possible before. It is also superior in yield to 216 F. The adoption of these two varieties by the farmers in which they have been found suitable have greatly improved their economic status.

Jute is another commercial crop cultivated in the country. Research work is in progress for evolving improved strains of jute. Agronomic work done on this crop has shown that jute sown in lines, with a spacing of 12 inches between rows and 1 to 3 inches between plants in the row, has given better yields than the broadcast sown crop.

Research work is also under progress in several other crops. On the basis of the recommendations of the Spices Enquiry Committee, the Government has provided adequate funds for intensifying research and development work for improving pepper and cashewnut which are dollar earning crops. Research work has also been undertaken on crops like oilseeds, tobacoo, cocoanut and arecanut.

Animal husbandry has received equal attention from the Indian Council of Agricultural Research since its inception. As the cattle play a vital role in the agricultural economy of the country, a "Key Village Scheme" has been launched for the improvement of livestock in the country. A key village is a group of contiguous village in a selected area having a population of nearly 500 cows and she-buffaloes fit for breeding and milk production. Superior pedigree bulls produced on Government farms are multiplied in these selected areas and undesirable males are removed by castration or otherwise. Adequate provision is made for feeding, disease control and proper marketing of the produce in addition to the breeding programme. To overcome the shortage of high class bulls and to accelerate the pace of progress, artificial insemination is resorted to. The target of First Five Year Plan is to establish 600 Key villages covering a population of three lakh cows fit for breeding. One artificial insemination centre is attached to a unit composed of four key villages.

Rinderpest is one of the major scourages affecting cattle in this country. The mortality from this disease alone is in the neighbourhood of 60 per cent. Any programme of breeding cattle or bringing about improvement by balanced feeding is offset by the toll taken by this deadly disease. There is an annual loss of 4 lakhs of cattle on account of this disease alone and the loss to the nation is calculated to be to the tune of 30 crores of rupees. Therefore a national campaign has been planned to eradicate this disease. A pilot project has been in operation for some time now covering the States in the southern Peninsula upto the river Krishna. The States covered under this pilot scheme are parts of each of the States of Andhra, Mysore, Coorg, Bombay and Hyderabad. All along the northern boundary of Madras quarantine stations have been established. Because of the eradication campaigns conducted in the past, Madras and Travancore-Cochin are at present free from this disease. Under the pilot project a target of vaccinating and branding 12 million cattle and buffaloes was proposed. The campaign was initiated in October, 1954 and upto the present time one-fourth of the number of cattle stipulated have been branded and vaccinated. The campaign will be gradually extended so as to cover the entire country resulting in the total eradication of the dreaded disease.

Sheep rearing is an important occupation of the rural population in many areas. Wool produced from sheep in this country is generally coarse and of an inferior quality. Large quantities of it are exported to Britain and the United States for the manufacture of carpets. There are 38 million sheep, producing approximately 52 million pounds of wool per annum. Import of fine wool into the country amounts to 15·75 million pounds. With the object of improving the wool quality of the indigenous sheep by selective breeding, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research sanctioned pilot experimental projects as early as 1938. The results have shown that it is possible to reduce the hair content of the fleeces appreciably and to evolve an all wool yielding sheep by selective breeding. In areas of higher elevation with cooler climatic conditions cross-breeding with the imported Merino rams has been undertaken. Experimental breeding in hilly areas has shown that both the quality and quantity of wool per sheep can be improved. The wool produced

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by cross-bred sheep was valued at five times the price of indigenous wool.

Goat plays an important part in the economy of the poor man and is the principal source of meat supply in the country. There are 47 million goats in India forming one-fourth of the total population of the world. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has formulated a scheme for breeding goats with fine hair and for evolving strains with high milk yield. In Uttar Pradesh and Bombay States experimental breeding of goats for the production of mohair has been undertaken. Cross-breeding of local goats with the imported Angora breed has shown that it is possible to raise animals far superior to the imported type. While the yield of hair from goats in the hilly areas is half to one pound per year, the clip from Angora is from 4 to 5 pound a year. Side by side with this, attent also being paid for improving the goats for mea milk production. Selective breeding in the Jam breed in Uttar Pradesh has been undertaken to a high milk yielding type. There are goats yi six to eight pounds of milk per day, the record 12 pounds a day.

Improvement of poultry in the country received the earnest attention of the Indian C of Agricultural Research. The bulk of the popul of 69 million poultry birds in India consists of or mongrel indigenous fowl whose average annual production is 52 per bird as compared to an a average egg production of 130 per bird in many o foreign breeds. An improved strain has been ev by selective breeding whose average annual egg



INDIAN AGRICULTURE : Prime Minister Nehru accepted a gift of this modern tractor as a token of his interest in the small farmer of India.

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duction is about 150 while individual hens have laid upto 234 eggs. The quickest method of improving the Indian poultry is to grade up the local fowls by cocks of foreign breeds, such as White Leghorn and Rhode Island Red.

Ranikhet, the main disease affecting the fowls has been brought under control by the discovery of a cheap and sage vaccine. This vaccine protects the bird from the disease and promotes their normal growth and reproduction. Efforts are being made to evolve a more satisfactory vaccine against fowl cholera. Fowl pox, another disease affecting the poultry in India, has been controlled to a great extent by the discovery of suitable vaccine.

India is a vast country with various types of soil and climatic conditions. Farming practices, therefore, differ in detail in different regions. Each region has many local problems connected with agriculture and animal husbandry. It is not possible within the limits of a brief article to deal with or even catalogue these problems. On the other hand, an attempt has been made in this essay to highlight the important features of agricultural research and development in the country. A broad survey has been made of certain all-India problems in order to convey an idea as to how far they have been successfully tackled.



A research worker at Pusa Agricultural Research Institute.

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HE KEEPS THE FLAME OF GANDHISM BURNING

VINOBA BHAVE GENTLE REVOLUTIONARY

(*By Krishan Lal Shridharani*)

The central problem of India that is about to enter the Second Five-Year Plan period is that of popular participation in schemes and projects evolved at the top and at governmental level. In totalitarian countries, such participation is generated by compulsion. In capitalist countries, such as the United States of America, profit motive is the self-propelling force. The only middle-road exceptions are offered by such countries as Sweden and Denmark and there the people have a highly developed "secular religion of social consciousness."

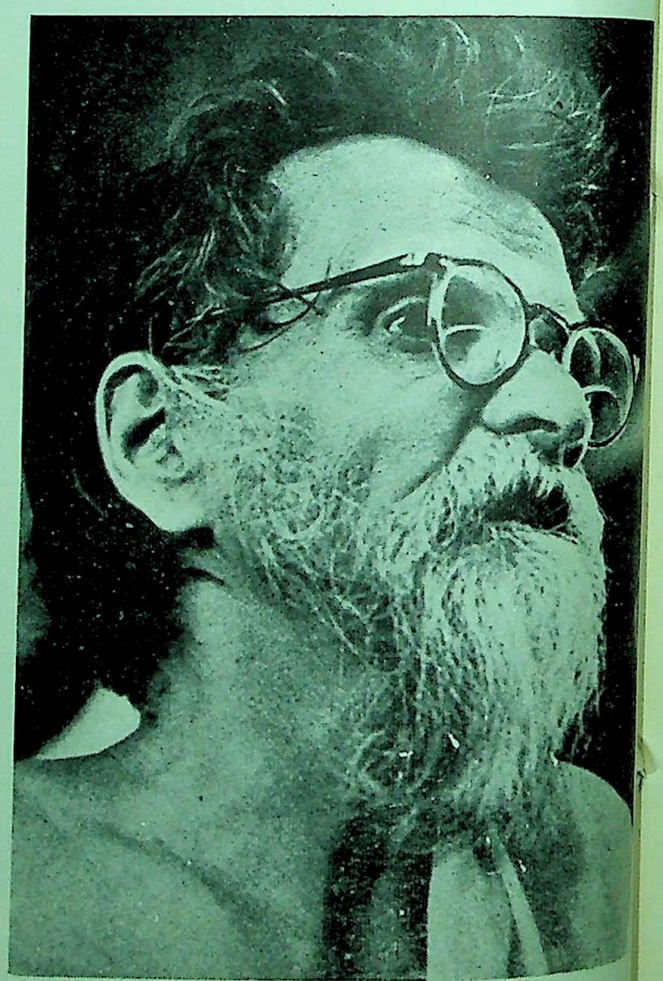
In present-day India, these forces are not to the front, and yet we must march ahead. The force of nationalism which culminated in independence still serves as an inspiration to some extent. Our Central Government is directed by persons who have the overtones of national heroes and their administrative efforts, therefore, are capable of generating mass enthusiasm on and off.

But this is not enough. Something more is needed to galvanize the people. From the time of the Buddha to that of Mahatma Gandhi nothing has moved the Indian multitudes as much as the renunciation of power and the method of personal example. During struggle of freedom common people and villagers had a sense of identification with their leaders, because both of them were going through the same privations and sufferings. It was inevitable that after independence this psychological rapport should crack a bit, as some of us had to occupy positions of responsibility and most of us remained the same.

Fortunately for us, Vinobaji is in our midst to supplement the administrative efforts to enthuse masses by the time-honoured and typically Indian method of personal example. The greatest contribution of Vinobaji, therefore, is to keep the life of post-Gandhiji India on the dynamic level of a social and national movement. That is the reason why the Congress party supports Vinobaji's efforts although he is not a orthodox Congressman. That is why our State administrations and Central Government appreciate Vinobaj work even though at times he is their sharpest critic

India's, as of Asia's, main economic problem is th of land reforms. Legislation can do a lot, and ma States have made progress in this direction. But personal sense of social justice can go even further, a it is here that Vinobaji is concentrating. He is n content with the proper behaviour of people und law; he wants moral behaviour under the dictates the inner law. It is his ambition to collect 50 milli acres of land as free gifts by 1957. That is the exte of land required, Vinobaji thinks, to give stakes to t landless in their country and in their democracy.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who acts and looks like reincarnation of Mahatma Gandhi if a beard is adde



Shri Vinobaja

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has the "third way" of solving the problem of inequities —the other two being the American and the Russian. The Gandhian analogy is complete save for the third, political dimension, that the Mahatma had. By extending Bhoodan to Shramdan, Buddhidan and Jivandan, perhaps he is imparting the third dimension to his movement.

Vinoba was born in a learned Brahmin family of Maharashtra on September 11, 1895. His original name is Vinayak, but once Mahatma Gandhi called him Vinoba, and the short title has struck him. His father, a Konkani Brahmin, a head clerk in the service of Baroda State, was interested in dyeing and printing, the subjects on which he collected a good-sized library. Eldest of the three sons, Vinoba was expected by his father to become a dyer and printer, but the young man had other ideas.

The boy had sharp memory and ability to concentrate on subjects dear to his heart. His parents had inculcated in him a keen sense of discipline. At the age of 10, he decided upon life-long celibacy to serve India. The attraction for "Balbrahmacharya", or life-long virginity is great in our country. Mahatma Gandhi placed tremendous emphasis upon celibacy. One of the reasons why the Mahatmaji singled out Vinoba as the man to inherit his spiritual toga was Vinoba's celebrated celibacy. A story goes that when Gandhiji started his "Individual Civil Disobedience Movement" in 1940, he selected Vinoba to inaugurate his campaign simply because the First Disciple was the chastest man that he knew.

When he was 20 and was attending the Baroda College he did another peculiarly Indian thing—to leave home and to renounce the world in the cause of self-realisation. The tradition is to run away to the Himalaya to meditate in a cave, but Vinoba chose instead cities where he could quench his thirst for scriptural learning. This was in 1915, during the first World War, and Vinoba wrote to his parents before leaving : "I will never be immoral, no matter where I go or what I do". When later his parents did not hear from him for a long while and could not trace him, they reported him as missing to the Police. Actually, Vinoba had proceeded to Bengal to participate in the revolutionary movement there. The worship of violence that the Bengal bomb-throwers preached, jarred on his sensitive nature, and he went to Banaras instead to study Sanskrit.

It was in Banaras, in February 1916, that Vinoba saw Mahatma Gandhi for the first time. He heard a speech delivered by the Mahatma, and became fascinated. He started correspondence with the Mahatma, especially on personal problems. That was meat for the Mahatma, who was at that time gathering around himself a band of self-realisers to populate his "ashram" at Sabarmati; Vinoba was promptly invited to join the "ashram". When Gandhiji found that Vinoba had not communicated with his family for years, he himself wrote to his ward's father : "Your Vinoba is with me. His spiritual attainments are such that I myself obtained after a long struggle."

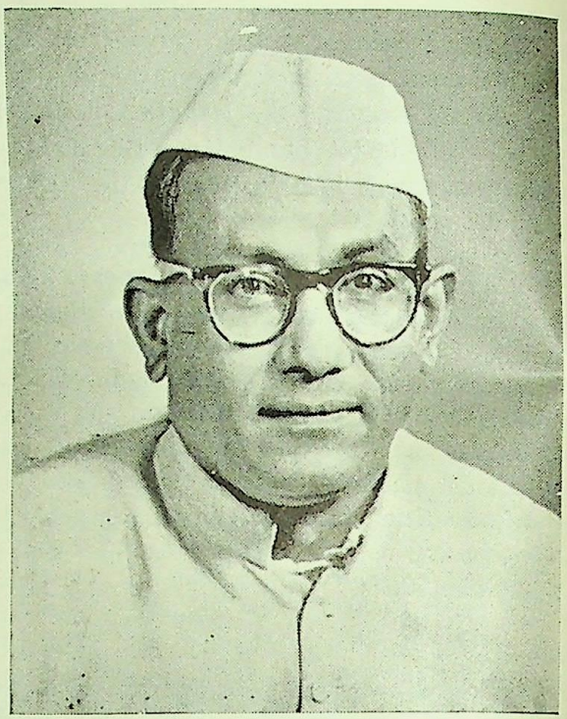
Vinobaji has grown immeasurably in spiritual stature since then. Today he is the inspiring reminder to the nation of the mendicant Buddha and marching Gandhi.

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INDIA WINS BATTLE ON THE FOOD FRONT

(*By Ajit Prasad Jain, Minister of Food*)



The food problem in free India has been largely a legacy of the war and the partition. India was a net importer of foodgrains, but there was a certain sense of security regarding the country's food supply because of the continued availability of rice from Burma. This sense of security was not shaken even after the start of war in September, 1939. The sea ways were open and everyone was lulled into the belief that whenever any shortage developed, abundant supplies could always be rushed in from Burma. The Government of India made no plans for the food supply for the civilian population.

When, therefore, the entry of Japan into war in December, 1941 brought with it a series of consequences which completely changed the character of the food problem of the country, the administration found itself completely unprepared to meet the crisis. The supply of rice from Burma to India was cut off; fear of invasion in the Eastern parts of India led to wide-spread hoarding of stocks and consequently to a steep rise in prices. The free flow of commodities from producing to consuming areas was rendered difficult by heavy pressure of essential war demands on the transport system; considerations of military strategy led to removal of stocks from certain vulnerable areas lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy and this "denial policy" increased the panic in the public mind; a severe cyclone occurred in the important rice producing areas in Bengal in October, 1942 which caused heavy damage to the crops. It was followed by terrible famine in that State which took a heavy toll of at least 1½ million lives. The shock caused by this famine roused the Government of the day from its apparent inaction and convinced it of the pressing need for immediate action on a national scale to deal with the food problem. Accordingly the Government gave up the policy of *Laissez faire* and embarked on a policy of direct physical controls involving large-scale procurement, imports of foodgrains on Government account, rationing and price control, in short, comprehensive regulation of supply and prices in the larger interest of the country. "Fair shares for all" came to be adopted as the guiding principle of the country's food policy in 1943. This policy helped in the restoration of the public confidence which had been badly shaken after the Bengal famine and it enabled the Government to ensure fair prices and equitable distribution of available supply.

The years 1945-46 and 1946-47, however, again witnessed a setback in the food position due to severe damage to crops, and although the war came to an end in 1945, it did not mean the end of the strain on the country's food economy. The Government of the day had to procure 5·3 million tons and import 2·2 million tons of foodgrains so as to supply rations to no less than 150 million people in 1946. Besides, owing to a global shortage of foodgrains, prices of imported foodgrains became costlier than the indigenous foodgrains in India and the Government had to subsidise imported foodgrains so as to avoid hardship to the consumer.

The situation was already bad enough but the partition of the country in 1947 made it worse. The surplus areas of West Punjab and Sind which used to supply between them about 10 to 12 lakh tons of food-

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grains every year to the deficit areas no wlying in the Indian Union, went over to Pakistan. There were some exports, of course, from the territories now in the Indian Union to those in Pakistan. The net result, however, of the partition was that India lost a supply of about 7 to 8 lakh tons of foodgrains. The full effect of partition on food production will be clear from the fact that while the Indian Union received 82% of the total population of undivided India, it got 75% of the total cereals production, 65% of the total wheat production and 68% of the total rice production. 31% of the total irrigated areas went to the share of Pakistan.

This was the dismal position which faced the country when it attained Independence. There was an increased pressure of population on the smaller domestic supply; imports of foodgrains became costlier and more difficult to obtain. The population under rationing began to show a sharp increase and there was a widening gap between the diminishing food supply and the mounting demand from Government stocks. It was at this time that a school of thought had grown which believed that the evils attending controls could be mitigated only by ending controls. Accordingly, towards the end of November, 1947 the Government decided to give a trial to the policy of progressive decontrol of foodgrains.

It was hoped that the revival of free trade in the derationed areas would bring out hidden stocks, prevent an undue rise in market prices and lead to a reduction in food imports. These expectations, however, did not materialise. Adverse weather conditions particularly the failure of the North eastern Monsoon in Madras resulted in a short-fall in production. The situation was further complicated by the latent inflationary pressure which added strength to the rising spiral of prices. The policy of progressive decontrol did not prove a success and in September, 1948, controls were reimposed as a part of the over-all policy of avoiding inflation.

Hardly had the situation tended to ease after the reimposition of controls, when a combination of circumstances caused a further worsening of the food problem. The out-break of the Korean War in June, 1950 led to a boom in the commodity markets and generated a new inflationary pressure. The position was aggravated by a succession of natural calamities beginning with severe floods in north Bihar. This resulted in a worsening of the crop prospects, a sharp rise in prices and a tendency towards hoarding and profiteering. Even with the increased imports, the demand on Government stocks outstripped the supply in certain parts of the country. In Biharin particular there was a threat of famine. In the beginning of 1951, the Government of India had to approach the Government of U.S.A. for an *ad hoc* assistance of 2 million tons of wheat to meet the internal food shortage. The general price level registered a continued rise during the time and reached an all-time peak by April, 1951. With the signing of the Truce in Korea, there was a slackening of the stock-piling and re-armament programme in the world and a consequent abatement of the commodity boom. Inflation, however, continued to be a major problem and various fiscal measures including restriction of credit has to be adopted as a part of anti-inflationary move.

The middle of 1952 marked a turning point in the food policy of the country. With the weakening of inflationary pressure, improvement in internal production and easing of prices, there was a progressive elimination of the irksome features of controls. By the middle of 1954, there was virtually no control on foodgrains. The marked improvement in production made it possible for the Government to reduce the country's dependence on imports of foodgrains and to bring it nearer self-sufficiency than ever. In 1951 India imported 4·7 million tons of cereals. In 1953, the imports went down to 2 million tons. During 1954 the imports came to only 0·8 million tons. In 1955 we have so far imported 0·7 million tons. Whatever is being imported is intended not so much to meet the country's requirements for internal consumption as to build up an adequate reserve. This reserve is intended to act as a safeguard against any violent fluctuations in the market or damage to crops. As a matter of fact, the supply position after the 1954 harvest improved to such an extent that it threatened to outstrip demand, and the country was faced with the problem of surpluses, as was clearly indicated by the sharp and abrupt fall in the prices of foodgrains which was out of step with the fall in the prices of cash crops. To safeguard the interest of the grower, the Government launched a programme of limited price support operations in respect of coarse grains, rice, wheat and gram and allowed the exports of rice, jowar and maize. As a result of these measures, the fall in prices has been arrested.

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India, thus, witnessed a series of crisis on the food front till the middle of 1952 when the situation took a favourable turn and gave promise for continued improvement in future. So long as there was an acute shortage of foodgrains in the country, the system of food controls, despite its obvious limitations stood the country in good stead and saved it from many a calamity. It was, however, realised that controls were only temporary expedients, mere "anodynes" which could only soothe but not heal the malady. Accordingly as early as 1942, along with the launching of the policy of food controls, the Government embarked upon the Grow More Food Campaign in order to step up the production of foodgrains and to lead the country towards the goal of self-sufficiency. Unfortunately the progress of the Grow More Food Campaign was rather slow initially as it lacked the public enthusiasm which could be inspired only after the attainment of independence. The Grow More Food Campaign really started yielding good results after it was merged with free India's First Five-Year Plan in 1950-51. The First Five-Year Plan set a target of additional production of 7·6 million tons of foodgrains over the production of 54 million tons in 1949-50, adopted as the base year, so as to attain a total production of 61·6 million tons of foodgrains at the end of 1955-56. This additional target of production was sought to be achieved through extensive and also intensive cultivation measures as detailed below :—

Target of additional production of foodgrains under the First Five-Year Plan

	(Million tons)
(1) Land reclamation	1·51
(2) Major irrigation works	2·01
(3) Minor Irrigation works	2·38
(4) Fertilizers and manures	1·15
(5) Improved seeds	0·56
Total	7·61

Besides the above, National Extension Service was launched *inter alia* for the introduction of improved agricultural techniques by the farmer, though no quantitative addition to the target was made on account of the programme. Total provision made in the Plan for achieving the target of additional production including Tube-well and Central Tractor Organisation, but excluding the expenditure on major Irrigation Works and Short-terms loans amounted to Rs. 164 crores. Beside this, a provision of Rs. 90 crores was made for Comm nity Projects and National Extension Blocks.

The second year of the Five-Year Plan name 1952-53 was very favourable for the cultivation of foo grains and the production during that year exceeded th output of 1951-52 by 7 million tons and of 1949-50, th base year of the plan, by 4·1 million tons. In 1953-5 the production of foodgrains was 14·3 million tons high than that in the base year and 6·8 million tons in exc of the target set for the achievement at the end 1955-56. This progress could not be maintained 1954-55 due to heavy floods which damaged the ri crop in the north-eastern parts of the country but eve then the 1954-55 production of foodgrains was 4·2 millio tons higher than the 1955-56 plan target. The tabl below shows the trend of production of foodgrains in th last few years.

(Million tons)

Year	Total cereals	Pulses	Total Food grains.
Base Year	46·02	8·03	54·05
1951-52	42·88	8·29	51·18
1952-53	49·22	9·04	58·27
1953-54(Partially revised)	57·92	10·46	68·38
1954-55(Final Estimate)	55·33	10·47	65·80
1955-56(Plan target)	52·5	9·1	61·6

For 1955-56 it is yet too early to forecast the pro duction but it is expected that the actual productio during that year will be substantially in excess of th plan target for that year.

The striking increase in production was n doubt due to favourable weather conditions but th credit primarily goes to the farmer and the achieve ments made under the intensive cultivation measure including the Japanese method of paddy cultivation.

For the Second Five-Year Plan the food require ments are being determined with reference to two mai factors namely, the increase in population anticipate and improvement in the nutritional standards. Ou present diet already provides adequate intake of cereal but it shows a lamentable dearth of protective food Our objective in the Second Five-Year Plan is to increas

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the per adult availability of food from 2,100 calories per day as at present to 2,600 per day by the end of 1956-61 period. We hope that during the next plan period, it will be possible for us to step up the production of food-grains by 10 million tons *i.e.*, by 15% over 1955-56. Similarly we hope to increase substantially the production of protective and supplementary foods like milk, fruits, fisheries, meat and eggs. There are also special programmes for developing livestock and fisheries.

The aim of the First Plan was primarily to reconstruct the economy which suffered from war and partition ; that of the Second Five-Year Plan was to raise the standard of living by ensuring a higher and better consumption of food. We can look forward with some degree of confidence to the future. But the time for complacence has not yet arrived. Much work still lies ahead of us and it is only when the various schemes envisaged under the Five-Year Plan have been successfully completed that the food problem of the country may be said to have been satisfactorily solved.

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leadership is necessary everywhere. It may indeed be argued that what is required for the success of democratic institutions is a fairly widespread gift of leadership and not the exceptional authority of a single individual. The real question in India is whether the last eight years have thrown up men in the government of the constituent states who can work the democratic institutions with normal efficiency. Any impartial observer would, I believe, answer that question in the affirmative.

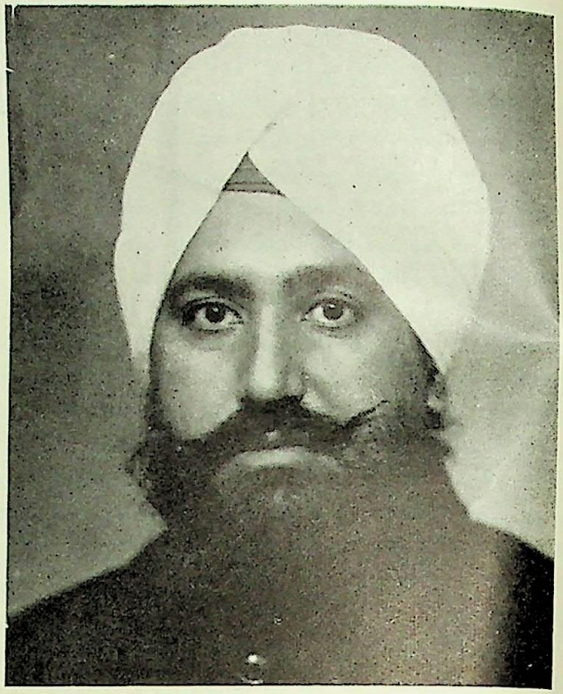
It will be seen from the above analysis that democracy in India rests on deep rooted traditions, based partly on what Britain during a period of a century had imported and acclimatised in India and partly on what is genuine to the soil or developed by Indian leadership. It has shown undoubted vitality, for while maintaining and enlarging the civil liberties on which alone a true democracy can be built up, it has been able to tackle the most difficult and complicated problems of administration and government and steadily work for the social, economic and political reorganisation of India. It is acknowledged that the Indian press is among the free-est in the world ; that there is complete freedom of expression, that trade unions and other associations function without any interference, and further that at all levels, in the area of local government, in provincial legislatures, etc., the electoral machinery is continually functioning. Rationally speaking the prospects of democracy in India seem, therefore, to be bright. Its weaknesses, the largely illiterate electorate, the persisting caste loyalties, etc., are there for every one to see, but as against them there is the growing sense of national solidarity, the fast changing economic conditions creating a greater integration between different areas and the prospect of greater achievements in all spheres of national life, which the democratic institutions have opened to the people. These are factors which undoubtedly go to strengthen the democratic ideals of India.

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THE ENGLISHMAN WHO FOUNDED THE CONGRESS

(*By S. Harcharan Singh, Minister of Revenue*)



It is a remarkable fact of history that India's national party, which became an instrument of political redemption and revolution and which finally achieved independence for the people, should have been founded by one of the ruling races. Yet it is nothing strange considering that there always were some Englishmen willing to take up the cause of India. Few, of course, occupy a more honoured place in the hearts of Indians than Allan Octavian Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress.

With his love of India Allan Hume combined political foresight and organizing ability. He had a reformist's zeal and courage and, as a civilian in India, he frequently came into clash with Authority for his bold and enlightened views. Although administration and politics were his chief occupations, he maintained a studious contact with science and knowledge—a fact not so generally known. He made a special study of ornithology, agriculture and botany. He was in his day the greatest authority in the world on Indian birds and agriculture. His ornithological pursuits will alone fill a busy lifetime of research and exploration. His private ornithological museum at Simla, which contained sixty-three thousand birdskins and nineteen thousand eggs, was the largest in the world for Asian birds.

From this variegated mass of activity emerges the personality of Hume, dynamic, energetic and essentially human, with a trace of that lovable eccentricity characteristic sometimes of genius. On the course of events in India it has left an imperishable mark. A prophet's vision Hume had a long time ago and what he worked for assiduously bore rich fruit and fulfilment.

Born in 1829, Hume joined the Bengal Civil Service at the age of 20 and came out to India. He had to pass through a rigorous course of training, working at first as a Moharrir or clerk in a Police Station and then as a Naib Darogha. He also had charge of a small Police Station as Thanedar or sub-inspector. His first major appointment was at Etawah as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector. Here he displayed his undoubted gift of organization, his wide sympathies and independence of character. Breaking away from a civilian's ordinary routine, he sponsored plans for the welfare of the people and obtained for them official sanction and also the support of the more well-to-do sections of the community. A favourite idea was the opening of free schools in the district for which purpose he collected funds from the landed gentry. A start was made with 32 schools, the number soon rising to 181.

Hume got rapid promotion and became secretary of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce. But his removal from the Secretariat in 187- and transfer to the Revenue Board at Allahabad came as a shock to him. He was given no explanation for his removal, although it was obvious that his enlightened policy and independent manner had not found favour with his superiors. His departure from Simla interfered with his ornithological studies and preparation of his monumental work on the "Game Birds of India". He, however, persisted with his journal *Stray Feathers* which he used to publish from Calcutta. Hume finally retired from service in 1882.

Within three years of his retirement, Hume had founded India's first political party with an all-Indi-

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outlook, the Indian National Congress. The vision had been taking shape in his mind since the last days of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. Now that he was free from his official duties, he could pursue his object without any hinderance. The ground had already been prepared by the national impulse engendered by the preachings of such kindled spirits as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who died at Bristol in 1833; Ramakrishna and Vivekanand, the great spiritual teachers of the age and Baba Ram Singh, leader of the Namdhari Sikhs in the Punjab.

In the midst of this growing political awareness arose the personality of Allan Hume with its high idealism and driving energy. Historians have discussed whether the idea of forming the National Congress originated with Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji or Lord Dufferin, who, it is stated, advised Hume in a private conversation not to start his work in England as he had proposed to do, but to make a beginning in India with a countrywide organization. It is, in any case, apparent that Hume was the principal protagonist of the idea and that it was his passion and industry that gave it tangible form. His first step towards the realization of his plan was his celebrated letter of March 1, 1883, addressed to the graduates of Calcutta University. He called upon the educated youth to come forward and work for the nation. All he wanted was "fifty men, good and true," to join hands in the formation of a national parliament, for, as he put it, "they would be free, *themselves* must strike the blow". The letter is a brilliant piece of composition, both reasonable and emotional in its appeal.

The Indian National Union—the name "Congress" was adopted only a few days before the Bombay meeting—was at last formed and a circular was issued by Hume on its behalf in March, 1885, inviting "leading politicians well-acquainted with the English languages" to attend a conference at Poona from December 25 to 31, 1885. Local committees were organized in the main Indian cities such as Lahore, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Surat, Bombay, Madras and Lucknow. Hume, as General Secretary of the Union, made a trip to England to educate British Public opinion on Indian affairs and enlist support for his venture. There he met Sir James Caird, John Bright, Lord Ripon and other friends. He also established links with the British Press to secure wider publicity for the Indian view.

Hume arrived in India in time for the conference. A few days before the Congress was to be held, several cases of cholera were reported in Poona and the venue of the meeting had to be shifted to Bombay. In spite of the short notice, the Bombay Presidency Association made very good arrangements for the reception of the delegates. At the meeting, Hume proposed, and K.T. Telang seconded, the name of W.C. Bonnerji of Calcutta for Presidentship of the Congress. The proposal met with general approval and Bonnerji was elected to the office. Hume was the guiding spirit of the four-day proceedings.

Satisfied with this initial success, Hume fell to work with his customary zeal and energy. His task was twofold : the people in general had to be acquainted with the objects of the new all-India movement and brought into touch with it and criticism emanating from official as well as private sources had to be answered. A common charge was that he was letting loose forces that he would not be able to control. His replies were always marked by sincerity of purposes and vehemence of tone. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* said that Russian gold was being circulated among the leaders of the Congress. Hume came out with a strong defence. He wrote out tracts and leaflets and lectured to the people inviting them to join the Congress and to contribute towards its funds.

He had always laid much store by propaganda in England, for he believed that the representation of the interests of India at the very centre of power was most essential. To this end, an agency was set up in London in 1888 through Dadabhai Naoroji. India's friends like Charles Bradlaugh threw their weight into her cause. This agency was formally organized into the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in 1889. Sir W. Wedderburn, who twice presided over the Congress, once at Bombay in 1889 and then at Allahabad in 1910, was the Chairman of the Committee while W. Digby was the Secretary. Indian visitors to the British Isles such as Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea, Subramania Iyer, G.K. Gokhle, D.E. Wacha and M.A. Jinnah had been associated with the Committee at one time or another. Hume also joined as a member during his visit to England in 1890. In the same year the British Committee started a journal called *India*, which, for a long time, maintained a high standard of trustworthy information and comment.

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OBSESSION WITH POLITICIANS' ACTIVITIES

WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN PRESS

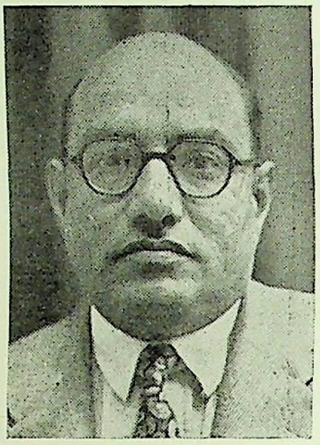
(*By Durga Dass, Journalist*)

The Press is the voice of the people in a true democracy. This may seem incongruous for all text-books on constitution and politics tell us that a nation's parliament, consisting of elected representatives, is the voice of the people. But there is nothing contradictory in the two claims. Whereas the people choose their representatives at an election and give them a mandate on broad lines on which they should administer the country's affairs and regulate the nation's life, their actions and opinions, their passions and prejudices, their wisdom and folly are daily projected through the Press for the benefit of legislators and administrators through the interplay of argument in favour of or against a particular course of action.

After all what is democracy ? It is the method of settling affairs by appeal to reason and argument rather than by brute force. A democracy is complete when every adult has the right to choose those who will govern the country and change them at given intervals and when every citizen has the freedom to express himself on how the country's affairs are being managed. He can use three forms for the purpose : the public platform, the Press and the radio. The Press overshadows the other two, because it records events and opinions. Even public meetings and radio broadcasts depend on it for a wider audience.

Full-fledged yet deficient democracy

India is a full-fledged democracy because every adult has the right to vote. The people have the requisite intelligence to exercise that right and enjoy freedom of expression. Indeed, we Indians are well equipped both mentally and spiritually to make a success of democracy. Every Indian instinctively knows the distinction between right and wrong, between truth and untruth and is accustomed to pooling his labour for the common good and sharing the reward of his efforts with others. It does not make him any less fit for democracy because tradition has confined that



role to a family or a cas circle or a commune. B he has yet to be made part of the larger stre of national life through provision of adequat channels for his thoug and reactions. Th channels are woefu lacking and that is wh our democracy is defici

Not that there are no channels at present. T political worker, the politician and the administrat are ever on the move to find out what the people wa The Press is functioning, however imperfectly, as a ch nel for communication of ideas. There are a doz readers to every copy sold by a newspaper which mul plies the scheduled readership of Indian papers of t and a half million. There is hardly a large village wh some news-sheet or the other does not reach, and wh pering galleries spread their message far and wide. B all this is improvisation and does not make for healt functioning of the Press as the voice of the people.

A Vital Issue

Illiteracy and poverty have mainly stood in the wa of quicker development of the Press. But that is n all. Curiously enough, while the "literacy curv has been rising under the First Five-Year Plan the Pre is practically static. The cost of production is undoubte ly very heavy and the financial risk involved in startin a newspaper too large to attract new capital. If th Press were regimented and a uniform fare were to served to readers as in the Communist countries, new paper production could be multiplied in no time and ma produced sheets sold to millions at a price within the means. But in a democratic country a newspaper h to depend for sale on the appeal it makes to the reade through the news it carries, the features it runs and t opinions it expresses. The economics of running newspaper being what it is there is virtual stagnati so far as the growth of the newspaper industry is co cerned.

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Unfortunately the Press Commission, which has ndered yeoman service to Indian journalism by defin- g the conditions under which a free Press can function d advocating fair wages and reasonable conditions of rk for journalists, did not try to find an answer to the st vital issue of democracy—how to break the "dead- k" over the futuredevelopment of the Press in India.

Someone will have to find an answer, for we must in for the expansion of the Press to keep pace with eracy and economic development. Perhaps this dead- k could be broken by providing printing establish- nts on a co-operative basis so that newspapers and ws-sheets could be produced at a reasonable cost. another ten years newspapers should multiply both number and in circulation so that their publication y be counted in lakhs instead of thousands as at sent and the number of working journalists in thou- ds instead of hundreds. In fact it is impossible to nk of healthy functioning of democracy in India unless ery district town has a couple of daily newspapers, ery tehsil and taluqa headquarters and every small wn a daily news-sheet and every village a few hundred wspaper subscribers.

The Press they Deserve

It may be asked whether such a Press would develop healthy lines. I subscribe to the view that just in a free democracy the people get the government y deserve, they also get the Press they deserve. It said that the "popular" papers in Britain which sell millions are most irresponsible. Mr. Tom Clarke, a teran British journalist, bemoaning the deterioration at has taken place in the standard of the Press in his untry has quoted the following advertisement which cently appeared "in the Bible of Fleet Street—the *orld Press News*" : "Slick Writer required for private atures, emphasizing humour and sex". The fact that wspapers emphasizing sex sell by the million in Bri- in only shows that the English people, inhibited for o long with a thousand do's and dont's about correct haviour, now find the maximum pleasure in such ritings.

Similarly, if in India sales of newspapers are sti- ulated by appeals to communal passion or caste or ass considerations or by purveying social scandal it largely because such material gives satisfaction either to inhibited feelings or to deep-rooted sentiments of the reader. I rule out vendors of malice and manufac- turers of scandals for such people exist in all commu- nities. But, by and large, the Press by catering to the people's taste fulfills the main functions of democracy, namely, free interplay of ideas and opinions.

From the time the first English language newspaper appeared in Calcutta about 1780 the Press in this country has been concerned with fighting its battles and the peo- ple's battles with the government of the day. A series of Press laws putting fetters on the Press have disfigured India's statute book, but in spite of them the Press has managed to discharge its main function and to survive. The fact that most of the top leaders of the Indian Nation- al Congress such as B.G. Tilak, Surendra Nath Banerjee, C.R. Das, Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal and Mahatma Gandhi took to journalism shows the important part this profession played in rousing public opinion against foreign rule and in demoralising the rulers.

Not so Influential

The situation has, however, radically altered since independence. The Press has no longer to fight for its freedom nor of the people ; in that sense it has lost its traditional occupation. The old missionary zeal having evaporated the Press could have either thrown itself into the mighty adventure of portraying the life of the people and guiding and reflecting their opinions or it could have rested on its oars drawing on the good-will and support it had won during the struggle for indepen- dence. By and large the Press took the latter course as it was very much the easier.

It was inevitable that in such a state internal dissen- sions should develop. No wonder the only thing the people of India have known of the Press in the last few years is the quarrel between the proprietorial interests and the working journalists over questions of better pay, shorter hours of work, greater security and scheduled rewards. It is not surprising in the circumstances that the influence of the Press has sunk to the lowest level. Newspaper writings today hardly influence the ruling class. They do not even receive attention unless they indulge in personal tirade. The average politician or administrator does not consider reading his morning paper as a duty. Some observe the ritual by habit. There is a greater chance of the people's grievances being

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heard or redressed if those concerned organize a *hartal* or a procession or sit *dharna* in front of the residence of the Prime Minister or a Chief Minister or any other person concerned than if their case were ventilated in the Press.

A Mere Chronicle

I blame largely the leaders of the Press for after independence they developed a feeling of smugness. They perhaps thought that the best service to the country was to back the leaders in the task of building up the nation, but this attitude resulted in the Press becoming largely a chronicle of activities of politicians and of administrators rather than a mirror of the nation's life and the inspirer of its ideals.

Of course, politicians, too, have their share of the blame for this state of affairs. They have shown themselves to be too thin-skinned and consider every form of criticism as born of malice or prejudice. Having been accustomed in the days of the freedom struggle to bouquets alone they are unable to appreciate how the very Press that made them true national heroes can now treat them as ordinary mortals. Furthermore, those in authority and their official agents sometimes resort to indirect control by withdrawing or threatening to withdraw official advertisements and by restricting access to news.

This malady is not peculiar to India. At a recent session of the Commonwealth Press Conference Mr. Hugh Astor of *The Times* of London mentioned several threats to the freedom of the Press and put on the top "the threat from Governments on the pretext of national security which generally amounts to bureaucratic security". The *New York Times* has complained that suppression on account of security considerations is taken too often as a cloak to cover laziness, ineptness, fear and indifference and that suppression is sometimes used to conceal errors and sometimes it may even represent the dangerous philosophy that what the public does not know would not hurt it.

So far as India is concerned, there is no deliberate effort to suppress the freedom of the Press. The main charge against the present leadership is that it is not conscious of its duty to help rapid development of the Press in the true interest of democracy. Indeed of all the community projects that concerning the growth of the Press needs the most urgent attention, for freedom and demo... are impossible without a virile free Press. And this does not even figure in any plan of health... balanced development of the new order that ... engaged in building.

A Code of Conduct

Newspapermen have their code of conduct a... public has a right and should know what it is. P... this is best expressed in the new cannons of jour... laid down recently by the Japanese Newspape... lishers and Editors' Association. This is wh... cannons lay down :

"The freedom of news reporting and editorial ... should be bound by the following voluntary restr...

1. The fundamental rule for news reporting ... convey facts accurately and faithfully.
2. In reporting news, the personal opinion ... reporter should never be inserted.
3. In treating news, one should always rem... and be strictly on guard against the possib... such news being utilized for propaganda p...
4. Criticism of persons should be limited to ... that which could be made direct in the face ... persons involved.
5. Partisanship in editorial comments, which ... ingly departs from the truth, does violence ... best spirit of journalism."

"An editorial comment should be bold exp... of the writer's own belief and conviction and not a ... ing speech. Furthermore, in writing an e... comment, the writer should maintain the publi... of being a speaker for those who otherwise have no ... of voicing their opinions. The characteristic of a ... paper as a public organ should be best upheld ... field".

The need for fair-play and tolerance

"The honour of an individual should be re... and protected as in case of his other fundamen... sonal rights. Those who are to be criticized sh... given the opportunity to defend themselves. M... if made, should be retracted immediately upon ... of information that the article in question is fa... should be corrected.

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"A fundamental principle of democracy recognizes the freedom of individual assertions and counter-assertions, should be reflected clearly in the editing of newspapers. The tolerance such as to allot just as much news space in introducing and reporting the policies which a newspaper opposes as it would give to others which it supports is the fundamental character of democratic newspapers.

"The principal difference between newspapers and other commercial enterprises is that newspapers in their reportorial and editorial activities exercise great influence over the public. The public chiefly depends on newspapers as the source of information and the basis of their judgment of public events and problems. From this distinction arises the public character of journalistic enterprises and the special social status of journalists. The realization of their responsibility and pride by journalists is fundamental in ensuring their special status. Those two points must be observed by each individual journalist."

Whether the Japanese Press has been able to live up to this code or not is another matter. What is important is that by stressing the spirit of freedom, responsibility, fairness and decency they have provided a standard which should apply to newspaper workers in all free democracies.

(Contd. from page 31)

In 1894 Hume left India to return permanently to England. A farewell address was presented to him by the Bombay Presidency Association on March 18. His services to India were recalled with gratitude and affection. Hume made a long speech giving his appraisal of international politics—incidentally, he forecast a European conflict, which inevitably came two decades later He called upon the people to be prepared for still greater political endeavour and social reform. As usual, he mixed advice with admonition.

Hume retired to a quiet little home in England and resumed his scientific studies. Botany was his chief interest now and he got up a valuable herbarium and library. He, of course, retained his interest in public affairs and worked ceaselessly to further the cause of the Liberal Party in the Parliamentary division of Dulwich. He was elected President of the Liberal Association and, in spite of his advancing years, he canvassed hard to secure the constituency for a Liberal candidate.

Rich in honours and achievement, Allan Octavian Hume passed away peacefully on July 31, 1912. His loss was deeply mourned in India as in England. In India, his name has become part of the national heritage.

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MEETING CHALLENGE OF OVERCROWDED CITIES

SHOULD THE STATE STEP IN BUILD HOUSES

(*By S. Swaran Singh, Minisier of Housing & Supply*)

It is important to state the problem of urban housing in India in order to provoke thought and to stimulate informed criticism on this vital subject. Only then will we be able to view the problem in its proper perspective and to devise ways and means to meet what is admittedly a very serious situation.

Let us, to start off with, make an attempt to gauge the housing shortage in the cities and towns in our country. A convenient and rational method of doing so would be *firstly*, to appraise the number of houses required for the normal increase in population and for the influx in the towns from the villages; *secondly*, to calculate the number of houses required for relieving the existing congestion in towns and citiees; *thirdly*, to work out the number of houses due for replacement because of the normal wear and tear of the existing houses and, *fourthly*, to assess the number of houses required to replace the dwellings which are unfit for human habitation.

Increase in Urban Population

The rate of growth of the urban population in the last three decades has been 18·4% during 1921-31; 31·1% during 1931-41 and 41·3% during 1941-51. During the period of the First and the Second Five-Year Plans, with heavy emphasis on industrialisation, transport and commerce, one can reasonably expect that the rate of growth in the decade 1951-61 will be considerably higher and may well reach the neighbourhood of 50 per cent. At this rate, the increase in population will be approximately 300 lakhs in our towns and cities. This increase in urban population would mean that the urban population which in 1951 was 619 lakhs or 17·3 per cent of the total population of 35·7 crores, will be approximately 900 lakhs or 22 per cent of the total expected population of 41 crores in 1961. This increase does not appear to be abnormal considering the ambitious schemes of industrialisation under the Second Five-Year Plan which is bound to increase the rush of populati towards the old and new towns and cities.

The average size of the family according to the ce sus report was 4·71. If we ignore the tendency breaking up of the joint family system and assume t the same average strength of the family will conti to persist, the additional number of houses required, only the increase in population in urban areas, will about 64 lakhs.

The Existing Congestion

According to the 1951 Census Report, there w 103 lakhs of houses in urban areas containing l lakhs of households. A house has been defined a domestic structure or a part of a domestic structure w a separate and independent entrance, while a housel is defined as a group of people who live together and t their food from a common kitchen. The differe between the figure of households and houses means t in one house two or more families are living and shar the services like kitchen, bath, W.C. etc. resulting congestion and inconvenience all round. Each housel must have a domestic structure or a part of dom structure with a separate entrance and separate kitc and services for a comfortable and healthy liv Therefore, to relieve this basic existing congestion, would require 127·7—103-24·7 lakhs of houses. T does not cover the people who have absolutely no ho and are squatters sleeping on the foot-path and o public places. It is estimated that about 1·3 l of houses roughly are required to house this type of ple who at present have no roofs above their head

Normal Wear and Tear

The average life of a residential building constru to sound specifications could be taken as 50 yea that the general replacement should be planned o basis of 2 per cent of the total number of houses year. However, many of the towns are comparati of recent origin and, with proper maintenance, a h may last longer. We might, therefore, reckon one per cent of the total number of houses for rep ment during 1951-61. Since the total number of ho according to the 1951 Census Report, was 103 lak urban areas, the replacement for the 10 years be 1951-61 would work out about 10·3 lakhs houses.

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The Slum-Dwellings

In 1947 the Madras Provincial Housing Committee estimated that about 30,000 out of the 90,000 houses under the old limits of Madras City were just slum dwellings which should be demolished and replaced. This represents a figure of 33 per cent replacement. In the same report it was stated that out of 5·5 lakhs houses in 69 Madras Municipalities, about 28,000 or approximately 5 per cent houses could be classified as slum dwellings. The conditions in the other States are no better as far as the important cities and towns are concerned. Shri Dhebar, Congress President, is reported to have stated that in Delhi, the slum population was about 6 lakhs out of a total population of 14 lakhs. On the basis of these figures, one would not be far out in saying that the urban slum houses are about 20 per cent for the big cities and 5 per cent for the other towns. Since about 38 per cent of the urban population lives in the cities and 62 per cent in the towns, a very conservative estimate of the urban slum houses unfit for human occupation would be

$$103 \times \tfrac{38}{100} \times \tfrac{20}{100} + 103 \times \tfrac{62}{100} \times \tfrac{5}{100} = 7{\cdot}8 + 3{\cdot}2 = 11$$

lakhs or approximately 11 per cent of the total of 103 lakhs of houses in the urban areas.

From what I have stated above, our requirements of urban houses in the 10 years from 1951 to 1961 would be 111 lakhs as under :—

(i) Increase and influx of population in urban areas	=64 lakhs houses
(ii) Relieving existing congestion	=26 lakhs ,,
(iii) Replacement due to normal depreciation	=10 ,, ,,
(iv) Replacement of houses totally unfit for human occupation	=11 ,, ,,
Total	=111 ,, ,,

It is estimated that about 13 lakhs of houses will have been built during the period of the First Five Year Plan, so that the housing shortage in the urban areas for the period 1956-61 would be in the neighbourhood of 98 lakhs houses.

Agency of Construction

The construction of 98 lakhs of houses is no easy matter. Apart from the limitations of building materials, developed land and technical personnel, there is the question as to who exactly should shoulder this colossal burden. Is it the individual himself who needs a house who should build it, or should we rely on organised private initiative to deliver the goods or should we ask the public sector to step in and build the houses ? As is often the case in such situations, the solution lies in adopting all the courses that are open to us. It will, however, be interesting to try and find out the role that the private and public sectors may be called upon to play in the near future in order to allay the acute housing distress in the country.

The results of certain investigations carried out by the National Sample Survey show that 51% of the present urban households belong to the income range Re. 1 to Rs. 100 p.m.; 39% to the range of Rs. 101 to Rs. 200 p.m. and 10% to the range of Rs. 301 and above. If the 98 lakhs of the houses required are to be built to the same pattern, as they evidently should, 56 lakhs will be needed to house those with an income of less than Rs. 100 p.m. This figure can be further split up into two: 11 lakhs of living units for the slum-dwellers whose income is perhaps less than Rs. 50 p.m. and 45 lakhs for those whose income ranges between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 p.m. In addition, 38 lakhs of houses will be needed for those whose income is between Rs. 100 and Rs. 300 p.m., while only 4 lakhs will be required who are in the income bracket of Rs. 300 and above. The rent paying capacity of these three income groups is a pointer to the agency which should provide them the houses. The approximate cost of a house consisting of one room, a verandah, bath and kitchen, inclusive of the cost of land and its development and built to permanent or pucca specifications, works out on an average to Rs. 3,200, taking into account the high prices of the bigger cities like Bombay and Calcutta. The economic rent on this investment of Rs. 3,200 comes to about Rs. 22 to Rs. 23/8 per month, after taking into account maintenance charges, municipal and government taxes, 6% on the cost of land and annual payment to include 6% interest and redemption of capital in 40 years, which may be taken as the estimated life of the house. It is clear that those in the income range of Rs. 220 and above can alone afford to pay this rent of Rs. 22 p.m. which would work out to 10% of their income. In other words, the private sector would hardly be interested in building houses for the large majority of

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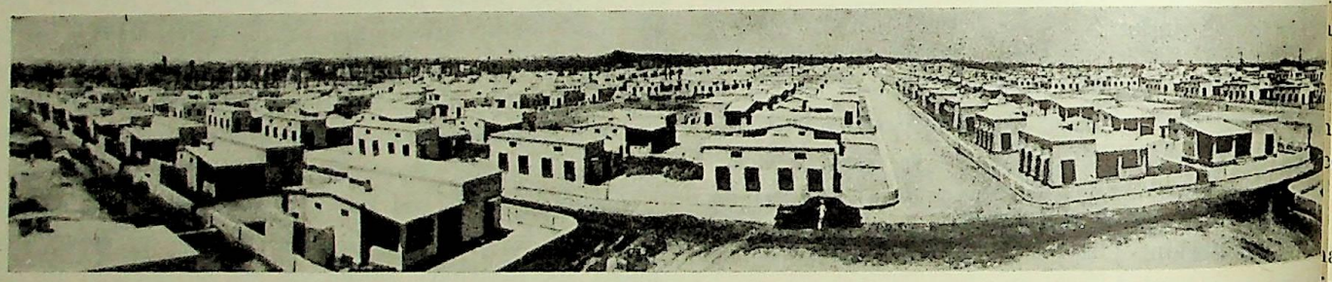
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the people who need the houses but cannot afford to pay the economic rents.

Rural Housing

Though this article deals primarily with urban housing, it is necessary to round off the picture by mentioning the problem with which we are faced in our rural areas. At first sight, the problem looks gigantic. As a rule, the village houses are cramped, the flooring is generally damp, the walls are deeply indented, light and air are practically absent and the roof is flimsy. Eighty per cent of the rural households have a monthly income of less than Rs. 150 p.m. so that it seems difficult to imagine that they can even afford to find a capital of Rs. 100 to Rs. 250 for improving their houses. Fortunately, the problem of rural housing is distinct from that of urban. In the first place, shortage of land, congestion, the cost of providing piped water supply, drainage and communications and other services makes urban housing a difficult proposition. These difficulties do not exist to such an extent in rural housing. Secondly, in rural housing it is possible to utilise the labour of the villager and his family, especially during the off-season when he is under or un-employed. Such self-help is difficult in the urban areas. Thirdly, since the size of the problem of rural housing is so big, it is difficult to envisage construction by any public authority. ... necessity, therefore, the houses in the rural areas ... be built by those who live in them. This in its ... makes it possible to lower the specifications of the h... ses, because the responsibility of maintaining them ... with the owner. In urban areas, on the other ha... where taking house on rent is a rule rather than an ... ception, a public authority or big landlords have to co... truct the houses and, in order to keep down the ma... tenance costs, they have to use superior specificati...

The factors mentioned above, and especially the ... relating to aided self-help housing, go to reduce the ... midable character of rural housing and makes it a... nable to a solution, which though long drawn-out, is ... vertheless satisfactory. A few experiments are ... under way in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P. and Rajast... aimed at reconstructing the villages, with the co... and active support of the inhabitants themselves. W... technical guidance provided in the matter of lay... and designs of the houses, the villager with his fa... contributes his own labour which is supplemented ... loan on easy terms. He thus helps to construct a vil... which ensures him clean and hygienic living and g... him all the communal facilities which he requires in... der to develop and give expression to his personali...



Housing-urban.

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BASIC EDUCATION SEEKS TO LIBERATE CHILD FROM MONOTONY

(*By Humayun Kabir, Secretary, Ministry of Education*)

A National system of education is always the reflection of a national system of ideals. One can, in fact, go further and say that education is shaped by, and in turn shapes, the life-purposes of individuals and groups. This applies not only to human beings but also to what we tend to regard as the lower orders of creation. Thus the young of animals prepare themselves for future life by imitating the actions of the adults. In the case of man, such imitation is a conscious process of training for fulfilling the responsibilities of adult life.

Changes in the environment require changes in the response of the individual if the species is to survive. The story of evolution is a record of the continuous effort to improve adaptation to the environment. Human beings have, however, reached a stage where they are no longer content merely to respond to the environment: they now seek to adapt the environment to their own needs. Since conscious purposes govern the continually expanding area of human activity, any change in social objectives demands and is invariably accompanied by a change in the system of education.

Like other social reformers, Mahatma Gandhi knew that without reform in education he could not attain his social objectives. The quality of a society depends on the quality of its members. Improvement of the individual through education is thus a means to achieve an improveed type of society. The recognition that the citizen of the future can be best moulded during the first and formative years of his life led Gandhi to formulate his conception of Basic Education as the means to achieve a co-operative, commonwealth of men. In his own words, "The principal idea is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is taught to the children. You have to draw out all that is in the child through teaching all the processes of the handicraft and all your lessons in history, geography and arithmetic will be related to the craft."

The human individual is essentially a social being and must live in a community. Basic Education treats the child as a member of a co-operative group. The children are taught to feel as members of one community, and as such are responsible to and for one another. Duties to others are as important as one's own rights. Basic Education, therefore, seeks to correct the modern tendency to loosen family and social ties in the name of individual liberty. Gandhi felt strongly that education must reintegrate the individual and develop him as a member of a living society. As a unit of a co-operative group, all activities of the child have a social content. Basic education is based on recognition of this fact and aims to make such recognition a part of the mental makeup of the growing children. Not only are all school activities organized in groups, but they are such as have an immediate social utility. The aim is to inculcate in the child a spirit of co-operation and a sense of responsibility from the very beginning.

Educational psychologists agree that the child can learn more quickly through active participation in a process than by passive reception of instruction given by a teacher. A child loves to *do* things. By nature he is active, and his restlessness is only an expression of his abundant energy. It is an imposition on him to make him sit silently and without movement for long periods, as so often happens in a traditional school. In a very real sense, this is no new discovery. Even without the explicit formulation of a theory of activity, activity has, in fact, formed part of children's education from time immemorial. Since at least the latter half of the last century, education has tended to become more and more activity centered in both Europe and America. Some fifty years ago, Tagore began his great experiment in education by stressing the importance of freedom and activity for the child. If emphasis on activity is regarded as the essence of Basic Education, it has to be admitted that its basic principle is not new even to India.

Nevertheless, Basic Education introduced one new element in the concept of activity as related to schools. In Basic Education the activity chosen for the training of the child is a purposive, creative, and

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socially useful activity. The emphasis on social utility and purpose is not accidental or fortuitous. Production is the backbone of organized human life, for society lives by its capacity to produce the goods needed for its members. The level of production can be sustained by the co-operative effort of all. Basic Education, in its emphasis on socially useful activity, treats the child as a member of the community from the very beginning of his educational life.

While educational thinkers in India and outside increasingly stressed the value of activity and freedom, the system prevalent in India tended to become more and more book-centered. Even in the case of children, it became more and more an exercise of the memory than a development of itellect, emotions, and character. Overmuch concern with books tended to divorce education from the realities of Indian life. It often drew the child away from his social and cultural milieu and encouraged in him a distaste, if not contempt, for manual labour. The result is that the child trained in the traditional way tends to become dependent upon a particular type of employment. If opportunity does not offer in that particular direction, he often becomes helpless and hopeless. As a result, an average educated man in India often lacks self-confidence and initiative and flounders hopelessly when confronted with a new and changing situation.

Apart from its failure as preparation for life, the traditional system is not satisfactory even from a purely educational point of view. Instead of aiming at the balanced development of personality, it tends to place an undue emphasis on the intellect. The will and imagination are neglected, and, of the different aspects of the intellect, a greater emphasis is placed on memory than on reasoning and judgment. The result is that even the intellect does not attain its full maturity. The child acquires information but does not grow up into an adult human being.

Gandhi reacted against the prevailing system of education, even though he was himself its product. I am of the view that his revolt started from its educational inadequacy but gained in strength because of the economic and social implications of the alternative he had helped to evolve. It would, therefore, be well to point first to some of the important aspects in which Basic Education marks a departure from the form of education which has been prevalent in India in r times. One fundamental defect was that this sy instead of basing secondary and higher educati a well-planned and comprehensive system of mentary education, made secondary and primary cation subsidiary and subservient to higher edu In a sense this was perhaps inevitable. It is on the last hundred years or so that the state accepted the provision of a system of universal cation as one of its obligations. If this was s national governments, one could hardly expect a government to provide such facilities for its su The East India Company and later the British were interested in education primarily as a me training a sufficient number of Indians in Eng make the task of administering the country easi is true that men like Macaulay held that contac Western sciences and political thought would the Indian people and, therefore, sought to int them into the educational system for their e value. The main emphasis on education, ho remained utilitarian, and, in consequence, elem and secondary education were regarded mai stages preparing the pupils needed at the higher It was also inevitable that in such a context the of the rural areas, where the vast majority Indian people live, should be largely ignored. Education is seeking to remedy the situation in respects. It places far greater emphasis on rural and seeks to serve as a completed stage of edu for the average citizen.

Another defect from which the system whi British introduced suffered was that it was esse an individualistic system. It emphasized the th competition rather than co-operation between in als and societies. The educational system of th encouraged in the individual a desire to get on out regard to the general interest. Adherents philosophy believed that the general interest wo somehow served if each individual pursued hi ends.

Basic Education also differs from the pr system in its emphasis on the performance of c tasks and the joy which is its accompaniment ditional education, particularly in the hands satisfactory teachers, tends to reduce all instruc an intellectual drill. Since the child does not

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purpose of the education he receives, he remains a passive and, in many cases, an unwilling subject who submits to, rather than receives, education. As opposed to this, in education centered round a craft, a child has immediate experience of the results of his labour. The product of the craft is to him a physical symbol of success and gives him a sense of achievement.

By its emphasis on manual work, Basic Education is helping to break down another barrier wich has long divided Indian society. In origin, the caste system may be traced to the need for the division of labour. It is also true that at one stage it was functional and had a large degree of flexibility. This was, however, soon lost, and the ossification of caste led to a sharp division between intellectual and manual labour. In course of time, manual labour acquired an element of social stigma. The impact of the British did not help to break this repugnance. The class consciousness of the British was added to the caste consciousness of the Indians and created a situation wherein the gap between different social strata became even more rigid than before. Simultaneously, economic and political conditions were creating a situation in which such inequality could not last. Nevertheless, the prestige attached to the so-called "intellectual" classes persisted. It was inevitable that in such a context the system of education prevailing in India should become essentially bookish and literary. By its close correlation of instruction with manual labour and physical activities, Basic Education is helping to break down the repugnance to manual work and inculcating in the minds of children a recognition of the dignity of labour.

The concentration on socially useful work has yielded good dividends in other respects as well. The children are engaged in crafts which lead to the production of material goods. The result of their labour is thus seen by them almost immediately. By giving them the satisfaction of tangible achievement, it serves to increase their self-confidence. Besides, the performance of tasks in co-operation with their fellows develops in the children a sense of social responsibility. Responsibility brings with it a feeling of discipline, not imposed from above but evolved in the pursuit of their work. That children in Basic Schools often display greater self-confidence and sense of discipline than children in ordinary schools is, therefore, not accidental. The fact that children in the traditional schools are at all times recipients and not contributors to society, while children in the Basic Schools are producers and conscious of the fact, can alone help to explain the difference in their deportment.

Of the various criticisms levelled against the traditional system, one of the most valid is that school subjects are chosen at random and often have no intelligible relation to one another. Basic Education seeks to correct this defect by establishing an organic correlation between the different school subjects by drawing out their implications in relation to a selected craft. In a sense, the idea of correlation is also not new. Educationists belonging to the most divergent schools have stressed the need of co-ordination in studies in order to develop the unity of mental life. The life of the individual is a constant adjustment between different functions and claims. Such adjustments cannot be made unless the different activities can be correlated with one another. It is essential that the child should be trained to correlate and co-ordinate his interests from his early days. Basic Education thus follows a sound educational principle in emphasizing the correlation between different school activities.

The principle of correlation extends also to the community which the school aims to serve. Since the school seeks to reflect the life of the community, it chooses a craft in relation to the local environment. It may seem like labouring the obvious, but still it has to be stressed that if a craft without local roots is chosen, one of the main educational advantages of Basic Education is lost. Basic Education aims at developing the children's faculties through systematic and graded performance of activities connected with some familiar craft. If the craft is one that is unfamiliar, it may impose an undue strain on the children's energy and interest. The craft chosen for the school must, therefore, be one which has a natural relation to the environment. If this is not so, the emphasis on a craft may, instead of helping to integrate the personality of the child, lead to the creation of a new hiatus.

It is equally important, however, to avoid over-emphasis on any one craft. Basic Education seeks not only to train the future citizen but to do so under conditions which are as close to life as possible. It is, therefore, essential that the Basic School must reflect

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the life of the community. No community can succeed —let alone flourish—on any single craft. If, therefore, a Basic School is engrossed in only one craft, to that extent it fails to reflect the many-sidedness of life. Spinning and weaving have often been regarded as the only crafts suitable for Basic Schools. While the importance of spinning and weaving cannot be ignored, it has to be remembered that concentration on them to the exclusion of other crafts would violate a fundamental principle of Basic Education.

Concentration on one craft is inconsistent with the spirit of Basic Education in another way. In formal and academic teaching, a prescribed syllabus is binding on the pupil as well as the teacher. Schools are more concerned with completing the syllabus before the date of the examination than preparing future citizens of the state. Basic Education claims that learning through activity gives wider freedom to both the teacher and the taught. This cannot, however, be insured in the absence of alternative crafts. Restriction to one craft means that teachers and children with different tastes and abilities have no freedom of choice. Alternative crafts are thus necessary for three reasons. Multiple crafts tend to reflect something of the many-sidedness of life. Different crafts meet the requirements of children and teachers with different abilities. Still more important, the presence of alternative crafts gives the child a sense of freedom of choice.

The foregoing discussion should make it clear that, on educational considerations alone, there is an unmistakable case for the gradual conversion of all existing elementary schools into Basic Schools. The educational argument is given added strength by the economic situation in India. Gandhi was attracted to the system as much by its educational value as by his recognition that its introduction might well be the only means to make education accessible to all. Basic Education, by its emphasis on craft, aims to make education at least partly self-supporting. The products of the children's labour have social utility and can, therefore, be absorbed in the economy. If nothing else, such products can be utilized by the school itself, thus saving the school from incurring some expenses which would otherwise be necessary. If, in addition, part of the food and clothing of the teachers and the pupils can be supplied from the products of their labour, one big item in the educational budget of the nation can automatically be met.

The economics of Basic Education have to be carefully worked out, not only to test its claim that it makes a system of national education feasible, but even more to insure that its educational value is not impaired. Overemphasis on production carries with it the risk that the school may be turned into a factory exploiting child labour. So long as Basic Education is carried on by a body of devoted pioneers, there is not much risk of this. When, however, the system expands and the early missionaries are replaced by professional men, not all of whom can be expected to have a sense of dedication to the work, there will be a real risk that the teachers may concentrate on those aspects of Basic Education in which success or failure can be easily measured. To find out whether a school has produced a prescribed quantum of goods is simple. It is not so easy to judge whether it has developed the character of the pupils and given them an appreciation of the value of life.

It is, of course, clear that in the first two or three years the goods produced by the children can have little economic value. As the children grow up and acquire greater skill, the goods they turn out should improve in quality. Insistence on standards is necessary as a part of education. If the children are properly trained and do their work with skill, care, and conscientiousness, there is no reason why the products of the older children should be unsatisfactory or shoddy. Production of goods of good quality is, therefore, part of the training that children must receive in schools.

It cannot, however, be stressed too strongly that the school is a center for training citizens of the future and *not* a factory for turning out goods for current consumption. The craft on which education is centered should draw out the abilities of the child and make him realize the organic nature of society through its correlation with other subjects. Some of the goods produced by the child should and will be salable, but there should be no attempt to make salability the sole criterion of his work. It ought to be remembered that even a child of fourteen or fifteen is at best an apprentice. Any attempt to make him a skilled artisan at that age can be successful only if standards are kept low. From the point of view of the community, it is better that

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an adolescent should be a half-trained technician of promise than a finished craftsman of a low order.

The expansion of Basic Education and the induction of large numbers of teachers without the missionary spirit make it necessary to devise safeguards against the conscious or unconscious exploitation of children by overzealous or pedestrian teachers. A teacher with vision and imagination can make the children do great deeds, but there is a risk that the routine teacher may seek to emulate his example by forcing the children beyond their capacity. Some kind of limit may, therefore, be set to measure the volume of work expected of children. Careful and extensive experiments are necessary before this can be done, and, in any case, such limits must be flexible and must vary according to the nature of the institution and the craft.

Some who have considerable experience of Basic Schools hold that it would be enough if the cost of the raw material utilized for crafts is recovered, but this does not seem adequate. The longest experience of Basic Education is available in Bihar. Some of the schools there have re- covered as much as 50 per cent or more of the total expenses of the school ; but for various reasons it is doubtful whether the experience of these pioneer institutions can be repeated elsewhere. Many Bihar schools have, however, earned double the amount spent on purchase of raw material for the craft, and this seems a reasonable demand. One may perhaps say that at least 10 per cent of the expenses of the school ought to be recovered from the work done by the teacher and the pupils. If this is not done, it would be a reflection on the efficiency of the teacher. Similarly, an upper limit might be fixed at about 40 per cent. There would be a strong presumption that if this limit is exceeded, the teacher is placing greater emphasis on the productive than on the educational aspects of the craft.

Overemphasis on the productive aspect of craft is thus a danger which Basic Education must avoid. This does not, however, imply any criticism of the system as such, for there is no system in the world which cannot be abused. The provision of multiple crafts has a special importance from this point of view. Many crafts will mean greater diversity for both pupils and teachers and help to emphasize the educative rather than the economic aspects of Basic Education. At the same time, it would, in the long run, contribute to the economic betterment of the country. Basic Schools with multiple crafts would create the foundation for the expansion of industry and trade. The experience of Soviet Russia in the early days justifies such a hope. The progress of universal education received a great impetus when education was built round different crafts. Children as well as adolescents were offered the prospect of improving their skill and earning capacity. This was the first step toward polytechnization of the schools, and polytechnization supplied the foundation on which the industrialization and development of Soviet Russia have been built. The spread of Basic Education may well be the beginning of such polytechnization for India.

Freedom and organization are the two principles that insure not only the progress but the very survival of society. That is why the Basic School has as one of its foremost aims the development of spontaneity and social sense in the child. Spontaneity leads to the flowering of all the faculties of the child. Social sense gives him a feeling of responsibility and makes him aware of himself as a productive agent in society. The system of class ministers and executives develops initiative and the sense of responsibility. Corporate activities emphasize the value of co-operation. Together, they make education real to the children, for they feel that they are members of a community.

A Basic School should, therefore, be an example of democracy in action. Whether this ideal is achieved depends largely on the quality of the teacher. Like all democracies, the school community can function effectively only if there is intelligent and adequate leadership. I have already indicated that with their freedom from textbooks and a prescribed syllabus, Basic Schools make great demands upon the teacher. I have seen Basic Schools where there were attempts to correlate the teaching of physics or chemistry to the craft of spinning, but the children had no idea of the area or size of the classroom, or even of their own weight and height. I have seen other Basic Schools where learning was one continuous and exciting adventure of discovery of the environment by the children. In any system, it is ultimately the teacher who matters, and in the Basic School he matters even more than in the other systems.

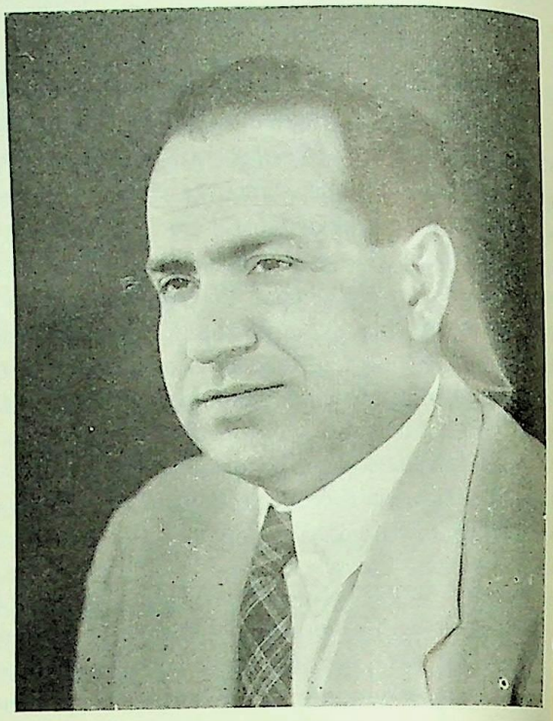
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SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN TRAINING [NEED OF HOUR] OF SCIENTISTS

(*By Professor P. S. Gill*)



It is desirable to assess the country's achievements in all phases of our national life since independence. Our national government, under the inspiring leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while facing unprecedented problems of hunger and rehabilitation, embarked on various development plans with a view to put India once again on the map of the world as a free and self-respecting nation. The first five-year plan was launched and it has come to its successful close. The second five-year plan is about to begin.

Within this short time, India has become an inevitable factor in the world forum in the social and political fields. The same cannot be said about our position in the field of fundamental education and research, in which we lag considerably behind many of the advanced countries. In the field of scientific research we have to make much greater efforts than we have made hitherto. This does not mean that India's progress in these fields is at a standstill. We have made big leaps forward from pre-independence days and we can be rightfully proud of them. The establishment of national laboratories and other research institutes throughout the country bears evidence to this fact. Our Prime Minister is one of those rare men of vision who saw that the applications of science would be one of the most important factors in improving the living conditions of our people. It is with his moral backing and personal interest that one after another many national laboratories sprang up since independence. This is no mean achievement. At the occasion of the opening of the Central Building Research Institute, the Prime Minister said, "The completion of the chain of eleven national laboratories is a very great and historic step in the advancement of our country." To the research workers he pointedly remarked, "So we must see that we do justice to this money which is public money—the money of people of India." The setting up of the Ministry Natural Resources and Scientific Research and establishment of the Department of Atomic En are further steps in making India strong by encou ing scientific research.

Long before the national government was for our Prime Minister, in active co-operation with dustrialists, economists and scientists was dra plans for nation's development. I vividly recall questions which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru put me when he visited my small and insignifi laboratory at Lahore on August 27, 1945, "I possible for the Soviet Union to have an atomic bo Can atomic energy be used for peaceful purpos My reply to the first question was that given thr four years the Soviet Union could certainly mak atomic bomb, as they had the necessary indus know-how. To the second I replied that cer atomic energy could be developed for peaceful poses. I have related this to show how quick Panditji's mind to visualize the prospects of expl the new source of energy for peaceful purposes.

My reply to the first question was based on fiable assumptions as far as the Soviet Union

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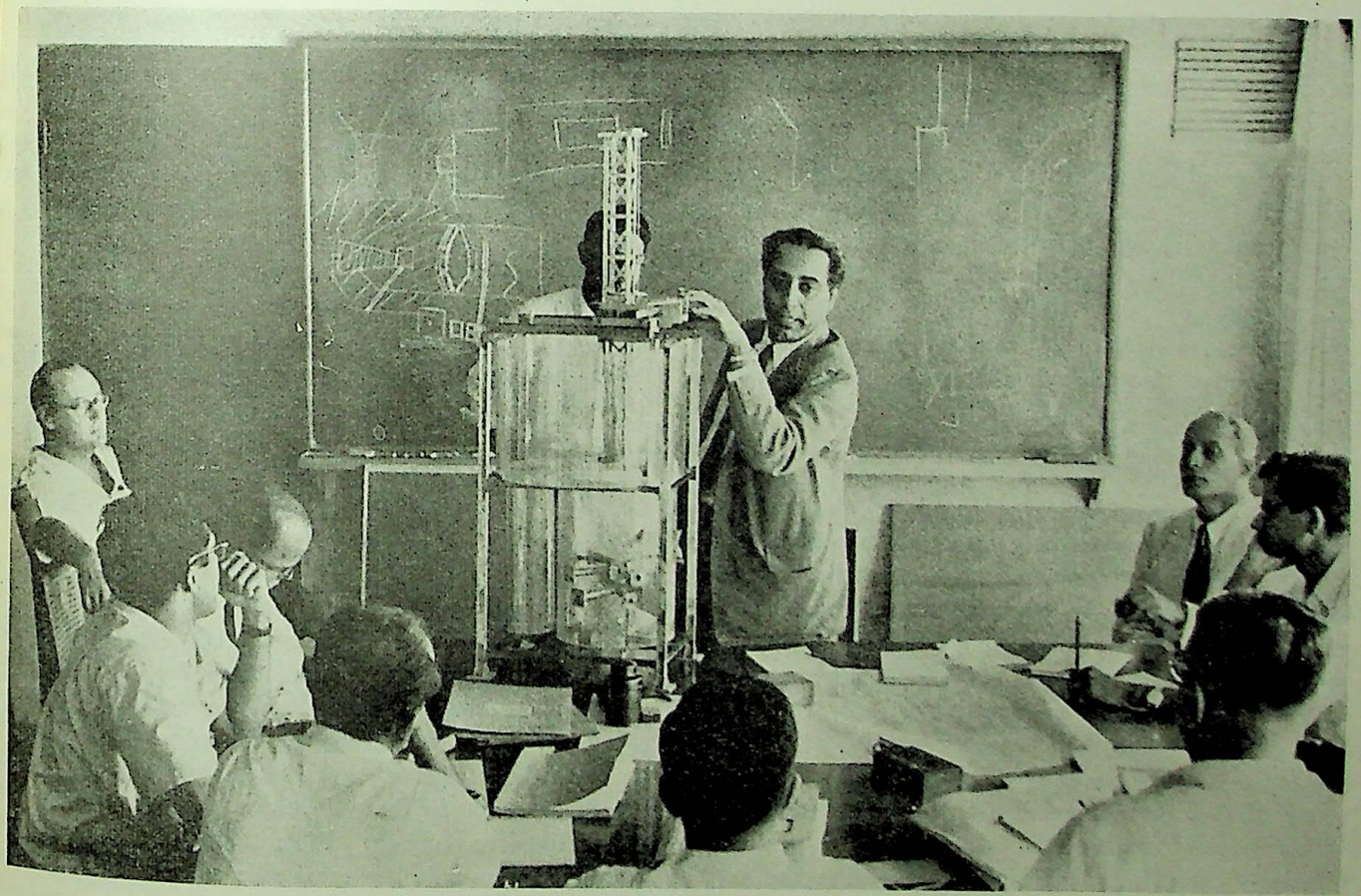
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concerned. No nation, without trained personnel and the industrial know-how, can develop atomic energy for any purposes whatsoever. It is a co-operative undertaking in which men of science (Chemists, Physicists, Mathematicians, Medical men, Geologists and Physiologists) must join with industry. Training of personnel is by far the most important requirement for a nation to become self-sufficient in this respect. In earlier stages adequate attention was not paid to this primary requirement of training competent persons who were to shoulder the responsibilities as our programme of atomic energy progressed. Training of scientists is essentially the function of universities. The Central Government did not ignore this aspect for long and came forward with increasing financial assistance to the university laboratories to meet this urgent need of the nation.

The setting up of the University Grants Commission was a very important step in this direction. In the hands of such a commission, composed of eminent educationists and independent thinkers, the nation can rest assured that the universities will find their proper respectful place in our national life. The continuous flow of competent trained persons to man the country's essential services was assured.

There are no two opinions about the importance of teaching and research to go side by side in a college or a university. The history of the greatest discoveries tells us without any doubt that they had their origin in the institutions of learning where teaching and research formed an integral part of their activities. With isolated exceptions here and there, the major discoveries in sciences came from the workers in the university laboratories. The award of the Nobel Prizes and other distinctions bestowed on scientists go to prove the above statement.

The industrial and governmental laboratories have a very important role to play in our national develop-



Dr. H. G. Bhabha, Director of the Tata Institute of the Fundamental Research, Bombay, and Chairman of India's Atomic Energy Commission, discusses with collaborators a model of a "Swimming Pool Reactor" to be built in India.

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ment. They cannot, however, play the dual role of teaching and research. They do not and cannot provide the proper atmosphere for the extension of knowledge in the same way as the universities where teaching is also carried out. In a university, a teacher attracts scholars and students who often come to him after ignoring their immediate prospect of employment, and, therefore, they are naturally devoted to gaining more experience by actually carrying out new experiments and by listening to their teachers collectively in seminars and privately. In governmental establishments, the proper atmosphere for extending the bounds of knowledge cannot be created unless there exists a close co-operation between them and the institutions of learning in the country.

If our university laboratories have not played the role expected of them, there is nothing to be disheartened about. A glipmpse into the university laboratories will show how much enthusiasm is there in the teachers, scholars and students, and how much of talent is still latent in the country. Our Government has realized how important is the scientific staff for the nation's development.

In spite of the traditional handicaps in equipment and competent staff in our university laboratories, we have been endeavouring to make quick strides to improve them and make as best a use of the available facilities as we can. Many of the Universities have set up research institutes and laboratories with increasingly generous grants from the Government. We now find that our young scientific workers are beginning to get the correct lead from the universities.

The physical laboratories of the universities are doing very useful and fundamental work in electronics, microwaves, nuclear physics, cosmic rays, and Physics of high energy particles, and so on. One could elaborate on the research activities of universities throughout the country, where increasingly large number of scholars are working in their fields of interest. The Central Government has initiated a scheme of national research fellowships to further the cause of training competent men and women. As an illustration of the support of the national government to physical research I would like to mention the case of one of the physics departments of one of the central universities. The same is the case in many other educational centres. The Aligarh University received grants for training and research which helped us to begin work in the fields of cosmic r instrumentation, nuclear physics and optical microwave spectroscopy.

What is the importance of the study of mi waves ? Microwaves fall within the centimetre ra This property of their short wavelength allows t to be focussed on a distant object, which scatte back and the scattered wave can be detected. U the light waves, the microwaves pass through fog clouds. These waves are, therefore, of great prac importance. The technique of radar is the us microwaves. Aeroplanes can be made to land s by radar control. The study of meteorology has greatly advanced by the phenomena of micro propagation. Microwave technique helps in the u standing of intermolecular interactions, and help the evaluation of important molecular and nu properties.

It has been possible for us to develop and make best Geiger counters that can be obtained from where at a fraction of the cost of imported Neutron counters so useful for nuclear studies been made in our laboratory and are being use studying neutrons in cosmic radiation at our high tude laboratory.

A development of major significance for rese is the setting up of the Gulmarg Research Obs tory jointly by the Universities of Aligarh and Ja and Kashmir. A well equipped high altitude lab tory will prove to be of immense value in the tra of young scientists in altitude physics who will in India's development.

Practically all the countries, where work on nu energy has progressed satisfactorily, have felt shortage of physicists and other trained scien Efforts are being made to encourage trainin students from secondary schools onward. I do to emphasize that we have not felt such a sho In fact persons holding Master's degrees in physics beginning to find it difficult to get employ Judging from this the inevitable conclusion whic be drawn is that Government's programme of res is not as rapid as it ought to be.

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The significance of training competent scientists within the country can be appreciated by keeping constantly in mind the tremendous possibilities that exist if nuclear energy can be harnessed in the benefit of the nation. A few of these possibilities may be mentioned. Heating of houses and factories will be its simplest use. Electricity can be produced. Already submarines have been constructed and airships and ocean liners will run on atomic energy before long.

The beneficial uses of the by-products of atomic energy are being employed on a large scale. The tracer elements (elements whose atoms can be tagged by making them artificially radioactive) are employed in pure research, in agriculture, and in their medical applications. The use of radioactive phosphorus gives vital information about the role of phosphorus in the growth of living things, which has not been understood properly. To examine the behaviour of an element in the body or in a plant, a small quantity of it is made radioactive and introduced as a tracer. The radiation emitted from it can be detected by means of Geiger counters to which I referred earlier.

Radioactive iodine seems to give promising result in the treatment of thyroid conditions. Cancer of thyroid has been treated with radioactive iodine. Numerous other uses have beeu made of radioisotopics in madicine and industry.

With such bright prospects of the new source of energy we would increase manyfold our programme of training technitians and scientists. The training should begin from the higher secondary schools.



Dr. Gill taking his equipment to a high altitude in Gulmarg (Kashmir) for research purposes on Cosmic Rays.

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NEW AIR ROUTES TO DISTANT LANDS

(*By Jagjiwan Ram, Minister of Communication*)

India has made significant progress in the field of civil aviation after attainment of Independence as in the other spheres of its activity, namely political, economic, social etc. Indian aircrafts today operate scheduled and non-scheduled services on various routes by day and night within and beyond the frontiers of India inter-linking most of the important cities of India and connecting India with many distant lands. An idea of the progress made by Civil Aviation in India after the attainment of Independence can be obtained from the following passengers, freight and mails carried and miles flown by Indian operators on scheduled services :—

Year	*Miles flown*	*Passengers carried*	*Freight lbs.*	*Mails lbs.*
1947	9,361,673	254,960	5,647,562	1,405,073
1948	12,648,765	341,186	11,947,736	1,582,645
1949	15,098,354	357,415	22,499,679	5,031,959
1950	18,896,139	452,869	80,006,756	8,356,144
1951	19,497,505	449,462	87,665,229	7,181,611
1952	19,562,267	434,480	86,037,607	8,376,813
1953	19,202,388	403,992	84,820,083	8,846,181
1954	19,798,276	431,600	86,400,000	10,673,600

It will be seen that since 1947, the passenger traffic has increased by nearly 70%, the cargo loads have gone up by 15 times, mail loads more than 7 times and miles flown more than 100%.

Prior to August 1947, our external services were confined only to the neighbouring countries of Burma and Ceylon. Since then, we have maintained a steady progress in the establishment of air services to distant lands. Our airlines now fly to Aden, Bangkok, Beirut, Cairo, Dusseldorf, Geneva, Hongkong, Kabul, Kandahar, London, Nairobi, Paris, Rome, Singapore, Tokyo and Zurich as well as to the neighbouring countries of Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Pakistan. A notable recent development in the field of international air transport services was the establishment by Air-India International of a new service from Bombay to Singapore *via* Madras on a direct route and another service connecting Bombay with Hongkong *via* Calcutta and Bangkok which has since been extended to Tokyo. The Air India International are now operating six flights per week on the India-U.K. air route. Among the external air routes operated by the Indian Airlines Corporation mention may be made of the air route from Delhi to Kabul and Kandahar *via* Amritsar.

So far as the internal air routes are concerned, our aim is to rationalise the air services, to open new routes in order to bring all the important cities of India in the air map, and to operate feeder services connecting more places of the country with the trunk routes. The Indian Airlines Corporation have acquired eight Heron aircraft for this purpose and some of these feeder routes are already in operation.

The decision of the Government of India to nationalise the air transport industry in 1953 was an important landmark in the development of civil aviation in India. As a result of this decision, two Air Corporations, namely Air-India International and Indian Airlines, were formed one for operating the long distance international services and the other for the internal air services and for services to neighbouring countries. This step was taken largely to ensure the development of air transport in India on rational lines and to provide necessary capital for the purchase of modern aircraft needed by the industry for future development.

Safety and regularity of air transport depends largely on the efficiency of the crew and the ground organisation. The Civil Aviation Department, Government of India, has kept this problem in constant view and has a Civil Aviation Training Centre at Allahabad to which provides training for pilots, engineers, aerodrome officers, control operators, radio operators, pilot instructors and technicians. The Centre has expert instructional staff and comprises four wings, namely :—

(*a*) Flying School ;
(*b*) Aerodrome School ;
(*c*) Engineering School ; and
(*d*) Communication School.

The role of flying clubs in India in imparting flying training has also been noteworthy. There are at present 11 subsidised flying clubs in India with their bases

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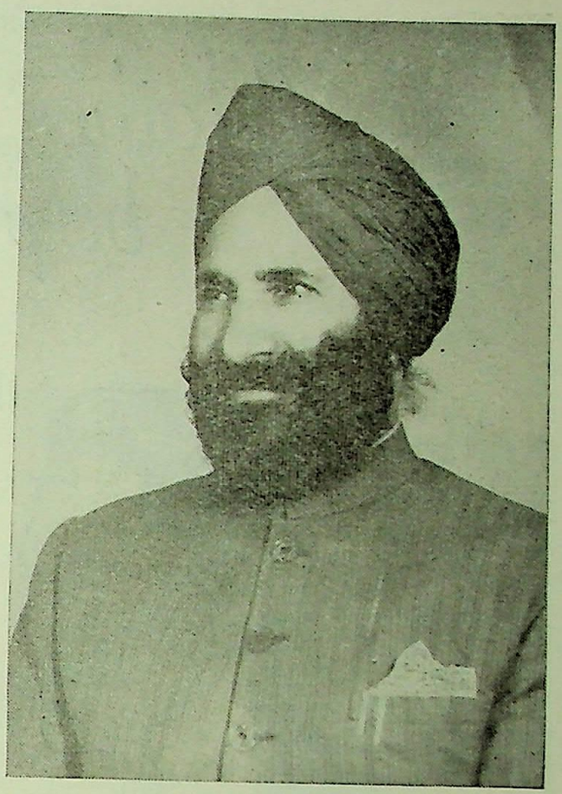
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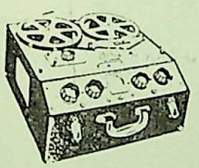
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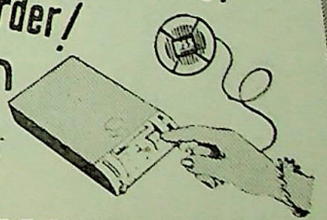


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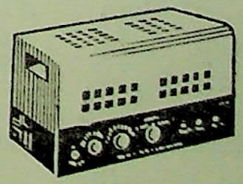
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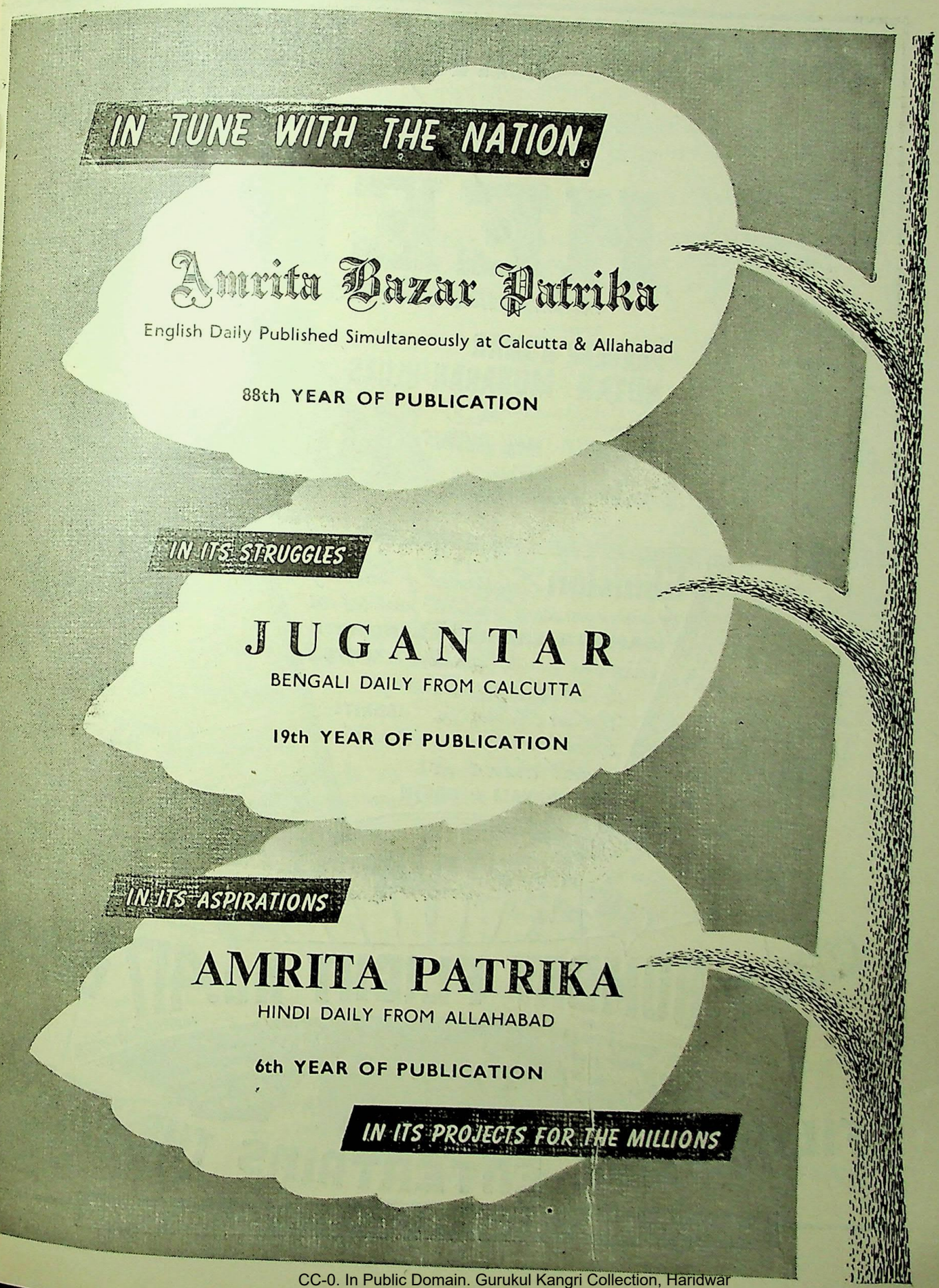
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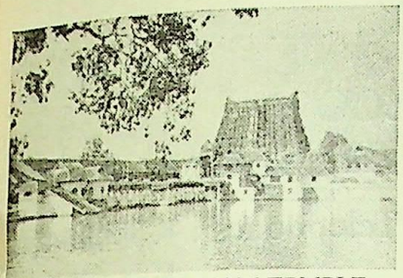
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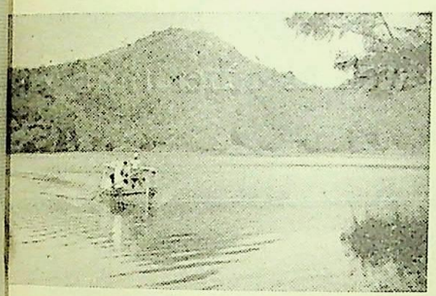
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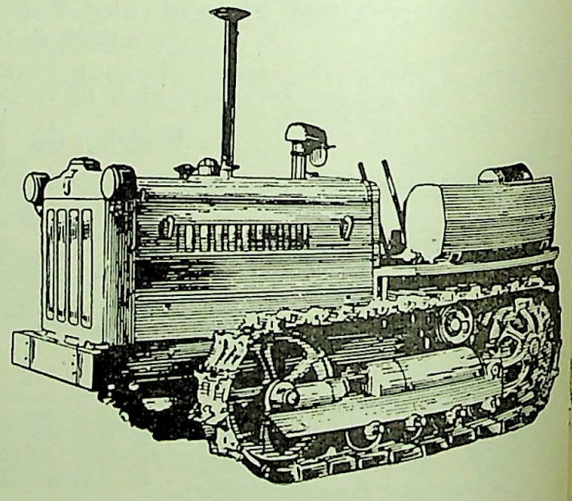
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Rs. 22½
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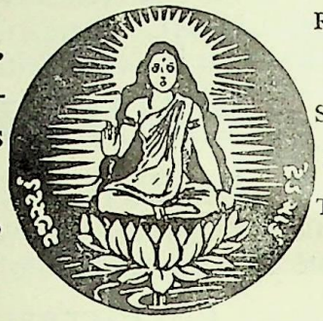
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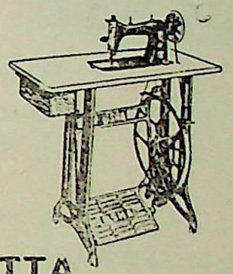
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Working Capital as on 31-12-1955 exceeds	...	Rs. 10 crores

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New IN EVERY SENSE OF THE WORD

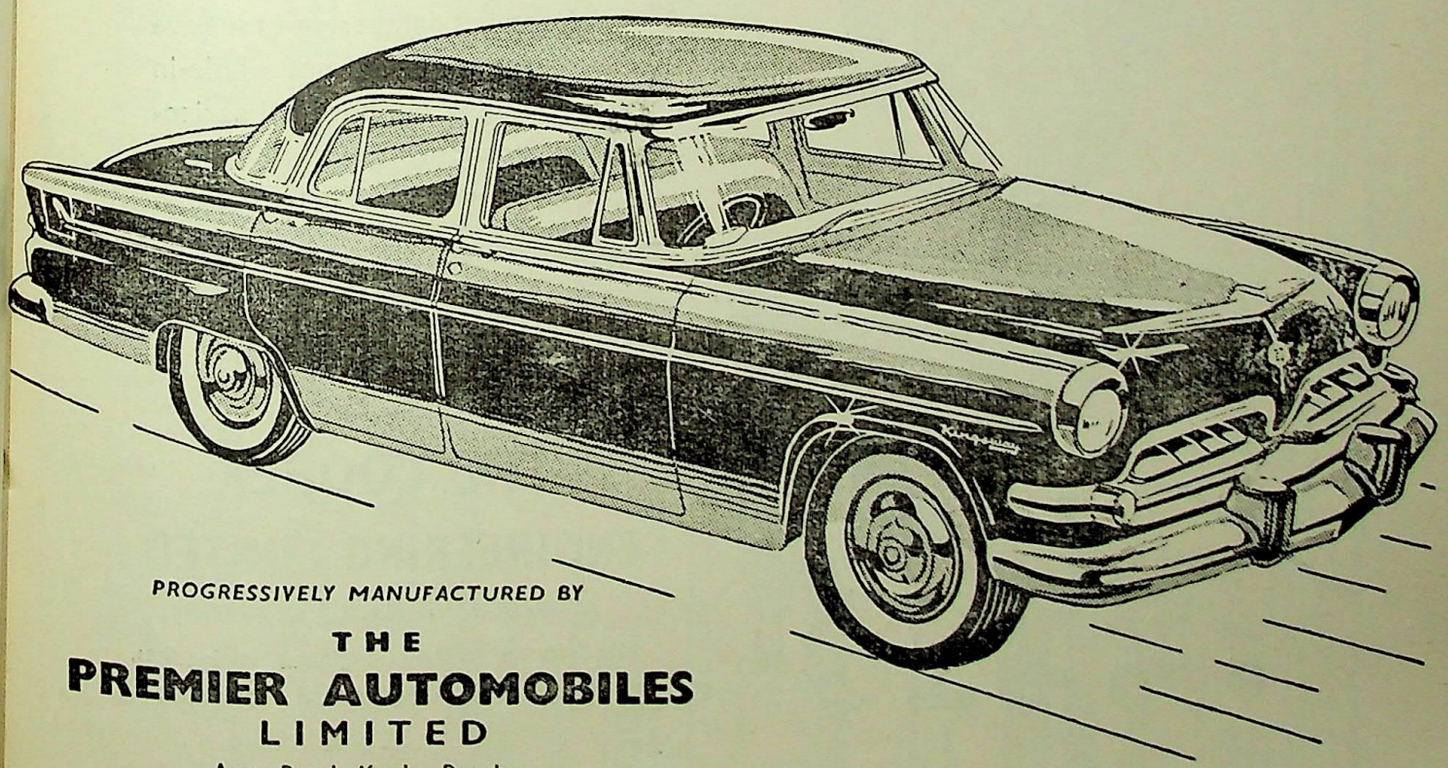
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KINGSWAY CUSTOM 4-DOOR SEDAN

LONGER – LOWER – WIDER

The car with the Forward Look

The newest thing about the new Dodge is its FORWARD LOOK, at least 10 inches longer, at least 2 inches lower. Extended-vision windshield wraps around at top and bottom to give a wider view all round. *Every Dodge car is fitted with tubeless tyres–which come as standard equipment, without any extra charge.*



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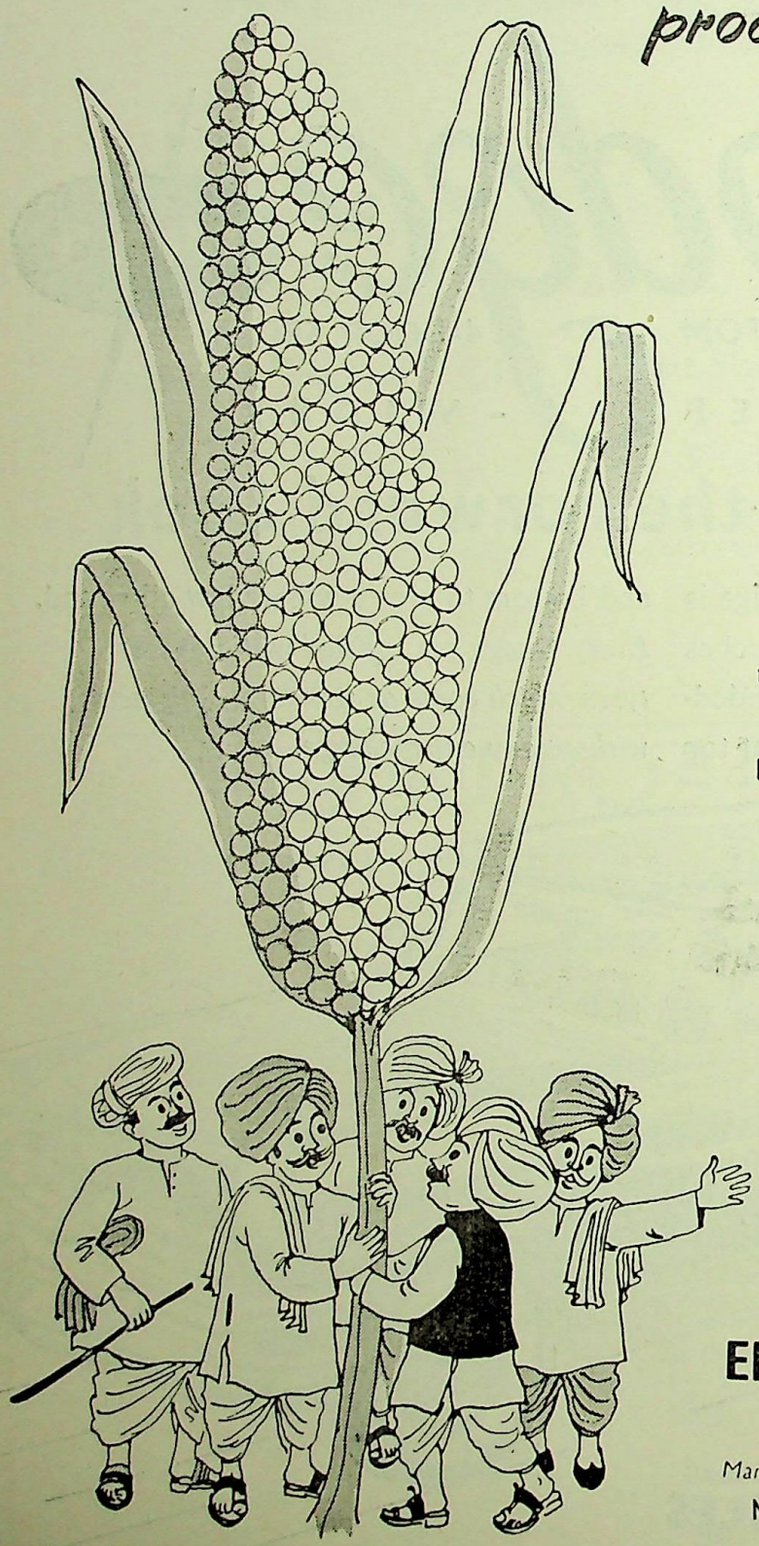
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SISTA'S PAL-214

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The Five Year Plan may not produce as big cobs, but it will certainly produce as much in quantity, and our Bharat will be self-supporting in food production.

As a result of this Five Year Plan the state of rural India at present will be completely transformed in to a land of plenty and prosperity. We do take pride in humbly stating that we –Cooper Engineering Ltd. have some share if not whole-in building our national agrico-economy and making our Five Year Plan a success.

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D.L.F's NOBLE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT

PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT TO 2,500 WORKERS

SALARY & WAGES OF Rs.2,80,000 MONTHLY

TECHNICAL DIRECTOR & CHIEF ENGINEER

COLONY DEVELOPEMENT.

SURVEYORS.	6	
TOWN PLANNING. (ENGINEER)	1	
PREPARATION OF SCHEME. (ENGINEER)	1	
EXECUTION:-		
ASSISTAN ENGINEERS.	8	
OVERSEERS.	13	
CONTRACTORS.	40	
WORKERS.	110	
TOTAL.	174	174

EARTH WORK.	5,000,000 CFT.	Rs.8,50,000
ROADS.	70 MILES.	Rs.30,00,000
STORM WATER DRAINS.	140 MILES.	Rs.6,00,000
SEWERS.	31 MILES.	Rs.15,00,000
WATER MAINS.	35 MILES.	Rs.12,00,000
ELECTRICITY.		Rs.4,00,000
TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT ON DEVELOPEMENT		Rs.36,00,000

HOUSE BUILDING

ARCHITECT	1	
ESTATE OFFICER	1	
ASSISTANT ENGINEER DESIGNS	1	
DRAWING SECTION.	10	
ESTIMATING SECTION	7	
LOD STAFF.	6	
WORKERS.	750	
TOTAL.	776	776

HOUSES BUILT DURING CURRENT YEAR
320 NOS. Rs. 20,00,000

SALES DEPARTMENT

SALES INCHARGE.	
SALES ASSISTANTS.	
SALES AGENTS.	
SALES ORGANISERS AT SITES:-	
NEW DELHI SOUTH EXTENSION.	
HAUZ-KHAS.	
RAJOURI GARDEN.	
MODEL TOWN.	
KAILASH.	
RANA PRATAP BAGH.	
DILSHAD.	
KRISHAN NAGAR.	
SHIVA JI PARK.	
ASHOKA PARK.	
NAVIN SHAHDARA.	
PREM NAGAR.	
TOTAL.	

PLOTS SOLD. 8,000
VALUED. Rs. 2,07,00,000

GENERAL OFFICE

B.O.1977

1	ENQUIRIES.	
4	RECEPTIONISTS.	
14	TELEPHONE EXCHANGE. (4 LINES)	
	DEMAND & COLLECTION.	
3	PUBLICITY:-	
2	(1) PAPER PUBLICITY.	
5	LEAFLETS.	
2	POSTERS	
1	BOARDS	
1	(2) VISUAL.	
2	FILMS.	
1	SLIDES.	
1	(3) NOVELTIES.	
1	SECRETARIAT & CORRESPONDENCE.	
1	RECORD	
1	STENOES & TYPISTS.	
10	ISSUE & RECEIPT.	40
	TOTAL	

LETTERS HANDLED ANNUALLY 63,000
TELEPHONE CALLS ANNUALLY 100000
ANNUAL BILL Rs. 7,000

STORE PURCHASE SECTION

B.O.2039 B.O.2072

2	HEAD OFFICE.	5
2	SITE STORES:-	
2	RAJOURI GARDEN	10
2	HAUZ-KHAS	3
	KAILASH	2
2	MODEL TOWN	3
	NEW DELHI SOUTH EXTENSION	3
	TOTAL.	
3		
2		
6		
2		
23		23

STORES PURCHASED
ANNUALLY Rs.18,00,000

ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT

	FINANCIAL ADVISER	
	ACCOUNTANT.	
	ASSISTANT ACCOUNTANTS	
	CASHIER	
	SCHEME ACCOUNTANTS:-	
1	RAJOURI GARDEN.	
14	MODEL TOWN.	
2	HAUZ-KHAS.	
10	KAILASH.	
27	NEW DELHI SOUTH EXTENSION.	
	HEAD OFFICE ACCOUNTANTS	
	HOUSE BUILDING ACCOUNTANTS.	

REALISATION HANDLED
ANNUALLY Rs 65,00,000

LEGAL SECTION

1	SECRETARY.	
1	LAND PURCHASE.	
1	GENERAL ATTORNEYS.	
1	REGISTRATION.	
	TOTAL.	
3		
1		
1		
1		
5		
6		
3		
22		22

SALE DEEDS & DOCUMENTS REGISTERED
ANNUALLY 2,000
REVENUE PAID TO GOVERNMENT THEREON
ANNUALLY Rs.2,00,000
LAND PURCHASED DURING CURRENT YEAR
Rs.4,00,000

TRANSPORT SECTION

FLEET -

STAFF CARS	5	
STATION WAGONS.	7	
TRUCKS.	2	
TOTAL	14	

STAFF:-

TRANSPORT INCHARGE.	1	
DRIVERS.	14	
CLEANERS	2	
WORK SHOP	10	
TOTAL	27	

CUSTOMERS CARRIED TO SITES
ANNUALLY 2,00,000

MAINTENANCE & AMENITIES

1		
3		
3	CHOWKIDARS	
3	MALIES	
10	MATES	402
	WATER CARRIERS	
	BELDARS	

GRAND TOTAL 2500

SWIMMING POOLS
PARKS. LAKES. GARDENS
& PUBLIC UTILITY SITES

CO 1977 C.O. 2039 C.O. 2042

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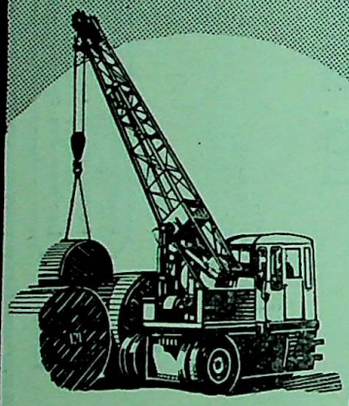
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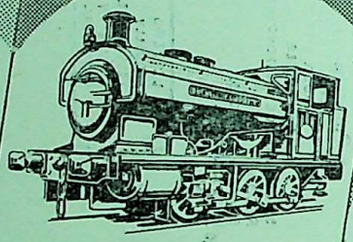
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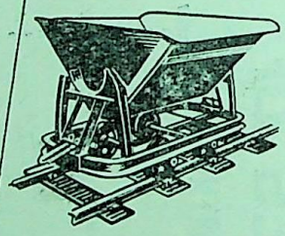
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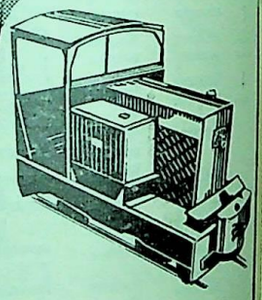
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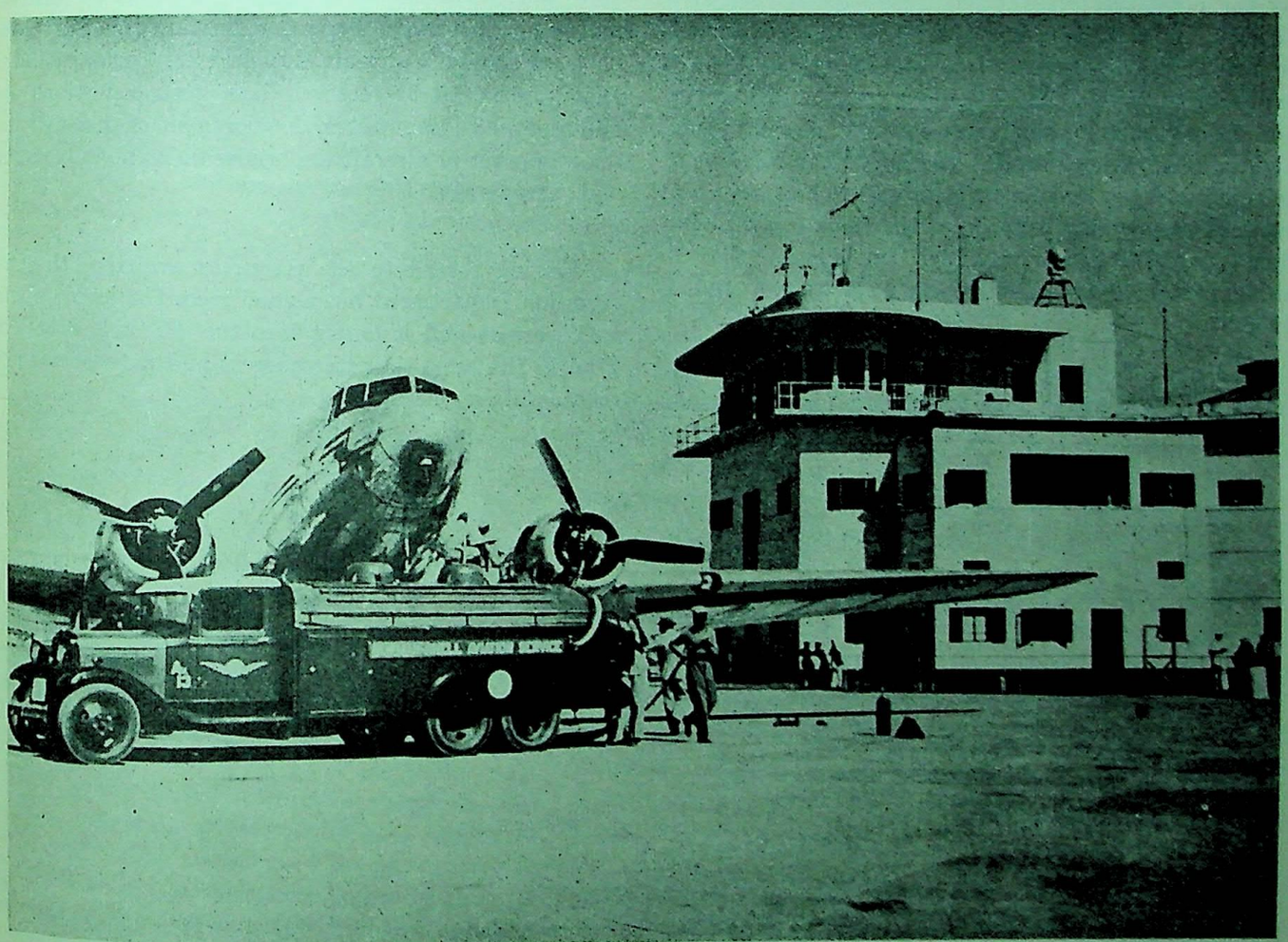
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quarters at Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Patna, Barrackpore, Bhubaneshwar, Lucknow, Jullundur, Nagpur, Jaipur and Bangalore. Another flying club has recently been started at Indore and there are proposals for starting such clubs in the States of Hyderabad and Andhra In addition, there are two Gliding Clubs, namely the Government Gliding Centre at Poona and the Delhi Gliding Club. Two new Gliding Centres—one at Allahabad and the other at Bangalore—are expected to be started shortly. The Government of India are giving generous subsidies and grants to these clubs.

A well-organised system of aerodromes and air routes is vital to the social and economic development of the country. 81 aerodromes are controlled and operated by the Civil Aviation Department (India)—three of which namely Bombay (Santa Cruz), Calcutta (Dum Dum) and Delhi (Palam), are international airports. An airport requires various types of equipment for ensuring the safety of aircraft operations. Varied types of special equipmeut, such as night flying equipment, air traffic control equipment, fire and crash equipment and equipment for salvage, first aid and search and rescue have been provided at these aerodromes. A net work of radio beacons, radio ranges and radio direction finding stations are available to the pilot for reliable and safe navigation from one aerodrome to another. Among new facilities, mention may be made of automatic visual VHF direction finders, manual direction finders, high power radio beacons and long range high frequency enroute radio telephone channel. At important aerodromes, Instrument Landing System is also available to aid aircraft to safe approach and landing during bad weather.



Air travel is glowing in popularity.

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The internal air services in India are largely operated by Dakota aircraft which has proved its worth and utility with an excellent safety record. It is, however, inevitable that it should be gradually replaced by larger and faster aircraft on trunk routes and on the services to the neighbouring countries. To meet the growing requirements of air transport in the country, orders for new types of transport aircraft have been placed. The existing fleet of aircraft of the Indian Airlines Corporation has been strengthened by the addition of eight new 'Heron' aircraft. Three new Skymaster aircrafts have also been acquired. Orders have been placed for the purchase of five Viscount aircraft. The twinengined Dakotas in the night air services have been replaced by four-engined Skymasters. The seating capacity of a Skymaster is 61 as against 21 in the Dakota. Previously, in view of the large amount of mails being carried by the night services, the passenger capacity had to be strictly limited. With the introduction of Skymaster aircraft on the night services, the Corporation is now able to offer from 25 to 30 passenger seats in the night services and the carriage load of mails and freight is also much higher. The Air-India International has already received five Super Constellation aircrafts which have been put into the regular operation on the India-United Kingdom route. Three new Super Constellation aircrafts are expected to be added to the fleet by the end of 1956-57.

India has been a Member of the International Civil Aviation Organization since its inception and has a resident member on the Council of the Organization. S has represented at the important meetings and confer ces held under the auspices of this Organization. Am the recent conferences which India attended, ment may be made of the Second Air Navigation Confere held at Montreal in August 1955, the Conference for finalisation of the draft Protocol to amend the War Convention held at the Hague in September, 1955, a the Fourth Session of the ICAO Facilitation Divis held at Manila in October 1955 to discuss and find s tion to problems relating to health, immigration a customs clearance in order to facilitate air transport.

A mention may also be made of the work of Research and Development Directorate of the C Aviation Department. The important projects un taken by this Directorater elate to successful manuf ture and development of gliders in India by utilis indigenous materials, Type Certification of a fully ae batic, all-metal, aircraft designed and constructed India, initiation of research into gust conditions p vailing over Indian routes, development of specificat for a number of aircraft and glider indigenous mater and equipment.

Having regard to the resources availabe, the C Aviation Department has a good record of developm to its credit and it enters into the Second Five-Y Plan in the hope that its progress and pace of deve ment will be maintained.

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HEAVY STRAIN ON RAILWAYS : RAPID EXPANSION NEEDED

(By Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister for Railway)

With the First Five-Year Plan soon nearing comple- outlines of the Second Five-Year Plan to come into t on 1st April, 1956, are being finalised. The broad ures of the Plan have already been announced by the ning Commission in the Plan Frame which, of course, bject to changes being made in the light of further ideration of the overall needs of the country during next five years.

s the next Plan is on a much more ambitious than its predecessor, it is important to observe magnitude of the increase in the anticipated pro- ion. This may be judged from the developments saged on the basis of the principal objectives of the These are —

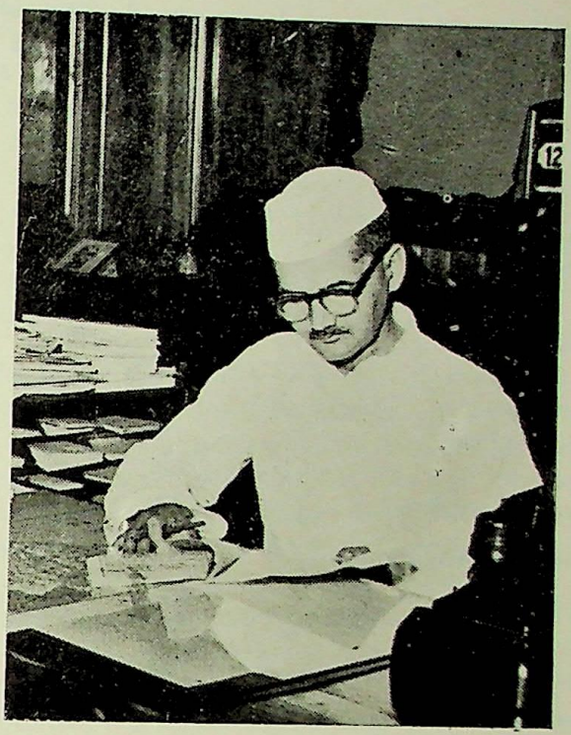
a) a sizeable increase in National Income so as to improve the standard of living in the country ;

b) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic industries ;

c) fuller employment ; and

d) social justice.

he increase in the national income estimated in ection with the Second Plan is placed at something er than the 15 per cent realized during the five s 1948-49 to 1953-54, namely, 25 to 27 per cent during -57 to 1960-61 or approximately 5 per cent per annum her increase in agricultural production are to be ided for under food in order to attain better nutri- standards and under other commodities to meet xpanding needs of the manufacturing industries, textile and sugar industries. On the industrial there is visualized an accelerated pace of develop- and expansion of heavy capital goods industries, as under iron and steel, heavy electrical goods, nt, chemicals, etc. The great hydro-electric and projects will increase the availability of cheap



power in many areas. These developments and the additional spending power released by the augmented employment in these enterprises will make for a steady increase in the demand for consumer goods and consequently for the promotion and expansion of industries supplying them. All these changes will impart a stimulating influence on the small-scale industries and community development programmes. It has been stated that the Second Plan is to meet the challenge of producing 10 to 12 million additional jobs and thus improve the employment opportunities in the country.

It is not necessary for me to go into the magnitude and the character of the development schemes in the field of agricultural and mineral production. What has been briefly referred to above suffices to indicate the enormous increases these changes are bound to bring about in transportation which railways may be required to produce and the volume of frieght they may have to handle during the Second Five-Year Plan. A general idea as to the extent of increased production assumed for purposes of drawing up the Plan may be seen from the following figures indicating the percentage increases anticipated by 1960-61 over the figures against certain industries towards the end of the First Five-Year Plan.

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Anticipated increases in the production of select commodities at the of the Second Plan as compared with the last year the First Plan

Commodities	*Percentage increase*
Steel	285
Pig Iron	350
Iron ore	225
Manganese ore	75
Cement	108
Aluminium	700
Cotton textiles	10
Sugar	50
Paper	43
Heavy chemicals	
Sulphuric acid	200
Soda ash	167
Caustic soda	203
Fertilizers	
Nitrogenous	300
Superphosphates	100
Agricultural products	
Cereals	13
Pulses & grams	30
Total foodgrains	15
Oilseeds	25
Cotton	38
Sugarcane	50
Tobacco	20
Tea	11

Some of the increases are indeed striking. But it is necessary to appreciate the fact that these increases do by no means measure the extent of the new burdens which railways may be asked to assume. These percentage increases under individual commodities indicate only the increases in the total volume of production. The expansion in the output of the different industries involves a much larger increase in the volume of transportation because of the fact that raw materials have to be moved from the mines, the farm or forests to the factory. When the raw materials have reached the semi-processed or the fully processed state, these have to be again transported respectively to other manufacturing centres or the principal trade centres. From the trade centres movements commence towards hundreds and thousands of the individual places of actual consumption. It is in t of these considerations that it is ncecessary to t account the need for an increase in transportati tantially greater than that in the actual volume duction. It should, therefore, be clear from t that in planning for production at a certain le necessary to plan for a greater increase for tra tion than the percentage increase in the quar output.

I should like to place a special emphasis needs of the railways in connection with the Five-Year Plan as railways have necessarily to the bulk of the transportation required by the According to a recent analysis, it has been fo more than 50 per cent of the total production un of the major commodity groups are moved There can thus be no question of the increased that is likely to be made on the railways in co with the economic developments during the years.

There is one other consideration which to be kept in mind. This is the time element portation has always to proceed a little ahe pace of industrial development and increase i tion. The experience of other countries has sh the rate of increase has always to be greater un portation as compared with that under pr All considerations lead to the conclusion that for transport has to start both in quantum an well ahead of industry. This is the reason behin sent financial estimates for the Second Rail which may have appeared to many as being ambitious.

I may now turn to the character of rail lopment that is envisaged during the next In the Second Plan rail transport has to be s that all anticipated demands arising on acc Plan may be reasonably met and that no imp progress arises on account of lack of trans ability. Some indication may be given of th increased demands that may be expected u and passenger traffic. Additional goods an trains have to be operated in order to cope prospective increases. Additional services locomotives, more coaching stock, more wagon staff in order to produce the additional tra Certain sections of the railway have reached

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m capacity. There is a maximum number of trains which these were designed. Further additions to number of trains would call for doubling, or, where bling already exists, for quadrupling. Better sig- ing would help in certain cases. Line capacity works ld be required in other cases. The likelihood of ching the optimum even with these improvements he near future would render it advisable to rely on er measures, such as electrification which would mit of substantial increases in capacity. A certain unt of new construction would be necessary in new as not served by rail or other forms of transport in er to develop the resources of the area in connection h the expansion schemes or new industries. Larger nbers of locomotives, coaching vehicles and goods ons have inevitable repercussions on the maintenance anization, such as the running and transportation ds and the capacity of the workshops to undertake iodical overhauls, repairs and keep up at the highest sible level the serviceability of the equipment. All se diverse items have to be integrated into a proper n in order that railways may build up their resources l capacity commensurate with the rising trend in the nand for transport.

It will be wearisome to enumerate the details of various items of works, but certain of the important egories of works and the schemes which have been der consideration in connection with the Railway n may be briefly referred to here.

The magnitude of the increase in freight traffic readily indicated by a few figures relating to certain portant industries. A large-scale expansion is ex- cted in the coal industry. The amount of coal is imated to increase from 36 million in 1953-54 to 60 llion tons by the end of the Second Plan. There is equally prodigious increase under iron and steel. the time the Plan Frame was drawn up only two ditional steel plants were under consideration *i.e.*, ilai and Rourkela. The Durgapur Project is also w under active consideration. The increase under iron d steel production appears to reach a total of 5 million ns. Cement production shows an increase from 4 to million tons. In the aggregate it has been estimated at the additional tonnage which may need to be hand- d by 1960-61 may be of the order of 60 million tons.

On the passenger side, we have the twin problems having to remove the present overcrowding and to cope with such further increases in the traffic as might materialise during 1956-57 to 1960-61.

Taking into consideration the implications of the additional transportation to be provided under these two heads, certain tentative estimates have been made regarding the amount of additional rolling-stock and facilities that would be required in connection therewith. The extent of open line works that would be needed to develop adequate line capacity and the provision of new facilities incidental to these changes, may be indicated by reference to a few major items.

In order to provide additional line capacity, the mileage of the sections to be doubled according to certain calculations amount to 2,347 miles. The renewals of the track at the rate of 1,600 miles per annum adds up to 8,000 by 1960-61. In order to cope with the exceptionally heavy density of the traffic certain sections have to be electrified. Those deemed urgent, apart from Calcutta electrification already under way, are the Asansol-Gaya-Moghalsarai (Eastern), Asansol-Jharsuguda (South Eastern) and Igatpuri-Bhusaval (Central) amount to 706 miles. According to an assessment made earlier another 900 miles of track would require to be electrified. In view of the difficulty of obtaining the necessary foreign exchange, diesel traction is being considered in order to cope with the immediate necessity. Signalling works, bridge rehabilitation, expansion of goods sheds, terminal stations, transhipment points, marshalling yards are other items on which work will have to be taken up in co-ordination with the other open line works. The size of expansion of workshops, running sheds, and plant and machinery contemplated is shown by the estimated cost of about Rs. 65 crores.

In an entirely separate category is the mobile equipment required—locomotives, coaching vehicles and wagons. As final details are still not available, I can only give an approximate indication suggestive of the magnitude of the total railway requirements. The locomotives required number 2,941 of which 1,911 are B.G. and 949 M.G. The coaching stock requirements amount to 12,321 while wagons would be 1,50,253. These figures, be it noted, are based on the original Railway Plan drawn up earlier this year and are subject to revision in consultation with the Planning Commission. But they certainly indicate that considerable increases have to

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be provided for under locomotives, coaching vehicles and wagons.

In addition to these are other items such as expansion of stores depots, safety works, amenities for rail users, training schools, staff quarters, etc.

The total cost of the Plan submitted by the Railway Ministry has been estimated at about Rs. 1,500 crores and within that estimate the construction of 3,000 miles of new railways was also included. But it is obvious that it would not be possible for the Railways to get the required funds. In the overall picture of the Plan the Railways, it seems, will have to accept a reduction. But the problems facing the Railways are tremendous. They have already many difficulties to face and the limitations of finance would all the more add to them. But I must say that shortage of funds should not in any way deter us from going ahead with will and vigour towards achieving the yearly targets of the Plan so that Railways can get more funds later on. The Railways would get priority, I am sure, in the further allotment of funds if available, provided they are not behind the targets fixed for the first two or three years of the Plan. There is much to the credit of the Railwaymen for what they have already achieved, but the test before them in the coming years is still more severe and I have every hope that by hard and efficient work the Railwaymen and Railways would be able to move faster still and achieve the really difficult objectives placed before them.

(Contd. from page 43)

National programs of education in almost all countries seek to make learning a joyful process. Efforts are constantly made to lessen the fatigue and monotony and to increase the interest of pupils. This healthy tendency must be encouraged by every means in India. It is the more necessary to emphasize this point in the Indian context, as we often have a tendency to exalt suffering for its own sake. As has always had a strong appeal to many Persons with a strong sense of idealism feel that up pleasure for the sake of their cause is the their sincerity. Suffering for the sake of an ide ennoble a person, but we must remember th fering in itself has no value and can be justifie as a means to an end. Among some teachers o Schools, there is a tendency to exalt suffer austerity for its own sake. Unless such tenden checked, there is a danger that Basic Edu instead of being a great release of the creative of the younger generation, may become a che a deterrent.

Basic Education truly understood liberate child from monotony and boredom by com mental and physical work and making academ jects grow out of the activities of a craft. It s create an atmosphere of freedom and joy in the Basic Education is, therefore, good for the child, helps him to develop his personality through chosen and self-initiated activities. What is good child is good for society as well. One advan society has already been pointed out. By mee least in part the expenses for a national sy universal education, Basic Education makes ed accessible to all. It also helps to overcome the tions of those who seek to judge all human ac in terms of social utility. All agree that educa productive in the long run, but the short-term dif often prevent the realization of the long-term Judicious investment no doubt yields profit, but one to do if there is no capital to invest ? It is question that Basic Education offers an answer. Schools seek to prove that education need not investment yielding only indirect and distant but one in which the returns can be direct a mediate.

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UNIVERSAL ELEMENTS IN INDIAN ART

NEED OF NEW APPROACH TO APPRECIATION

(By Mulk Raj Anand)

"Whole areas of mighty history are summed up," said Ruskin, "and the passions of dead myriads are concentrated in the existence of a noble national art. And if that art were among us we should feel it and rejoice."

There is no doubt that we possess such a heritage of art among us in India. But we have not been able to evolve anything like the proper method to approach it and appreciate it.

There are many reasons for the failure of our people to address themselves to the age-old traditional art, to absorb it and thus to create a new high pressure art which may extend the inspired works of the past into a future period.

First of all, the tradition of our culture was broken through the British conquest in an almost final manner about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, thus ending a prolonged phase of inbreeding. Secondly, this contest brought us into close contact with the European cultural tradition, which, though sprung from common roots with our own, had developed in a very different natural and social climate. The confusion that arose from the imposition of alien ideas was worse confounded by the deep sense of superiority that emerged soon after as a compensation for the humiliations they had begun to suffer. In this atmosphere there were claims and counter claims, categorical assertions about the superiority of the oriental or occidental cultures, based on generalisations about differences in the Indian and the Greaco-Roman traditions. And thus all that is universal in the arts of the various peoples of the world was forgotten and the contrarities were emphasised.

Now the time has come for us to try and remove the self-consciousness of the extreme European and Indian points of view and clear the difficulties which have so far stood in the appreciation of Indian art.

On the one hand we have to steer clear of the prejudice against Indian art of Victorians like Sir George Birdwood, who described a fine Buddha image as a sort of 'suet pudding', and Vincent Smith who thought that the peoples of India have been 'singularly' indifferent to aesthetic merit and little qualified to distinguish between good and bad art." On the other hand, we have to avoid the chauvinism of scholars like Ananda Coomaraswamy, who, out of his great love and genuine devotion to Indian art, was led to establish certain myths and legends about the superiority of our native tradition and to justify our present paucities by the exaltation of India's past.

How are we to achieve the necessary balance in our appreciation of Indian art ?

Unfortunately, there are many missing links in the story of Indian civilization. This civilization attained



A bronze Natraj from Madras.

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early maturity and is through our present day ignorance relegated to the uncertainties of prehistory up to a pretty late period and then lost in the annals of various social, religious and cultural groups that were seeking to assent themselves through successive waves of political conquest. Consequently, our knowledge of Indian culture is fragmentary and, in spite of much solid research work by modern critics, it still suffers from the attempts to interpret it in the light of pretty legends, abstract ideas of religion and philosophy and literary view points. All these approaches arepartial and tend to dissociate the actual art works from the world in which they were created and from the people who created them. So that the works are barely understood and remain the precious and jealously guarded preserves of a few antiquarians or specialists, without being inherited by our own people or becoming a part of the cultural heritage of humanity.

The increasing awareness of these facts, however, has already resulted in a great deal of recent research. And, thanks to a whole generation of European and Indian critics, we are now coming through the bitterness of racist opinions, and are, I feel, in a position to achieve tentative agreement about all those considerations, which may really help the appreciation of Indian art, and in the rejection of those hypothesis which obviate their acceptance.

It seems to me that this can be done not so much by rejecting this or that consideration, whether religious, philosophical, literary or formal about Indian art, but by the acceptance of any cosideration which may help to enhance our knowledge and to intensify our awareness of a work of art. For, I think, it is important to know the whole, or great part, of the background of the time in which the various art works were created. The relation of forces in different periods, and the actual evidence of the works themselves, as shown by their integral and the ruminate gaze from to the naked eye.

In this way it may be possible to realise the profundity of the religious or philosophical abstraction of which a work of art may be a symbol, and also enable us to sense the beauty and the poetry and for qualities of the work itself.

There is no dimunition of reverence to the implied in this approach. Only by separating the id which are the ancillaries of facts about a work of one can distinguish tradition from authority, one analyse, order and arrange the documents of past ture, so that they can be put to the test of the act living consciousness of a people born to a different ti And thus one can learn the lessons of ancient wo and assimilate their beauty, without seeking to rev the ideas and modes of the classical or mediaeval and engrafting these conventions in a spurious man on to present day artistic activity. It is always us to remember that whatever the religion of the patr and craftsmen who produce the bulk of the heritag Indian art, we share with them a common human And if we approach them not as gods but as men, were of their time, we shall be able to extract common denominator, in pure skill, by which ultima one work of art is distinguished from another.

After many initial errors in my own approac have found that it is only by a direct experien the rhythm or vitality of a work of art or architec a textile, or a wood carving, that it is possible to e that peculiar ecstasy or thrill or catharsis, whic the genuine inner reaction of a human being in face of creative art. Of course, the enjoyment is int sified by detailed knowledge of the opinions of period in which a particular work was made, but ultimate test of beauty is in the evasive flight of shy birds of the emotions past the created image

In this way of looking at our art all insinuat about the 'queer' mentality of the Eastern peoples evaporate. And those very differences in culture w arise from differences of climate, soil and the superst ture of ideas and beliefs and which have made people of various countries, live, move and see th in different ways, will become a fascinating study the manifestations of human genius of other times our own and in other localities than our own. Su attitude may help other people to understand certainly it will enable us to know ourselves better

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WORKERS' INTERESTS SAFE IN CONGRESS HANDS

(By Khandubhai Desai)

Introduction

The Congress has taken upon itself the arduous task of evolving a socialistic pattern of society in India. The success of its endeavours will depend on the co-operation and enthusiasm it can evoke among the millions that work in our fields and factories. Its claim to such co-operation can be valid only if it has been steadfast in advancing their interests, particularly during the years it has been in office.

It is necessary to remember that independence was never a merely political ideal for the Congress. Even when the battle for freedom was at its peak the Congress knew that freedom was only an opportunity to reconstruct the society in such a way that the humblest in the land might be relieved of the crushing burden of poverty. One has only to recall the famous Resolution on Fundamental Rights adopted by the Congress at its Karachi Session far back in 1931. That Resolution is a summing up of its aspirations which have been reiterated so often in later documents. The Avadi Resolution has only made it more articulate and purposive.

Karachi Resolution

This is what the Karachi Resolution says on labour and its rights in a free India :

"(a) The organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice, to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living.

(b) The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them, by suitable legislation and in other ways, a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

(c) Labour to be freed from serfdom and conditions bordering on serfdom.

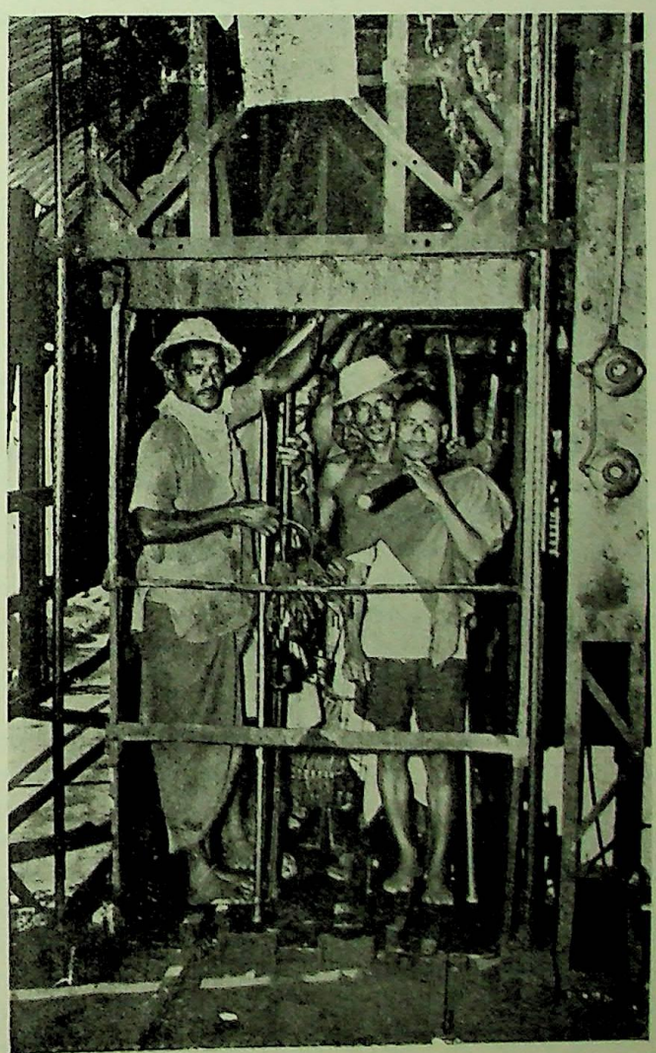
(d) Protection of women workers, and specially, adequate provision for leave during maternity period.

(e) Children of school going age shall not be employed in mines and factories.

(f) Peasants and workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests."

Directive Principles

The principles enunciated at Karachi have now been enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy



Men labourers going down in a cage. Considerable progress has been made in providing safety and general amenities to miners.

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which enjoin that the State shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things, that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength and that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women. The State is also to make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. The State should also endeavour to secure....to all workers....work, living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities. These are objectives which can be realised only by years of earnest effort. At the same time it is necessary to ensure that steady progress is maintained towards these objectives.

Assessment and Appraisal

The Congress has been in office for over 8 years now. In spite of the tremendous odds it had to face in the wake of independence, the first Five-Year Plan was drawn up and is being successfully implemented. We are now preparing a bolder Plan for the next five years. It is worth while at this stage to take stock of what has been achieved during these years in improving the conditions of the working class so that the pace of progress may be accelerated during the years to come. A brief account of what has so far been attempted in the fields of conditions of work, welfare, housing, wages, social security, industrial relations and placement and training facilities during the years since Independence may, therefore, be useful.

Conditions of Work

Improvement in the conditions of work in factories has been achieved through a revision of the Factories Act. The Act now covers all power-using factories employing 10 or more workers and non-power factories employing 20 or more. Elaborate provisions have been made to safeguard the health and promote the safety and welfare of the workers ; the minimum age of employment of children has been fixed at 14 and no child or adolescent is allowed to be employed unless medically certified to be fit. The hours of work of adult workers have been limited to 48 per week and 9 per day. For children and adolescents a 4½ hour day has been fixed. Besides the weekly holidays, adults are now ann... entitled to 1 day's leave with wages for 20 da... work and children to 1 day for every 15 days of w...

The Mines Act was amended in 1952 to make ... rate provisions for safeguarding the health and saf... workers and for promoting their welfare. The mini... age for employment in the mines has been fixed ... and persons between 15 and 18 cannot be empl... under-ground unless medically certified to be f... work as adults. The Act limits hours of work of ... workers to 9 per day and 48 per week if employed a... ground and 8 per day and 48 per week if empl... under-ground. The daily hours of work for adole... have been fixed at 4½ hours. The employment of ... men under-ground has been prohibited. Provision ... been made for annual holidays with pay at the r... 14 days for monthly paid workers and 7 days for w... paid employees, loaders and piece-rated workers wo... below ground.



LABOUR WELFARE : Free medical care is provided in Assam Tea Gardens.

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The Plantations Labour Act was brought into force on the 1st April 1954. The Act provides for health, welfare and housing facilities, prohibits employment of children below 12 years, requires medical examination of young persons between 15 and 18, prescribes 54 as weekly hours of work for adults and a 40-hour week for children and adolescents. It also provides for payment of sickness and maternity benefits and holidays with pay at the rate of 1 day for every 20 days of work for adults and 1 day for every 15 days for children and adolescents.

Welfare

The laws regulating conditions of work in factories, mines and plantations make provisions for welfare amenities at the work site. These include canteens, creches, shelters for taking food, lunchrooms, provision of medical appliance and first-aid outfits, provision of drinking water and sanitary facilities, etc. There is provision for the appointment of Welfare Officers. The Mines Act contains provisions in respect of pit-head baths also.

Apart from these welfare amenities which have to be provided by the employers under these laws, special Welfare Funds have been constituted in the coal and mica mining industries for the purpose of promoting additional welfare facilities for the workers. Under the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947, a levy is collected at the rate of 6 annas per ton of coal and coke despatched from the collieries. The estimated annual income of the Fund is over Rs. 100 lakhs. Under the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1946 a duty at the rate of 2½ per cent *ad valorem* has been levied on mica exported from India. The estimated annual income of the Fund is Rs. 13 lakhs. Separate Organisations have been set up for administering these Funds.

One of the principles of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund relates to expansion of medical facilities which is being achieved through the construction of a number of Central and Regional Hospitals, maintenance of maternity homes, reservation of beds in general hospitals, maintenance of dispensaries and ambulance vans and payment of grants to dispensary services provided by the collieries. The Fund has also undertaken extensive anti-T.B. and anti-malaria measures. About 2,000 houses have been constructed by the Fund for the use of colliery workers. Subsidies at liberal rates are also being paid to colliery owners for construction of houses according to prescribed standards. The Fund is also maintaining a number of multi-purpose Welfare Institutes comprising Welfare Centres and recreational centres with children's parks. Other activities of the Fund include provision of educational facilities, provision of training facilities for creche attendants, payment of subsidies for construction of pit-head baths and provision of mobile cinema units and radio sets.

With a view to stimulating the development of labour welfare work the Government of India launched a Scheme as early as 1946 for the constitution of labour welfare funds for all industrial undertakings owned and controlled by the Government of India. The Government makes a contribution to these Funds. The scheme is still being continued and at present about 1,20,000 workers avail themselves of the benefits of the Scheme.

So far as the factory workers are concerned, recreational facilities are provided in the large number of Welfare Centres run by the State Governments. There will be considerable expansion in the number of such Centres during the Second Five Year Plan.

The Government has now decided to set up a small high level Standing Committee on welfare standards in public undertakings with a view to working out in concrete terms standards relating to welfare measures. Once these standards are arrived at, it would be provided that in every project in the public sector provision should be made for welfare amenities according to the standards prescribed by the Committee. This would be done at the early stages while working out details of the project concerned as is done in respect of the cost of machinery etc.

Housing

Provision of housing for workers has been made compulsory under the Plantations Labour Act, 1951. In order to assist employers having inadequate resources the Government of India has decided to grant interest bearing loans for the purpose of constructing houses for plantation workers. In the coal mines provision is being made for housing, either through direct construction of houses by the welfare fund or through

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payment of subsidy to the employers constructing houses according to prescribed standards. The Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme of the Government also provides for payment of subsidy and loans to State Governments, statutory housing boards, employers and co-operative societies for the construction of houses for industrial workers. Construction of 3·41 lakhs of tenements is contemplated under this Scheme during the Second Five Year Plan.

Wages

The Minimum Wages Act was passed in 1948 in order to fix minimum rates of wages payable to workers employed in a number of 'sweated' industries and agriculture. Minimum wages have been fixed in most of these industries under this Act all over the country excepting agriculture where, because of the intrinsic difficulty of implementation, a programme of gradual implementation is being followed.

Considerable improvement has been effected in the earnnigs of workers also through industrial Awards given by the Tribunals etc. provided for under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

It is estimated that there has been an increase of nearly 8 per cent in the index of gross earnings of factory workers between 1951-53 and of nearly 7 per cent in the index of real earnings. The following table gives an idea of the increase in the earnings of factory labour since 1950 :

Year	Average earnings.	Index of gross earnings 1939=100	Index of real earnings (1939=100)
1950	965·8	334·2	91·3
1951	1030·7	356·8	93·4
1952	1109·1	385·7	103·1
1953	1106·0	384·6	99·9

Social Security

The Employees' State Insurance Act, was passed in 1948, providing for sickness, maternity, medical, disablement and dependent's benefits. The Act applies in the first instance to perennial factories using power and employing 20 or more persons. Being a pioneer measure of social insurance in India the Scheme framed under the Act is being gradually extended to the various industrial areas. More than half a million workers have already been brought under the Scheme. It is expected that during 1955-56 the Scheme will cover about 1·7 million workers.

A Provident Fund Scheme was introduced in the coal mines in 1948. It now covers all coal mining areas in the country. Provident Fund benefits have since been made available to workers in six selected industries under the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952. Over 15 million workers are now covered by this Act and the scope of the Act will be gradually extended to cover all other sizable industries.

A recent amendment of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1948 provides for payment of compensation to workers during periods of lay-off. This benefit is available to workers employed in factories, mines and plantations. The amendment also provides for payment of compensation at the rate of 15 days' average pay for every completed year of service to workers when they are retrenched.

Industrial Relations

In order to improve employer-employee relations and to provide suitable machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes, the Industrial Disputes Act was passed in 1947. It provides for formation of Works Committees in sizable industrial establishments and for suitable machinery for conciliation, arbitration and adjudication of industrial disputes.

A Bill to amend the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 has recently been introduced in Parliament. The proposals contained in the Bill would go a long way toward improving the machinery for settlement of disputes and the relations between the employers and the employees.

In order to ensure effective consultation with the workers and employers the Central Government has set up on the model of the I.L.O. a number of tripartite bodies. These are the Indian Labour Conference, the Standing Labour Committee and Industrial Committees on Coal, Plantations, Cement, Textiles, Leather Goods and Building and Construction industries. These bodies on which workers and employers are equally represented, are consulted on important labour matters.

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Placement and Training Facilities

The Central Government have been running the Employment Service Organisation for about 10 years now. This organisation maintains a net work of Employment Exchan ges throughout the country. It is also maintaining a large number of Training Centres which provide training in 28 technical trades and 20 vocational trades. It is proposed to increase the number of Employment Exchanges during the Second Five Year Plan so that there may be 1 Exchange in every district. It is also proposed to expand considerably the existing training facilities.

Agricultural Labour

The Government of India carried out in 1950-51 a comprehensive inquiry into the conditions of agricultural labour in India. The data collected through this enquiry will form the basis on which ameliorative measures in this field will be planned. The Government has already decided to compile and publish the cost of living indices of agricultural workers. It is also proposed to undertake a fresh agricultural labour enquiry in 1956-57.

Second Five-Year Plan

The proposals under consideration for the second Five Year Plan include a Scheme for a comprehensive Survey of labour conditions in India, a Wage Census Scheme, Schemes for Workers' Education and training of Welfare Personnel and extension of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme and the Employees' Provident Funds Scheme, extension of the tripartite consultative machinery so as to cover other important industries



A general view of the Worli neighbourhood unit area, Bombay.

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and an expansion of the placement and training facilities. Also special attention will be given to the development of village and home industries so that the lot of the agricultural labourer is bettered. Apart from these specific schemes, it is proposed to evolve during this period methods of closer association of workers with the management of industrial concerns, so that a step forward may be taken from joint consultation to workers' participation in management.

Conclusion

The brief account of performance given in the foregoing pages may not appear impressive to those who look for the millennium to be created in a day. But, in assessing the work that has been done during the last eight years, it is necessary to remember the tremendous odds against which the Government had to contend since independence. It will be agreed on all hands that in spite of the difficulties, the lot of the workers in factories, mines and plantations has been substantially improved. They are enjoying better security of income and employment today than at any time in the past. The plantation workers are, for the first time, having legislative protection. Wages in the sweated industries have been protected. For the first time, social insurance and provident funds have been introduced and the scope of the schemes will be continuously expanded. So far as agricultural labourers are concerned the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service have got under way and will, in good time, transform the entire rural economy. All this is no mean achievement. It is, however, only an earnest of the better future that the Congress is pledged to build up for the workers of this land. For the first time since independence economic conditions have been stabilised and we have a firm foundation on which to build the structure of a better society. The Congress will never lose sight of the ideals which have inspired its activities for more than two generations. If it has succeeded in leading the country to political freedom, it will not lack either the will or the capacity to make this country a better home for its working millions.

The working class in India will also have to play a vital role during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. The aim of policy is to transform the present society into a socialistic one. This will inevitably involve a great expansion of the public sector in the national economy. In the socialistic pattern of society the economy will depend more and more on the workers' initiative and less and less on the acquisitive instinct which has hitherto served as the motive power behind production. The working class, therefore, must prepare itself for assuming new responsibilities. It is the task of the Congress to bring home to them the shape of things to come. More and more industries will belong to the nation and particularly to the workers. They must prepare themselves for running these industries in the interests of the nation. The Second Plan period is the period for such preparation.

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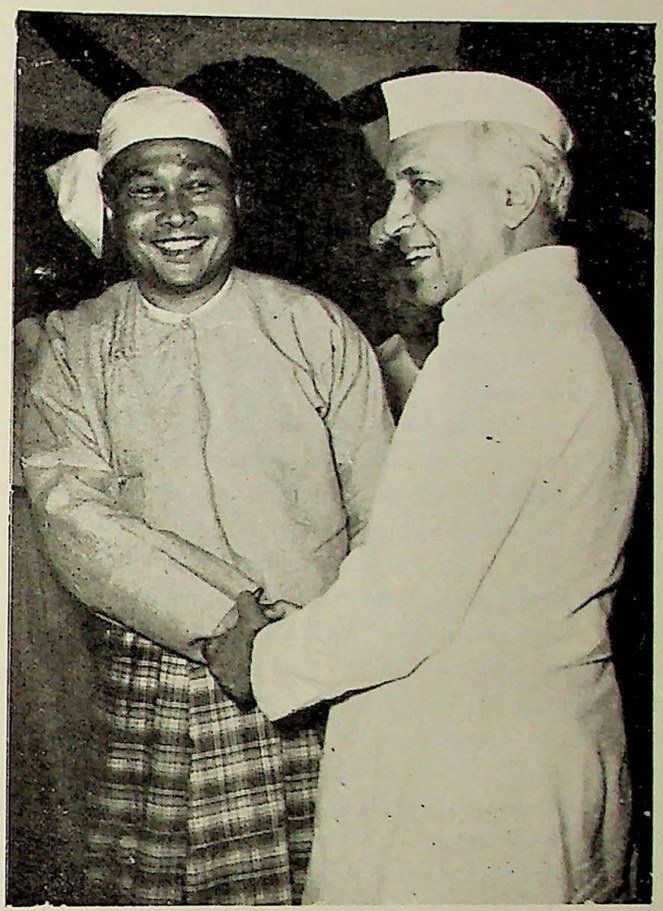
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DREAM OF ASIAN UNITY BECOMING A REALITY

(By Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Advisor, Ministry of Rehabilitation)

The big continent of Asia lay under a deep sleep for centuries. She had seen big days when at one time she led the world with a torch in hand showing the way to civilization. Her contribution to the progress of mankind on many sides, particularly in the sphere of spiritual thought, metaphysics, arts and crafts and architecture is recognised by all. The monuments of her greatness in many countries still stand witness to her achievements in art and architecture. She has rightly been called the 'cradle of civilization.'

But some thing happened. Her growth was arrested and she lay dormant. Mutual frictions and dissensions broke her to pieces and she began to deteriorate. Curiously enough this rise and fall of different countries of Asia came practically simultaneously together. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the wake of the industrial revolution of the West, the European countries began to expand themselves, particularly in search of cheap raw materials and markets for their finished goods. And the whole of Asia came under the orbit of their expansionist pursuit and almost all the ancient countries became their victims. India and China were the greatest sufferers. For long years they were the hunting grounds of the Imperialist West; their freedom was lost and these big and ancient countries were reduced to the position of the colonies of the West. But to that position they were never reconciled and so became discontented, unhappy and restless. The resistance started from the very beginning, gaining strength with the passage of time and becoming big in volume till at last the chains that bound them were broken and the lost freedom was regained. One after the other these old countries of ancient renown shed their bonds of slavery and became free, till now at last most of the Asian countries are politically free and the rest are bravely fighting for their liberty.



Prime Minister Nehru receivnig U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma at New Delhi.

All these countries had a feeling of kinship in the past days of their glory and their friendly feeling continues till today. The pages of history give ample proof of the friendly relations that subsisted between the peoples of these different countries, the frequent exchanges that took place, in spite of the difficulties of travel, of scholars and students, of monks, missionaries, Sadhus and Saints; also of traders, businessmen and travellers. In fact, the gaps in India's chronicled history have been filled in mostly by the authentic writings of Chinese travellers and by the numerous Sanskrit and Pali manuscripts and their Chinese translations discovered and brought to India by our great men like Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore and recently by Dr. Raghuvira who brought several tons of these manuscripts from Mangolia and various parts of China. These free exchanges of friendly relations, though temporarily arrested during the days of our subjugation, could not be entirely suppressed as is

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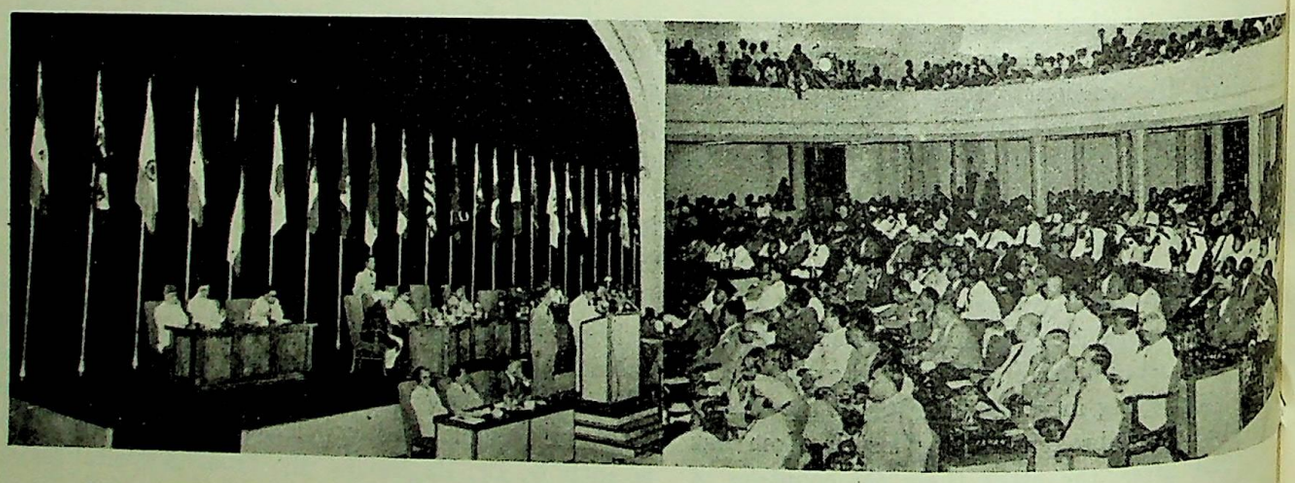
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evidenced by the establishment of the institution of Vishva Bharti University in Shanti Niketan, which, though meant for the promotion of exchange of information concerning the whole world, is specially devoted to the study of the countries of Asia. I also remember the exuberance of joy with which the news of the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 was received by the whole of India. It was the first time when after long years of suppression, an Asian country defeated a powerful country of the West. We seemed to share the glory of Japan, under the reflection of whose greatness we ourselves felt uplifted. This long dormant feeling of kinship with Asian countries has bloomed forth with great exuberance ever since we gained freedom. Even before independence, India tried to show her sympathy in many little ways open to her. Year after year, the Indian National Congress, in its various resolutions stood for the independence of the Asian countries and gave a proof of our solidarity with them. When China was at war with Japan India sent a Medical Mission led by Dr. Madan Atal, as a token of her love for the suffering people. The memory of the service rendered by the members of that small mission still lingers in the minds of the nationals of both the countries. After freedom our collaboration with these countries has been on many fronts and more frequent.

In the U. N. and outside in the Councils of International affairs, India has solidly stood for the interests of the Asian countries and their independence. W Indonesia was fighting for her freedom, India r her firm voice on her behalf. India's persistent adv for the recognition of China on the Security C of the U.N. is well known. We have also taken a p nent part in the maintenance of peace and ord Korea and Indo-China. The services of the I national Supervisory Commission under the chair ship of India, have been widely recognised and plauded. We have helped in our own little way S Burma, Indonesia and the Sudan by giving financial technical aid. The elections in the Sudan were under the guidance and supervision of one of experienced officers, whose conduct was commended by the North and South Sudan and by all the p concerned.

Our participation in the Conference at Colomb 1954 and later on, in the Bandung Conference calle the 5 Colombo-Powers in April 1955, was signifi The decisions made at these conferences are of his importance. They will, undoubtedly, effect the cou world history. They have brought the countries of and Africa together and have shown to the world Asia will henceforth stand on her own and the decisions made on her behalf by others will ev binding on her.

The initiation by the two great Prime Mi of India and China of the well-known five prin



In April 1955 the Asian-African Conference of twenty-nine nations opened at Bandung (Indonesia). India was one of the five sponsoring nations of this historic Conference which ended on a note of unanimity and in an atmosphere of the utmost cordiality among Asian nations. The picture shows Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, inaugurating the Asian-African Conference, in Bandung on April 18. The Indian Prime Minister sitting on the dais is listening to the address.

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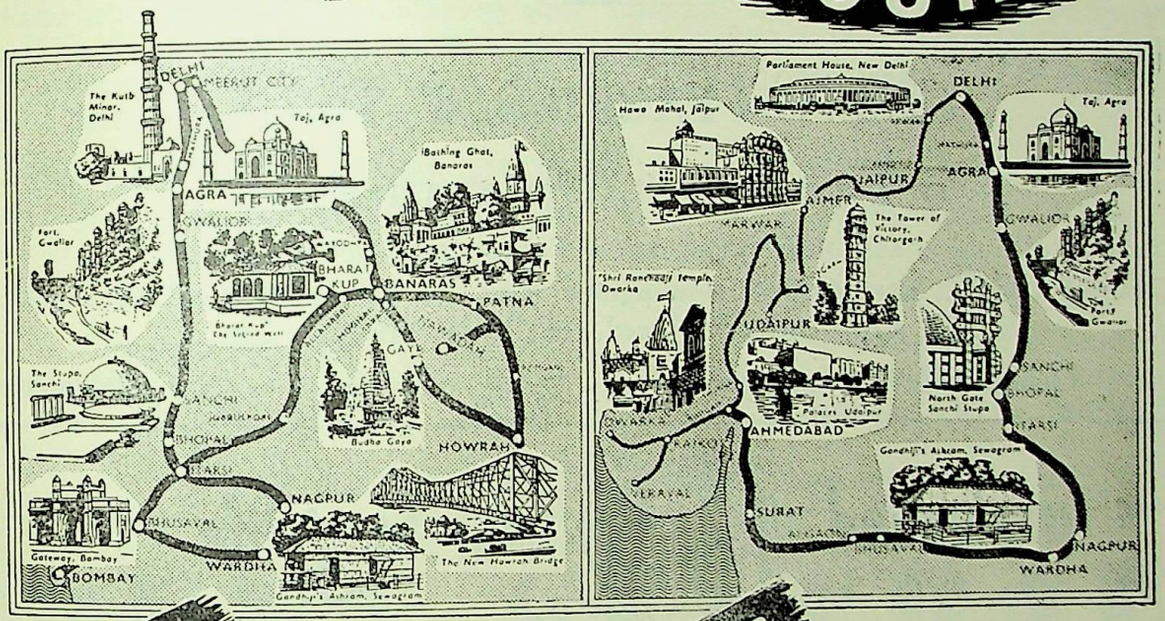
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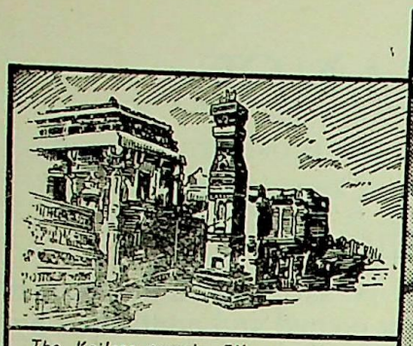
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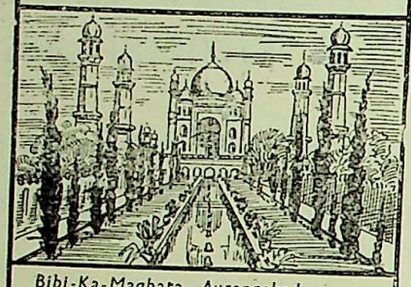
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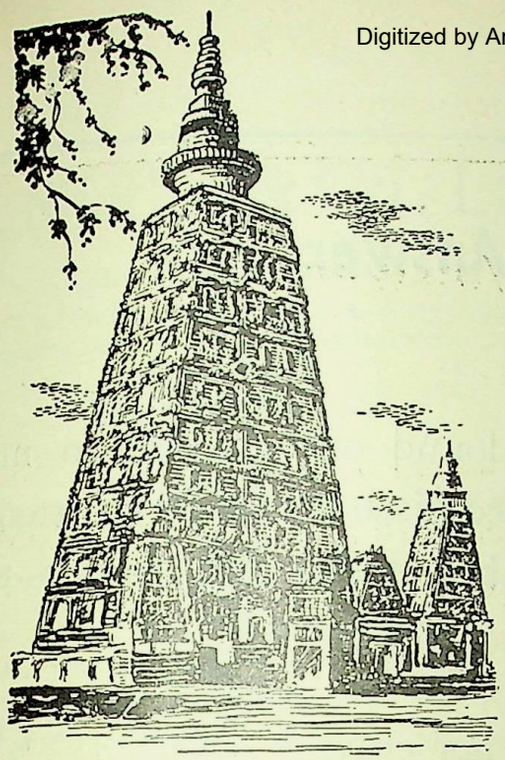
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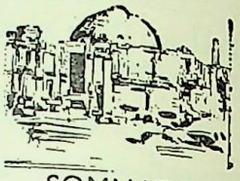
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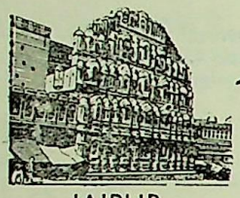
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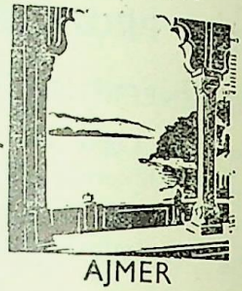
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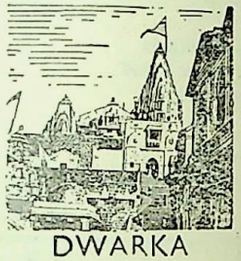

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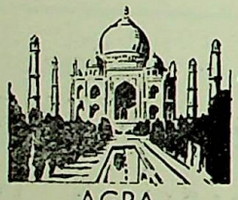

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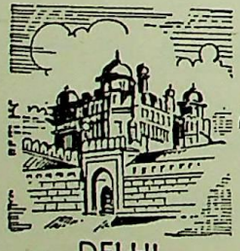

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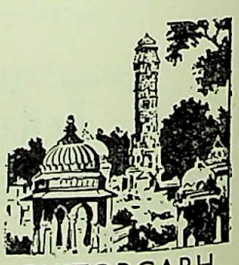

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of peaceful living which are known as the Panchshila, has led the way to the widening of the peace area and has bound many countries with ties of friendship with one another, standing solidly for peace and co-operation. The credit of all these achievements goes to our Prime Minister whose dynamic, fearless and a far-sighted policy of neutrality has greatly contributed to world peace and the solidarity of Asia.

Much of the work enumerated above has been done on Government level, but the people of India have also made their humble contribution to the cause of the solidarity of Asia. An Asian Conference, the first of its kind in history, was called by the Indian Council of World Affairs in April 1947 to which a very large number of Asian countries responded. This was a non-government effort, but was fully supported by the Governments of all the countries, whose delegates attended the Conference. This was the first occasion in modern history when the representatives of all the Asian countries could meet and exchange views on common problems of mutual interest. This Conference brought the different countries together and helped in forging a bond of friendship between them.

A second Conference of a similar nature on a public level, absolutely unconnected with any Government was called by a group of humble people in April 1955 at Delhi. It was a very successful Conference to which representatives of 16 Asian countries came and took part. The memory of this unique conference will ever remain fresh in the minds of those who participated in it. Love, good-will, friendly feelings were overflowing and a spirit of co-operation prevailed in the Conference. It seemed as if the long suppressed and latent feelings of kinship suddenly blossomed forth and delegates holding different views vied with each other in meeting and accepting the others' point of view. In the course of the short four days we all became friends though we wore different costumes and spoke different languages. We talked about political, economic, social and cultural matters and discussed how we could co-operate with each other in removing the obstacles in our way of progress. We decided to do all we could to re-orient our trade policy so as to divert it from the Western to the Eastern countries and do many other things to raise our standard of living. We exchanged information about each other's countries and pledged to help one another in all matters leading to better living. Above all we pledged to do all we can to maintain world peace, ban all nuclear weapons and bring about a general reduction of armaments.

The above narrative is a cursory account of what we have been able to do to bring about the consolidation of Asia. But we fully realize that we have only made a small beginning and that much still remains to be done to achieve our objective.

I would like to give here a few suggestions which may be taken up by us for promoting the end of Asian Unity. These suggestions are merely illustrative and not exhaustive. If and when we seriously give thought to it, we shall find that many other items can be usefully taken up in addition to those given below :—

It is a fact that the idea of mutual co-operation amongst Asian countries is still new. In all the political, economic and cultural spheres many focal points exist where co-operation can bring fruitful results. In the political sphere, a unanimous declaration can be made by all countries together that we stand for the complete independence of all nations, and the eradication of colonialism in all its old, new and subtle forms. We also stand for the equality of all nations big or small. In the case of infringement of the above, all of us may raise our voice of protest giving our moral and material support to the victim country. Unity of purpose and a solemn determination to stand by each other can give strength and solidarity to all the countries even though they may be weak individually.

The old stresses on the economies of the under-developed countries still continue. We can redress this balance by developing trade relations amongst ourselves by exchange of information on economic questions and formation of committees for the same purpose. If some top business men put their heads together and give concrete suggestions for the promotion of trade, much can be achieved. In fact research work is needed in this connection.

In the cultural field steps should be taken to bring the knowledge of the way of living in all Asian countries to the door of the common man. The Indian Committee of Asian Solidarity gave many useful suggestions for bringing the Asian countries together on the cultural level. A few points mentioned below are worthy of the

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Government's consideration and also that of the different Academies sponsored by the Government.

(1) Translation of good and modern literature from different Asian countries may be made in the Indian languages by the Sahitya Academy.

(2) The National Book Trust may issue suitable children's literature of various Asian countries in Indian languages.

(3) The Lalit Kala Academy may continue the good work initiated by International Exhibition of Budhist Art which is proposed to be held next year, by organising a permanent travelling Exhibition in various countries. Large inexpensive prints of various ancient pa of different countries may also be published to pop Asian Art.

(4) A school for Asian, African studies can a started by Government.

(5) The Education Ministry may undertake to p history text books both for school and college us the object of making the students Asian minded them an awareness of the Unity of Asia.

If all this and many of the things are done, As once again emerge a powerful continent, spreadi good influence for the welfare of the world.



An Indian Cultural Delegation, including among its members, prominent dancers and musicians, led by Shri Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, visited China. They were enthusiastically welcomed by the Chinese public. Here in the picture members of the Delegation applaud a Chinese musical performance in Peking, put up in their honour.

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SCIENCE COMES INTO ITS OWN

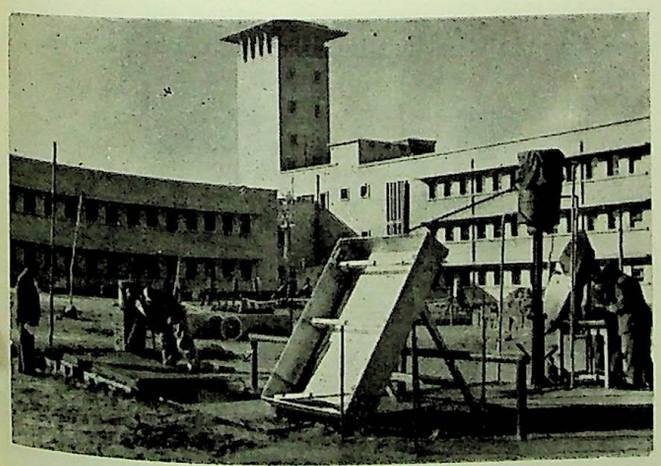
REMARKABLE SPURT IN RESEARCH ACTIVITY

(By B. N. Shastri)

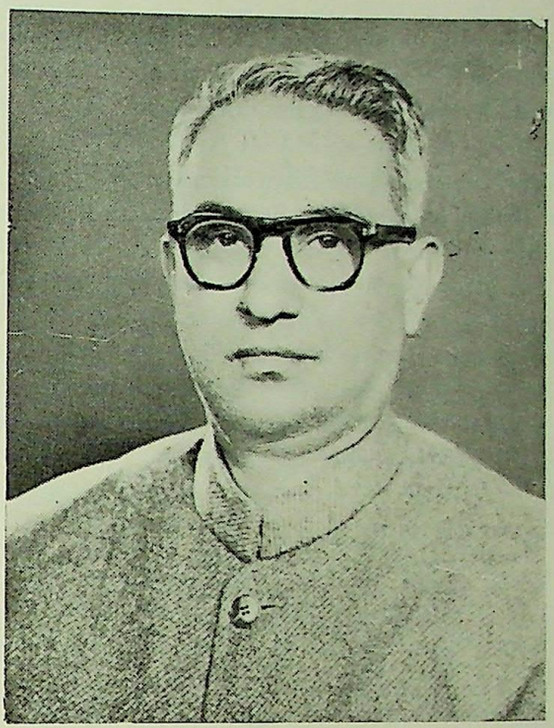
"Scientific research is the only sure way by which science can be harnessed for the best public use and for the betterment of the nation. Many other countries have beaten us in such development and though we cannot make up the work of centuries in a few years, there is this lesson to learn, namely, that humanity can be lifted out of misery only by science and its proper use. If we do not use science, we will be backward country."

These words of the Prime Minister, spoken on the occasion of the opening of the Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee (April 12, 1953), provide a measure of the importance accorded to science in Free India.

Science is no exotic in our motherland. Abstract, and even positive, sciences flourished in India since the earliest epochs of human civilization. The revival of the study of experimental sciences took place only comparatively recently and in the cultivation of these sciences and their application to practical ends "other



HEATING WATER BY SOLAR HEAT : The harnessing of solar energy for generating power is receiving much attention in the National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi. Appliances to use solar energy for cooking food and heating are also being devised.



countries have beaten us". Scientific education, even in the beginning of the present century, was directed mainly to the training of teachers. Education and research in agriculture, which is by far the most important industry in India, received some attention. Surveys of natural resources were undertaken mainly for their exploitation as raw materials for export to foreign industrialised countries. Such industries as were established in India were based on imported plants and technical "know-how". Facilities for post-graduate research were available in the leading universities and a few research institutions were established. The position of scientific research at the time of the first World War was reported to be "unsatisfactory and totally inadequate" by the Industrial Commission. Some improvements, particularly in agriculture, were made between the two World Wars. Even so, support for research was patchy and in terms of money spent, pitifully small. However, the awareness of the potentialities of science was intensified, and educationists and industrialists were becoming increasingly restive about the inadequacy of research effort in the country.

When World War II broke out, India was ill-equipped to provide the technical assistance in the required measure for the war effort. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was established in 1940 to

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mobilise the resources and help in the "development of industries whose importance has been prominently brought to the forefront as a result of conditions created by the war." Research, necessarily of an *ad hoc* character, was encouraged in university laboratories and in the research institutions that were in existence with a view to discover substitutes and alternatives for imported goods which were in short supply. The deficiencies in food supplies were sought to be met by the "grow more food" campaign. The lacaunae in the country's scientific organization became manifest. The department of Planning and Development was created and several plans were formulated for organising research in various fields of science.

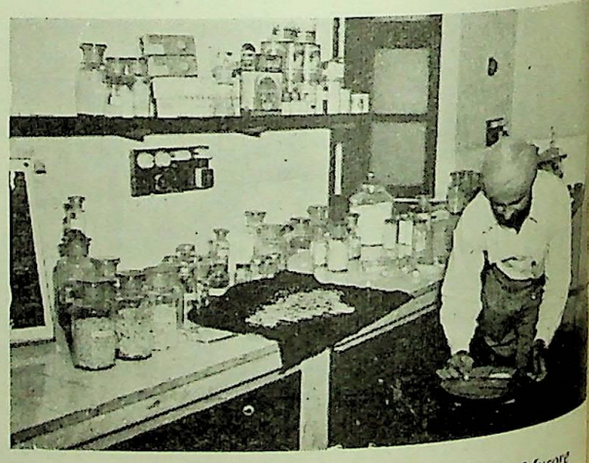
This brief retrospection into scientific education and research in the pre-independence period is of value as it provides a basis for assessing the magnitude of the progress achieved during the past few years. It will be appreciated that mere awareness of the value of active research for developing and utilizing the natural resources was not enough for achieving results. A proper 'climate' was essential for action. Freedom provided the stimulus and released the constructive energy of the people. The necessary climate for high endeavour, compelling enthusiasm and heroic devotion was created, and many plans which had been formulated during the earlier years were transformed into realities.

The first step taken by the National Government, on the very day independence was declared, was to bring scientific research under the control of the State. The Department of Scientific Research was created in 1948 under the direct charge of the Prime Minister. The Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research was constituted in 1951 to coordinate the scientific activities of the former Department of Scientific Research and the activities of the various Ministeries. A scientific Department of Atomic Energy under the charge of the Prime Minister was set up in 1954. These measures taken by Government led to a remarkable spurt in research activity in all fields. Research in neglected areas was stimulated and the prospect for utilizing science and technology for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people has now become bright.

It would not be possible to record, within the space available, the many developments in sc... that have taken place since independence. An atte... will be made, however, to mention the more impor... ones among them with a view to give an indic... of the magnitude and direction of progress in var... fields.

Applied Research

The major tasks of argicultural research and development are *firstly* to improve and extend the production of food crops to meet the needs of a gro... population ; *secondly* to provide adequate nutritio... the people ; and *thirdly* to produce agricultural materials of the required quality and in adequate q... tity for industry. Research to meet these requirem... is conducted in institutions maintained and contr... by the Central Government, in the Agricultural Veterinary Departments of various States, and u... the Commodity Committees and grant-in-aid projec... the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (I.C.A... The total annual research expenditure in pre-inde... dence period was of the order of Rs. 70 lakhs whic... comparison with the size of the country and the im... tance of the agricultural industry, must be consi... insignificant. This amount, as pointed out by A.V. Hill, is roughly two-thirds of the amount spe... that time on agricultural research in Britian, w... is about one-eighth of the size of India. Precise on the present level of expenditure on research are available, but the increase in comparison with the penditure in the pre-independence period must



At the Central Food Technology Institute at Mysore a research worker prepares artificial rice.

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substantial. The annual average expenditure on research financed by I.C.A.R. alone has increased four-fold. Research facilities in all the institutions financed by the Central Government have been stepped up and more Commodity Committees have been constituted the present number being eight. Pest control and plant protection measures are being intensively studied. Grassland surveys have been instituted. In the field of animal husbandry, the anti-rinderpest campaign has been organized on a nation-wide basis. Dairy research has been intensified. Fishery research which had been neglected in the past has been encouraged and research stations have been established for inland and marine fisheries. Development Boards have been set up for tea, coffee, rubber, and coir to watch the interests of trade and industry. Technological research on timber utilization and minor forest products has received increased emphasis.

Notable developments have taken place in the field of medical research. The status of medical research in the pre-independence period was described by the Health Survey and Development Committee (1946) as "narrow and restricted in scope and totally inadequate." Research in pre-clinical sciences—anatomy, pharmacology, physiology and normal psychology—and in pathology and bacteriology was negligible. Practically no research of any significance in clinical medicine was being carried out. Some useful work on tropical diseases and nutrition was being done in special institutions maintained by State and Central Governments. There was an almost complete absence of research in university medical colleges. To remedy the situation and to stimulate medical research, the Government constituted in 1949 the Indian Council of Medical Research (I.C.M.R.) on the analogy of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. The I.C.M.R. has set up research units on a semi-permanent basis for specific subjects, *e.g.*, neuro-pathology, viruses, environmental hygiene, industrial health and indigenous drugs. The scope of nutrition research has been enlarged to include nutritional disorders and diseases. Teaching and research in bacteriology, pathology and protozoology has been encouraged. The Council received an annual grant of Rs. 12 lakhs and additional grants for research projects approved by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Health. Almost all fields of medical research are covered by the activities of the I.C.M.R.

Even more spectacular is the expansion in scientific and industrial research. The Council of Scientific & Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) which had its beginnings during the war period set up, in 1945, a Research Planning Committee "to survey the existing facilities for scientific and Industrial research and to report on measures to promote and organise research in the country." The Committee found that "research activity in India does not represent even the barest minimum whether judged by international standards or the actual requirements of the country" and recommended the setting up of a number of national laboratories and specialised research institutes. A network of fourteen magnificent laboratories has since been set up in various parts of the country and proposals for a few more are under consideration. The capital invested on buildings and equipment of national laboratories was reported to be Rs. 770 lakhs up to September 1953. The annual recurring grant to the Council which was Rs. 21 lakhs in 1946-47, had risen to about Rs. 202 lakhs in 1953-54. The laboratories provide facilities for research in physics, chemistry, economics, botany, fuels, metallurgy, building construction, roads, foods, drugs, leather, glass and ceramics, electro-chemistry, electronics and salt.

Existing research institutes have been expanded and research in power engineering, internal combustion engineering, aeronautics and other engineering fields has been initiated. A Board of Engineering Research has been set up. Cooperative research by industry has been encouraged and some industries, notably the textile industry, have already established research associations. By a system of grant-in-aid, research in universities has been stimulated and several schools of research have come into existence. The annual grant from the Council towards sponsored research was Rs. 8 lakhs in 1952-53. Among other organizations which have been set up since independence to assist science and industry are the Indian Standards Institution, the National Research Development Corporation and the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre.

A proposal to constitute a Board of Biological Research to deal with branches of research which can-

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not be classified as industrial, medical or agricultural, *e.g.*, ecology, cytology, genetics, general physiology and biophysics, is under consideration.

Scientific research for defence services has been neglected in the past. Science plays a large part in military operations and the knowledge and experience required for defence cannot be improvised or purchased from others. The Government of India have set up a Defence Science Organization under the Defence Ministry and Scientific research and technical development for defence purposes are beginning to receive attention.

The scientific surveys under the Government have been greatly enlarged. The material resources of India are abundant, but inadequately known. The Geological Survey of India has been expanded and departments for geophysical exploration and for the study of underground water resources have been organised. The Botanical survey has been revived and reinvigorated. Survey and exploration of the enormous wealth of Indian flora and fauna, apart from providing scientific knowledge of the country's resources, have important practical bearing on argriculture and industry. There have been also important developments in the activities of the meteorological department and valuable work is being carried out on upper air meteorology, seismology, hydrology, wind regimes, and rain and cloud physics.

Academic Research

Enough has been stated to show that research facilities have been expanded in the many aspects of applied science —agriculture and animal husbandry, medicine and public health, industrial research, surveys and natural resources, engineering and defence science —affecting the welfare of the country. In addition, pure or academic research has received due attention. This is particularly noteworthy, because in the context of State support for research the danger of academic pursuits suffering neglect cannot be ignored. "Applied research tends to drive out fundamental research," says Dr. Vannevar Bush in *Science—the Endless Frontier*; he points out that this danger must be guarded against and State support should be directed in such a manner that the sources of knowledge are maintained at the highest level of functional efficiency. In the course of his speech, on the occasion of the ope of the National Physical Laboratory (January 1950), Shri C. Rajagopalachari, *then* Gover General of India, said :

> "Money spent on fundamental research is money wasted on empty prestige, but is a good necessary investment which progressive nat will do well not to drudge. When we reach critical point in anything, it is only science can help. It would be unwisdom to limit scien research....It is a good investment to give much as we can to eminent men devoted to cause of searching truth. If we limit the ef and the operations of scientific men within tarian plans and schemes, we may make s and useful routine achievements, but the big discoveries never come that way. They come to say, by accident and indirectly, and then discovery produces an enormous gift for hu progress and happiness."

These observations provide an assurance that the quirements of scientific enquiry will not be jeopard by the emphasis which applied research is gaining India under State patronage. The institution National Professorships and the appointment of P C. V. Raman as the first National Professor is an in tion of the importance attached by Government fundamental research. Energetic attention is also b given to scientific research in universities and the t all-India Councils for agricultural, medical and in trial research are financing research projects in versities as a means not only of securing new knowle but also of training research personnel.

Objectives and Tasks

It will be clear from what has been stated that creation of a 'climate' favourable for the cultivati science and of increased opportunities for the tale youth of the country to pursue scientific research stimulating surroundings with necessary research are among the achievements which should find pr nent mention in any review on the progress of sci in free India. It is not implied that all that need done has been done. Organising of science dem continuing vigilance and the requirements of sci should be kept constantly under review.

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The expansion of research facilities has led to a remarkable increase in research effort in all fields of science. One has only to visit the annual session of the Indian Science Congress to get an idea of the magnitude of the change that has been brought about. The horizon for science and its applications rapidly expanding and research has gained in prestige. Planning of science with a view to securing its effective impact in national development programmes has assumed importance. It may be recalled that various committees appointed in the past to examine and report on the progress of science, had deplored that in the absence of a national industrial plan, research in India was aimless and drifting. Revolutionary changes have taken place during the past few years and the objectives to which scientific effort should be steered are becoming increasingly vivid. The production of cheap hydroelectric power, to which Government is devoting much attention, has rendered the establishment of new industries possible. The extension of irrigation facilities in the vast river basins have improved the prospects for raising agricultural production. Rural development programmes through Community Projects and National Extension Schemes hold great promise for bettering the social, industrial and agricultural conditions and for improving the amenities of life throughout the country. The industrial policy of the Government, formulated in 1952, lays great stress on the development of industries under the public sector. In pursuance of this policy developments are being planned and Government have set up factories for the manufacture of machine tools, iron and steel locomotives, ships, aircraft, railway coaches, telephones and cables, electronic equipment, fertilizers, etc. The success achieved under the First Five Year Plan has encouraged the formulation of a more ambitious Second Five Year Plan with particular emphasis on basic heavy industries for producing capital goods and on the expansion of existing industries and creating new and decentralized industries for producing consumer goods. These projected developments pose many problems on the exploration, processing and utilization of our natural resources which demand for their solution the application of well-directed technological research.

If scientific research is to make an effective and speedy contribution to national development in all its phases, it should be planned and directed to definite objectives. In the context of the magnitude of the developments taking place in India, such planning calls for scientific statesmanship at the highest policy level. Research in university laboratories, Government departments and industrial organizations should be coordinated and its applications to technological purposes should be correlated to national needs. Large numbers of scientific and technical personnel are required for undertaking research and for operating the various development projects. The supply and training of personnel is a major task of scientific education which universities and scientific institutions should accept as their contribution to the national development programme. This task is one of peculiar urgency and unless it is tackled energetically and boldly, it may seriously impede progress. There is need for research men in the whole alphabet of sciences—from astronomy to zoology—and in all the varied applications of science—medicine, engineering, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and all the rest. Past neglect of science has led to a serious shortage of trained personnel and a tremendous effort is needed to mobilise our resources to discover and train the right type of men and to encourage them to give of their best to the nation. The emphasis here is on quality, for nowhere is quality more important than in creative endeavour leading to the promotion of knowledge with new and revolutionary practical applications. Universities which constitute the sources of trained research personnel should be strengthened and their vitality as centres of teaching and research should be safeguarded. The building up of research schools takes years. More recently, Government and research establishments have drawn heavily on them with the result that they have been greatly impoverished. More grants for buildings and equipment, more post-graduate scholarships and more post-doctorate fellowship should be provided. More technological institutions with research departments should be established. In the matter of training personnel, we should aim high. As Prof. A.V. Hill recently wrote : "Let us aim to double or treble the number of students who are given a higher education in science and technology ; let us raise the standard of entry by accepting only the best students regardless of private means ; let us raise the quality of their education by improvement in accommodatic equipment and teaching. The final result may then be the five-to-tenfold development and increase of scientific and

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technical education, which the technical needs of our future will require." We have no data on the precise requirements of trained personnel for various activities. Such data as were collected by the Scientific Manpower Committee in 1947 are out of date. The requirements have to be determined afresh and adequate funds should be deployed to stengthen scientific education. Complacency in this regard will inevitably affect progress.

A National Science Policy

We have underlined here the importance of planned research and the training of technical personnel. These are major tasks which have to be tackled with vision and boldness for ensuring that the country's scientific resources are effectively utilized in the national interest. These problems are inevitably associated with others and they should be tackled in concert and in accordance with a national policy. The increasing interest of Government in promoting and applying research emphasizes the need for discussing general principles which should govern organizational and other aspects of science. Such policy matters best be considered by a high power committee co sed of officials and nono-fficials. The committee invite scientists from outside to be present for the cussion of special subjects or for giving evidence

An attempt has been made in this brief review high-light a few of the developments in the expan field of scientific research in India. Starting alm from scratch, viable organizations have been built for promoting research in its varied aspects. Fur expansion of scientific effort is limited by the a ability of trained personnel, and one of the major t of scientific education is to discover young men women with necessary aptitudes and train them fo various calls awaiting them. Reference has been also to the importance of planning science and the for formulating a national science policy. Scientists fortunate in the sense that their vocation by its nature is dedication to an end. Opportunities for dedication are not lacking. Science in India has c into its own and its continuing advancement will en a prosperous future for the country and its peopl

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RURAL HOUSING PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

(By N. R. Malkani M. P.)

Man has a number of wants which are generally classified as necessary, conventional and superfluous. Among the first we include the need for food, cloth and shelter, besides the biological need of reproduction for survival. Judging by the acid test of meeting our necessary wants the First Five-Year Plan may be judged as partially successful. The target for cereals which was fixed at 55 million tons has been already exceeded by about 2 million tons. The target for cloth fixed at 6,500 million yards is expected to be reached by handlooms in 1956 and has already been exceeded by the mills. We have been put on a "subsistence" level with regard to food and "cover level" with regard to cloth. The next Plan will aim at comfortable margins in both. But the need for shelter i.e. housing, is also considered the third necessity. The First Plan provided a small sum of Rs. 50 crores for Housing, out of which about Rs. 38 crores was allotted to Urban Housing. Less than half has been actually spent but next to nothing on Rural Housing. The latter was entirely left to the States, which were advised to spend about Rs. 12 crores. No one knows how much has been actually spent. The Community Project Administration was expected to provide something by the way for Housing. Apart from Housing their own official personnel, it was advised to have demonstration and training in improved techniques and designs for rural housing. In congested villages the development of new sites, opening of village parks and playgrounds and assistance in the supply of building materials, was considered to be necessary. The latest Progress Report upto September 1954 is as follows :

	Upto Sept. 1953	*Upto Sept. 1954*
Houses constructed	9,100	1,273
Houses reconditioned	95,287	1,075

This is all that has been done in about 500 Community Development Blocks. There is no provision for Housing in National Extension Blocks. The pittance that has been spent is by way of loans without any grant or subsidy. My knowledge of Community Blocks, though very limited, extends to having seen a few ventilators or windows by way of 're-conditioning' and not having seen a single new house. Improved techniques and designs and development of new sites etc., is a fine flourish of pious expressions that was somewhat soothing to the writers of the Report. In fact, the problem of Rural Housing is a staggering one and requires any amount of courage to grapple with it. According to the latest Census, out of a total rural population of 2,950 lakhs 2,405 lakhs of agriculturists can be classified as follows :—

	Self Supporting	*Dependents*	*Total*
	(lakhs)	(lakhs)	(lakhs)
(1) Cultivators of land	530	1,401	1,931
(2) Agricultural Labourers	143	287	430
(3) Landlords & Rentiers	14	30	44
	687	1,718	2,405

The total number of new houses required for the above three categories would be about (considering the average size of family of a labourer to consist of four and of others to consist of six members) :

(1) $\frac{1931}{6}$ = 322 lakh houses

(2) $\frac{430}{4}$ = 108 ,, ,,

(3) $\frac{44}{6}$ = 7 ,, ,,

437 ,, ,,

Thus, there would be a total demand of 437 lakh new houses. In fact, the last category being of the well-to-do would mainly require 'reconditioning' of houses. It is anybody's guess as to the number of new houses

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required by cultivators. It may vary from 50% to 80% of the total but for practical purposes we may suppose that only 50% of housesr equire renewals and 50% must be new. The agricultural labourer is the weakest in the series and his need may be for 80% new houses and only 20% renewals. By any calculation or the lowest calculation of, say Rs. 1,000 for a new house (of two rooms) and Rs. 250 (for renewals) the estimates of expenditure would mount into thousands of crores. I have seen calculations varying from Rs. 3,000 crores to Rs. 30,000 crores, according to the feelings of the evaluator. The magnitude of this problem seems to deter everybody from coming to reason... terms with it. A beginning has been made by the P... Plan by way of expression of good wishes sans finan... sans personnel, sans organisation. The challenge ... to be taken up by the Second Five-Year Plan or ra... by the Housing Panel of the Planning Commission.

It is necessary to fix the basic policy, with pri... ties, the provision of suitable finance, the settibg up ... a working organisation and lastly the training of pers... nel. We shall begin with the first and make an impress... beginning with the agricultural labourer. Some li...



A neat and clean ideal home in a village in Nawashehr Community Project in the Punjab

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aid may also be given to the direct cultivators and the last category let alone. The agricultural labourer naturally comes first as he is practically house-less if not home-less, without even a site for putting up a house. In fact, the Government has recognised the prior claim of the house-less amongst the millions of displaced persons by building tenements mainly for them. At the same time a substantial beginning must be made so as to create an impression in the rural region and to tackle the problem effectively. Our Republic has fixed a period for introducing free and compulsory education within 10 years. We are out to give fresh employment to 24 millions in two Plan periods. The Community Development Blocks will cover India over 10 years. The Congress has accepted Basic Education as the pattern to replace the existing one in 10 years. The Housing problem cannot be left to itself to be solved within the next 50 or 60 years. Considering the vastness and extent of its spread we may give 20 years or say 4 plan periods for wrestling with it. In that case, I suggest that out of the 80% of new houses needed by agricultural labourers, the Second Five-Year Plan must find means to build 40% i.e. 44 lakhs out of 88 lakhs so badly required. Such a limitation in size is dictated by the hugeness of the problem and yet any material reduction in this size will not only prolong the period but betray our lack of earnestness in taking up the challenge. We must cease to tinker with the problem or blink our eyes fearing to face it squarely.

What funds would be required for this important job. This would depend on the kind of hut that we intend to provide and the cost of building materials to be utilised. I am firmly of the opinion that the minimum housing needs of a human being are two rooms, a verandah, a kitchen and an open courtyard. It is not only inadequate but utterly wrong to provide only one room for any human family. Sanitary and Hygienic standards require a covered area of at least 100 sq. feet per head. I would, therefore, provide about 500′ of covered area (300′ for 2 rooms and 200′ for verandah) for each labourer's family—the kitchen being an enclosed part of the verandhah. There should also be 500′-700′ of open but enclosed courtyard, with provision for a small cattle-shed in the corner. This excludes the bath room and lavatory, which may be common for a block of 10-20 huts. A new rural house of smaller dimensions will be a hovel not a human habitation. Such a house has been estimated to cost anything from Rs.1000 to Rs. 3000 depending on building materials used. I would accept the lowest estimate of Rs. 1,000 only and use the cheapest building materials, ranging from bamboo cum straw to sun-burnt bricks with kiln bricks upto plinth. Different regions have different materials, with Assam having the cheapest and most plentiful materials to Punjab having the dearest and of a superior quality. The natural soil is the most common material used, made "stable" by mixture of cow-dung, rice cheff, or wheat stalk or "san" fibre. It will take some time before it is stabilised with 3% "cement". The technique will have to be taught and we have not enough of cement. The use of lime and gypsum has to be more liberal but that will go into the houses of the higher classes. Almost all the building materials, but mainly the soil and wood and grass, will be local—immediately local and requiring bullock cart transport. Thus, the building of 44 lakh cottages at Rs. 1,000 per cottage, will probably cost Rs. 440 crores, each cottage having 500′ of covered and 700′ of open area. Even this sum to begin with, may be reduced to half, by providing the required area but helping to build only one room now and the next in the third Plan. This would be a bad thing but an unavoidable necessity, dictated by lack of funds. An additional sum of Rs. 30 crores should be set apart for Co-operative Housing Societies of peasants, for renewals of houses, for acquisition of sites, for village and regional planning etc. It is necessary that the benefit should be enjoyed by all classes but by the labouring class in special. It is also of importance that the benefit should be spread over extensively and not as a concentrate by way of so-called 'model' villages in 'model' Community projects. There are no such model things in reality nor model residents for them. I would suggest that new houses should be built mainly in villages of 100 families and more. Also such new houses should only be built in blocks of not less than 10 and not more than 20 units to make an impression on the village and even give it a 'new look' that attracts. Thus the problem has now been reduced to proportions which admit of a proper approach on the way to a reasonable solution.

It is well-known that among all categories, urban and rural, the lowest and lowliest is that of agricultural labourers. There are no comprehensive surveys of any category for the whole of India but a few sample surveys have recently been held by Universities and Research Institutes. The Governments of U.P. and of West Bengal have also initiated wider surveys. The Union

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Ministry of Labour has produced the most satisfactory labour survey. On a rough estimate it is now believed that the per capita income of agricultural labour is only Rs. 104 per year and the per capita expenditure exceeds this income. So also agricultural labour is approximately employed for only 189 days in a year in agriculture, for 29 days in casual labour and remains unemployed for 100 days. In north India (U.P.) however he is employed for 289 days in a year. The U.P. family survey shows an annual family income of Rs. 551 as against an All-India family income of Rs. 447. It is, therefore, impossible for this class to find any resources for building its own houses. It is, however, the one class most ready and qualified for self-help. It will do almost all the labour necessary for building its own cottage, including a little skilled masons' work. And the ratio of materials to labour cost in rural housing is far different from that in urban housing. In fact, the bulk of cost is labour, both skilled and unskilled. Agricultural labour will be ready to contribute labour worth Rs. 250 if Government contributes the balance of Rs. 500 for completing a one-room cottage. No urban housing even contemplates such a substantial contibrution by the occupant himself. The Government on its behalf must advance Rs. 500 half by way of subsidy and half by way of cheap loan, recoverable in 10 years. In fact, a recent conference of Works and Housing Ministers recommended as follows : 25% subsidy by the Centre; 25% subsidy by the States; 50% loan by the Centre. I suggest that the loan may also be divided as the subsidy between the two. In no case should the Centre shunt off the whole burden on the States. The States cannot and will not bear such a burden.

With regard to several subsidiary matters I am clear that rural housing does not present a fraction of the obstacles that face urban housing. Firstly, there will be hardly any demand for steel, cement, and timber so much in need in towns. There will be hardly any expenditure on 'development' of plots, by way of provision of drains, roads, lighting, except of an elementary kind. There will be no need for any contractors or special building agencies to construct the huts. A few model plans and designs may be prepared and broad-casted bearing flexibility in the choice of a plan according to needs. Where a new site is not available it will be possib... persuade all the villagers to find one by exchan... otherwise in these days of Bhoodan movement. ... solidation of holdings should be expedited and ... provided for new housing among other Comm... needs. In the last resort the Acquisition Act sh... be amended so as to allow summary proceedings. S... supervisory agency can be improvised by giving 3 m... training to village level workers in Development Bl... and appointing one additional Overseer and Superv... Subsidy and loan may be advanced through the co... tor, in two instalments and mainly in materials and w... for skilled labour. There is no need for setting up ... new personnel for carrying out this simplest of ... and in the simplest of ways.

I am convinced that this is not only a pressing ... blem but requires the simplest of means for its solu... The one and only bar appears to be the paucity of f... the ways and means for finding Rs. 250 crores for r... housing. Where there is the will there is a way ... would appear that the size and the nature of the Se... Plan are again in the melting pot. Perhaps the re... ces are more limited than estimated at first. I ... suggest that the Second Plan should reduce the prov... for Big Industry both in the Private and Public se... and increase resources for small industry with a ... to dispersal and additional employment. It sh... also allocate much more generous terms for all s... services, including Education, which will lead to th... provement of the human material that has been ... lected in the First Plan. Housing and specially R... Housing should then find an important place in n... and material Hygiene of rural classes. The First P... has done something for the cultivating class. ... Second Plan must give special attention to the la... ing more specially the rural labouring class. Pres... on land is rising and recent land reforms by fixing ... lings are bound to further reduce employment of la... on land. The greatest challenge to the nation is on... unemployment and more than that under-employ... It can be courageously taken up by providing sma... village industries on the one hand and by launc... warm-blooded programme of aided self-help in ... housing on the other.

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POSSESSIVENESS AS A SOCIAL DISEASE

BHOODAN PAVES WAY FOR ENDURING WORLD PEACE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

In the famous manifesto signed by the Late Prof. Albert Einstein and eight other eminent scientists and sponsored by the British philosopher, Bertrand Russel, an appeal had been made for the "abolition of thermo-nuclear weapons", for "a bomb can now be manufactured which will be two-thousand times as powerful as the Atom bomb which destroyed Hiroshima in 1945." The demand for banning the use of atomic weapons has also been voiced forth by different Governments and peoples of the world. A definite directive in this regard —"whether the four Governments can take any further useful initiative in the field of disarmament"—had also been issued to their foreign ministers at the conclusion of the "summit conference" of the Big Four Powers at Geneva. Non-aggression also forms an important item of the *Panch-Sheel* agreements entered into by India with different countries. Yet it cannot be gainsaid that atomic rearmament is being resorted to furiously by all those powers which find it within their means. There is, therefore, a continuous, increasing danger to world peace.

It is clear that peace does not consist in a mere absence of war. Nor peace, real peace, can be said to have been established until fear dominates man's activities and millions are denied the wherewithal to meet their barest necessities. A balance of power between rival forces can only lead to a postponement of war. War or war-like methods cannot beget peace. But the citadel of world peace will not be something airy. It must have a foundation to stand upon ; there can be no peace in the world unless there is peace in every country of the world, in every province of every country, in every district of every province, and, again, in every village or town of every district. To expect peace in the world without peace in the village or town is like expecting a tree without sowing its seed.

This is the crux of the matter : how to preserve peace in the village ? Obviously, by eliminating or humanising the sources which disturb that peace. And what are those sources ? Land, property or the wealth of the village. Disputes on their score are the rock-bottom feeders of law-courts, police and army and what not. These disputes could be smoothly done away with if land and property were owned not by the individual, not by the State, but by the village as a whole and redistributed by the village people unanimously among themselves according to their need. This is possible if the present owners of land and property make a voluntary surrender of their possessions, entrust its charge to the village and look after the portion that falls to their lot as a trustee. Casting off one's possession is bound to render one fearless, as possession and fear always go together.

This is not something new or unprecedented. In fact, man always practices it at home. Why does he feel happy and peaceful at home ? Simply because :

(i) There is no individual ownership of things in the home ;

(ii) Every body gets there according to his or her need and works according to his or her capacity ;

(iii) Disputes of the home are resolved in the home itself.

The same can very well be true in the village. That is to say :

(i) All land and property in the village should belong to the village as a whole ;

(ii) Everybody—be he literate or not, man or woman —should work according to his or her capacity and get according to one's need ;

(iii) Disputes of the village be resolved in the village itself.

World peace demands the establishment of these values on a wide social scale. It is also the call of science. Modern science says that there cannot be one law for the atom and another for the universe. It has now compressed the universe in the atom and the same law is true for both. Likewise, what is true for the individual should be true for the world as a whole. Buddha tells us :—

"Self is the lord of self. Self is the goal of self ; therefore control thyself as a merchant controls a horse of noble breed."

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Control of self on a collective scale is bound to result in world peace. Voluntary surrender of one's possessions is a symbol of one's attempt to control oneself. It is also in keeping with the Biblical injunction : *Love Thy Neighbour As Thyself.* None can love one's neighbour without sharing his weal and woe. This can materialise only when one is a trustee of all in his keeping and its ownership rests with society.

The question now arises whether this is at all possible. Is not a talk of voluntary surrender mere make-shift? Most certainly, not ! More than five lakhs of persons have offered a land area amounting to no less than forty lakhs of acres and in about 800 villages in Orissa, people have abdicated their personal right and transferred all land to the village. This has been done in the wake of the Bhoodan Yajna movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave more than four years ago.

What is important is not the quantity of land-gifts but the peaceful manner in which they are obtained. The movement seeks to build up a climate of public opinion which enables people to face their problems with equanimity, courage and forbearance. It is this characteristic that distinguishes the Bhoodan movement from other peace movements of the world.

Let us analyse them. The first and the commonest method is peace through armament. It is, in fact, an age-old illusion. Is it not self-contradictory to manufacture such things as destroy 'peace' in order to maintain "peace", to prepare things that produce fear in order to create fearlessness ? This effort of establishing non-violence through violence has failed time after time and in future may lead not only to self-destruction but to the wiping out of the human race itself.

Another effort for world peace is through U.N.O. in which representatives of various nations sit round a table for discussions and consultations. The weakness of this method lies in the sad fact that those who sit and discuss do not trust one another. Suspicion or mutual distrust can never lead to amity and peace.

Then there is the Moral Rearmament Group. Their programme is to do beneficial work in different countries in order to generate an atmosphere of mutual love and friendship. But they do not hold any firm opinion with regard to the use of arms. They do not know their own mind.

Besides, there are two other bodies working for
—the Pacifists and the "World Peace Movement."
former are known the world over for the tena
their creed not to use arms in war. They have
suffered for their indomitable faith. But a mere
sion to abandon arms cannot end wars. There
be a programme to support it and to build up a
tive constructive force. The votaries of the "W
Peace Movement" desire peace because they feel
peace is necessary for the development of most of
countries, such as India, China, Indonesia and
countries of Europe. There "under-developed"
tries need peace, they say, for removing poverty
raising their standard of life. In other words, the
peace only as a means for economic betterment.

Dwelling on these various peace attempts, V
once remarked :

"Peace has water-like qualities. Water is
both for growing crops and for a slaking th
Those who want water for their thirst value i
its own sake. Those who want 'Peace' to in
the nation's wealth or to raise the standard of l
of the nation, have a purpose for 'Peace'. But
who need 'Peace' for the satisfaction of their
and peace, value 'Peace' for its own sake. The
needs are different. He who needs water fo
crops will not need it after the crops have been
vested. Likewise, those who need peace for ma
prosperity will not need peace after the natio
become prosperous. But just as he who is th
will always need water, he who needs peace for
for the satisfaction of his soul will always need P
And only thus will 'Peace' be established in this
This means that 'Peace' will not be established a
men unless man thirsts for 'Peace' for its own s

It is evident from the above that the various
movements though good in themselves, are only
way measures and will not, cannot, very much s
in the basic task of establishing real peace. Bu
Bhoodan movement, based as it is on the princip
sharing of life, goes deeper and tends to generat
Power of Peace. To quote Vinoba :

"When we speak about Bhoodan (sharing of l
there are many who would like legislation to
this work speedily. I tell them that I do not pr
legislation. You are free to enact the laws you

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But my object is not only to collect and distribute land but also to create a new awakening for 'Peace'. I am working so that people may understand that 'Peace' has an independent value and power of its own and may, therefore, solve all their problems including the problem of land through methods of 'Peace and non-violence'. There is a great opportunity before India today for the establishment of this independent 'Power of Peace'.

The various peace movements suffer from another drawback—they believe in almost the same values and sanctions in which those who do not worry about peace do, viz., private (or State) ownership, inferiority of manual labour to mental work, etc. On the other hand, the basic postulates of Bhoodan imply :

(i) Property or means of production to be owned by society ;

(ii) Distinction between manual and intellectual work must go ;

(iii) Productive physical labour must be performed by everybody, be he an intellectual or an administrator, for a few hours every day ;

(iv) No arms to be used in self-defence.

In other words, Bhoodan visualises a change in the established code of thinking and proposes to render possessiveness as a social disease even as stealing is. The Bhoodan (or *Sampattidan*) programme paves the way for all to free themselves from the tyranny of possession and sublimate their appetite for belongings. Based on the idea of non-possession, or possession on behalf of and for others, Bhoodan seeks to make the rich or the poor shed off their sense of ownership and share their riches or poverty together and enable each to draw according to his or her need from the bank contained in every home. It thus bids fair to eliminate richness and poverty and create a classless or *Sam-ras* society. Thus the motive for private profit eliminated and money displaced from the unnaturally high pedestal it occupies to-day, the being of man would blossom forth with a hue and fragrance that would impart an altogether new zest and comprehension to life.

The above clearly shows how Bhoodan works for world peace and how it differs from the diverse peace-movements. It places little reliance on the armed strength or upon the legal might, of the State. That violence or armed strength must be completely eschewed as a preliminary requisite for liberation from war is obvious. But legal might is no less deceptive. Though, in a democratic State, people confer that might upon those whom they elect,—no, I shall say, whom they are made to elect—on the basis of adult franchise, yet the holders of that might, *i.e.*, the Governments in power always try, naturally, to curb the free will of the people and to return to power again and again. For, no Government is prepared to efface itself. It is anxious to oust others to continue in power. It, therefore, resorts to armed might and strains every nerve to maintain the balance of power so that it may not be overthrown. Consequently, legal might has indirectly led to the piling up of armaments. Thus, if armed force breaks the body of peace, legal force breaks its spirit. The need for the generation of a third force—such a force as is opposed to violent force and different from legal force—is, therefore, essential. Vinoba calls it *Jan-Shakti* or self-reliant power of the people. Also love-power or soul-force.

Under the auspices of *Jan-Shakti* people will try to solve their problems of their own accord. And certainly the basic problems, *viz.*, of food, clothing, shelter, education, sanitation, justice and medicine. Governments need not at all interfere in these aspects of people's life. They must be left free to live and develop as they like, unless, of course, they overlook the usual standards of morality. Let *Jan-Shakti* enjoy full latitude and evolve its own popular (human, of course) style. Bhoodan envisages the formation of the social structure on the basis of trust, love and co-operation as against distrust, hatred and what is called as "survival of the fittest" today. Manifestly, in a society governed by *Jan-Shakti*, the law of majority rule would be rendered defunct. Only the unanimous voice of the people would direct their course, again, as in a family. There would be no place for power-politics or its clients called political parties. In fact, party is a soulless institution meant only to "part" one from another. But what is needed is to unite one with another. Parties divide hearts. *Jan-Shakti* would unite them. No group would hanker for power or strength. Thus Bhoodan proposes to convert power-politics (*Raj-Niti*) into popular polity, what Vinoba calls *Loka-Niti*. Society built by the dint of *Jan-Shakti* and *Loka-Niti* would necessarily be free from present disparities and disabilities. The Government agency would be there, not as a binding force but

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only as a co-ordinating or cohesive one. It is, therefore, *Sasan-Mukata* (administration free), *Sam-Ras* (homogeneous) and *Pakshateet* (beyond party) society that Bhoodan ventures to build up. It would be a society honouring values and sanctions different from those rampant today. This connotes a complete revolution in the standing order and structure. Vinoba has called it "*Bhoodan-Yajna Moolak. Gram-Udhyog-Pradhan. Ahinsatmak Kranti*", i.e., "a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with Village industries as its mainstay."

At the last Sarvodaya Sammelan, Vinoba gave a call for this new revolution. He observed that systematic violence has now reached the stage of *Ati-himsa* (extreme violence). There were, he said, two possibilities now. This *Ati-himsa* has to transform itself into *a-himsa* (non-violence) or adopt more dreadful forms and attain the consummation of ending the life of many on this planet. Urging upon his audience to gather courage, he asked them to prepare for setting up the regime of complete *Ahimsa* by eliminating out *Ati-himsa*.

He appealed to the workers :

"Wherever you go for land donation, tell them that every *Dan-patra* is conducive to world peace. Don't you want peace in the world ? If you do, won't you offer share in the Bhoodan and Sampatti scheme of solving the land problem ? Your dona of one-sixth is a vote for world-peace."

Further Vinoba declared :

"Unless we work strenuously for two years to der our society state-free, non-violence will not crue. Our work stands for the welfare of the w world, for the benefit of the entire creation. '*Bhoot Hite Ratah*' is the word of this Confere It is not only a matter of tackling the land-i We have, in fact, to wipe out all Governm of the world for they cannot succeed in limiting sphere of armed activity. We have to found violence. I ask for land-gifts for the sake of w peace."

This land revolution has to be realised in India be it becomes a living reality for the world at large. O again peoples and nations of the world look to India pave the way for chalking out a new way of life. Bh dan which provides a torch for the same has, theref attracted world attention and is being closely follow May we, of India, transform our life and country ac dingly and serve as an instrument in slaking the parc throat of the war-ravaged humanity !

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SALIENT FEATURES OF THE SCHEME

MAIN STRUCTURE	ESTIMATED COST RS IN CRORES
FIRST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT	
1 GANDHI SAGAR DAM	8.90
2 GANDHI SAGAR POWER STATION	5.00
3 KOTAH BARRAGE	3.07
4 CANAL SYSTEM	22.52
5 TRANSMISSION SYSTEM	8.54
TOTAL	48.03
SECOND STAGE	
1 RANA PRATAP SAGAR DAM	3.66
2 RANA PRATAP SAGAR POWER STATION WITH ADDITIONAL TRANSMISSION LINES	10.00
TOTAL	13.66
THIRD & FINAL STAGE	
1 KOTAH DAM & KOTAH POWER STATION WITH ADDITIONAL TRANSMISSION LINES	10.00
TOTAL	10.00
GRAND TOTAL	71.69

NET ANNUAL RETURN ON THE TOTAL OUTLAY 7.55%

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64 48 32 16 0 16 64 MILES

LEGEND

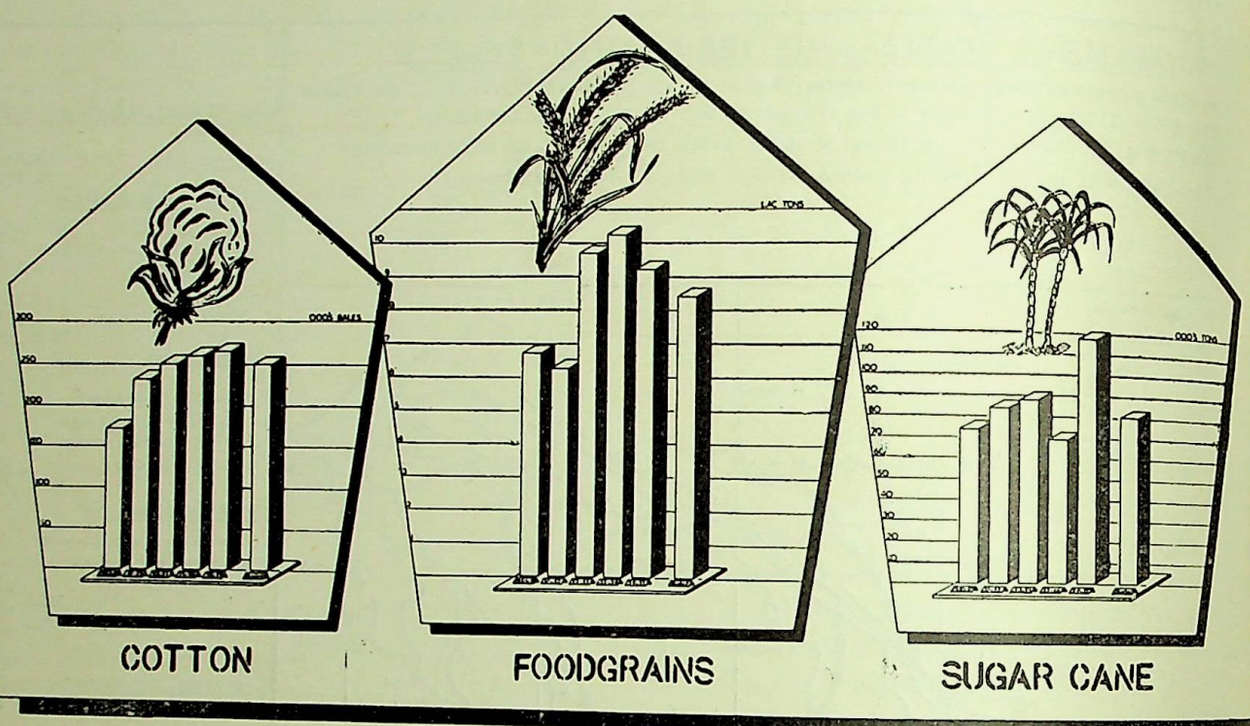
1. MADHYA BHARAT BOUNDARY
2. LAKE AREA
3. CANALS
4. IRRIGABLE AREA
5. TRANSMISSION LINES
6. SUBSTATIONS

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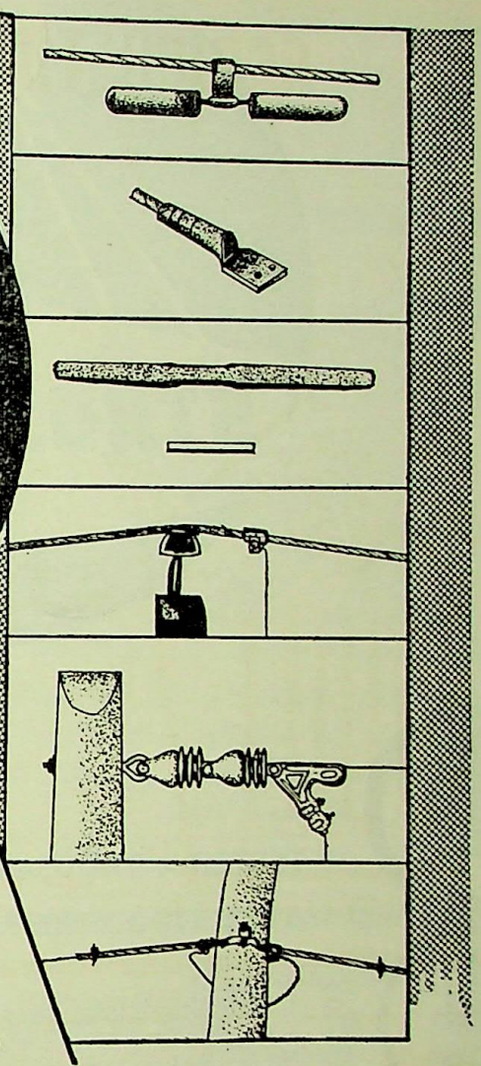
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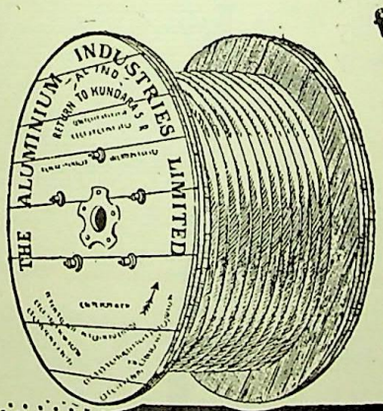
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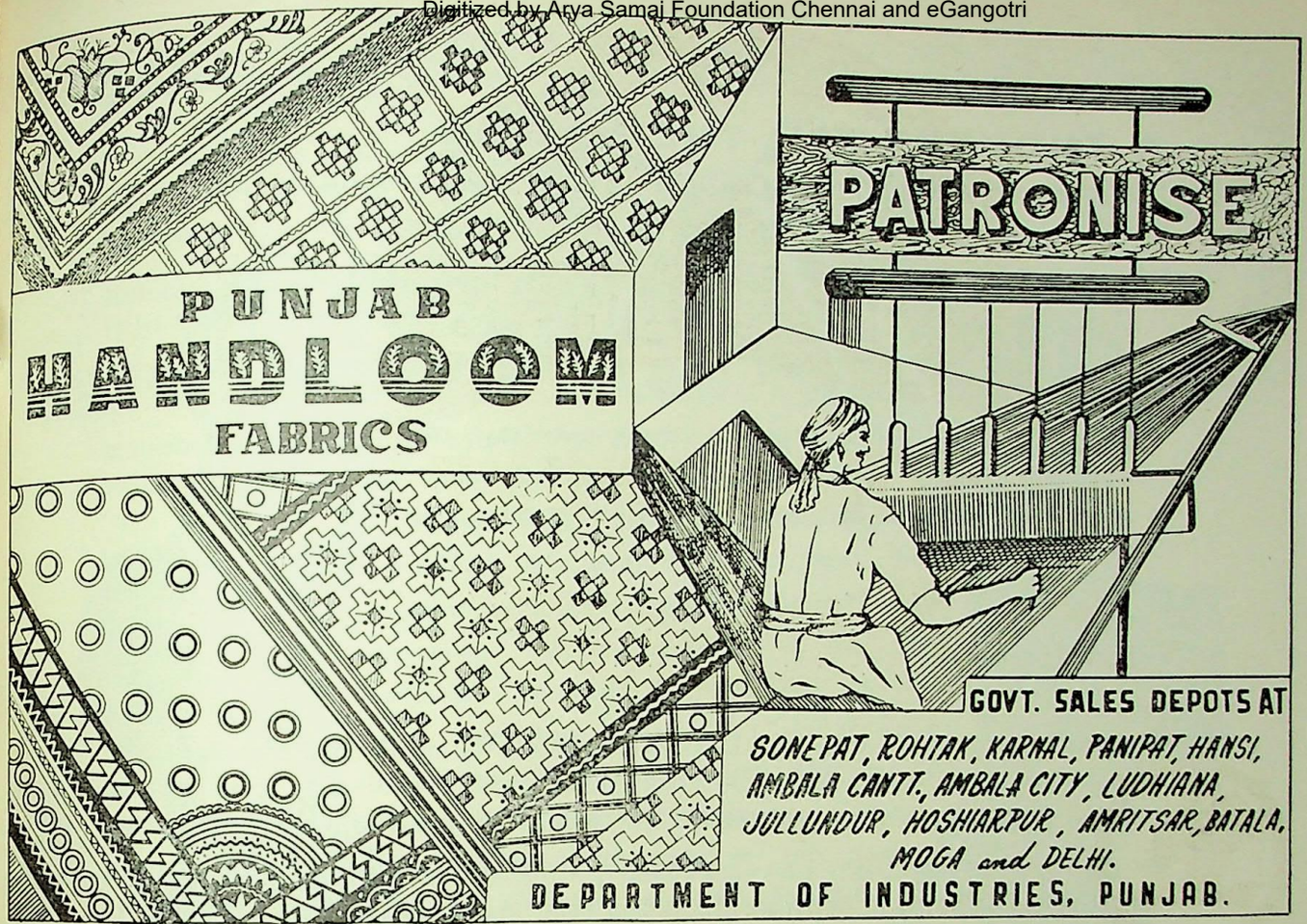
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A THOUGHT FOR THE NATION

"In producing wealth the kind of methods they would adopt have to be considered, because they should not adopt methods which set up the wrong trends, namely, those leading to the growth of monopolies"

– PRIME MINISTER NEHRU
(before the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on 12-1-'56)

EVEN in *industrially advanced* U.S.A. rigid Anti-Trust laws prevent formation of monopolistic units. In the U.S. motor industry it was found that the respective shares of automobile sales in the first nine months of 1955 stood as under:

General Motors	50.78%
Ford	26.96%
Chrysler	17.35%
The rest aggregating	4.91%
	100%

The Justice Department's Anti-Trust Division has recently warned General Motors to settle for not more than 50% of the auto-market and keep out of anti-trust law operation. HERE IS AN EXAMPLE OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT RESTRAINING A NATIONAL UNIT.

BUT in India, an industrially backward country, a foreign unit with foreign capital and management is allowed to dominate the Indian soap market. This foreign combine is enjoying a monopolistic hold on the market. The following figures reveal the sad plight of the national sector of the soap industry:

	Percentage of share of total sales of soap in India
The non-Indian unit (with foreign capital and foreign management)	70%
Indian sector (total sales of 73 national units, bordering on extinction)	30%

To make matters worse, the foreign unit is out for further expansion despite strong protests from the swadeshi soap industry.

IN the name of Bharat, we appeal to every Indian to patronise purely swadeshi soaps and thus save 73 national soap units from extinction.

Rs. 1,000 CASH PRIZE

A bumper cash prize of Rs. 1,000 is to be offered in connection with the above announcement of I. S. T. M. A. — Indian Soap & Toiletries Makers' Association. Please cut out and keep the above announcement and watch for further particulars in your newspaper.

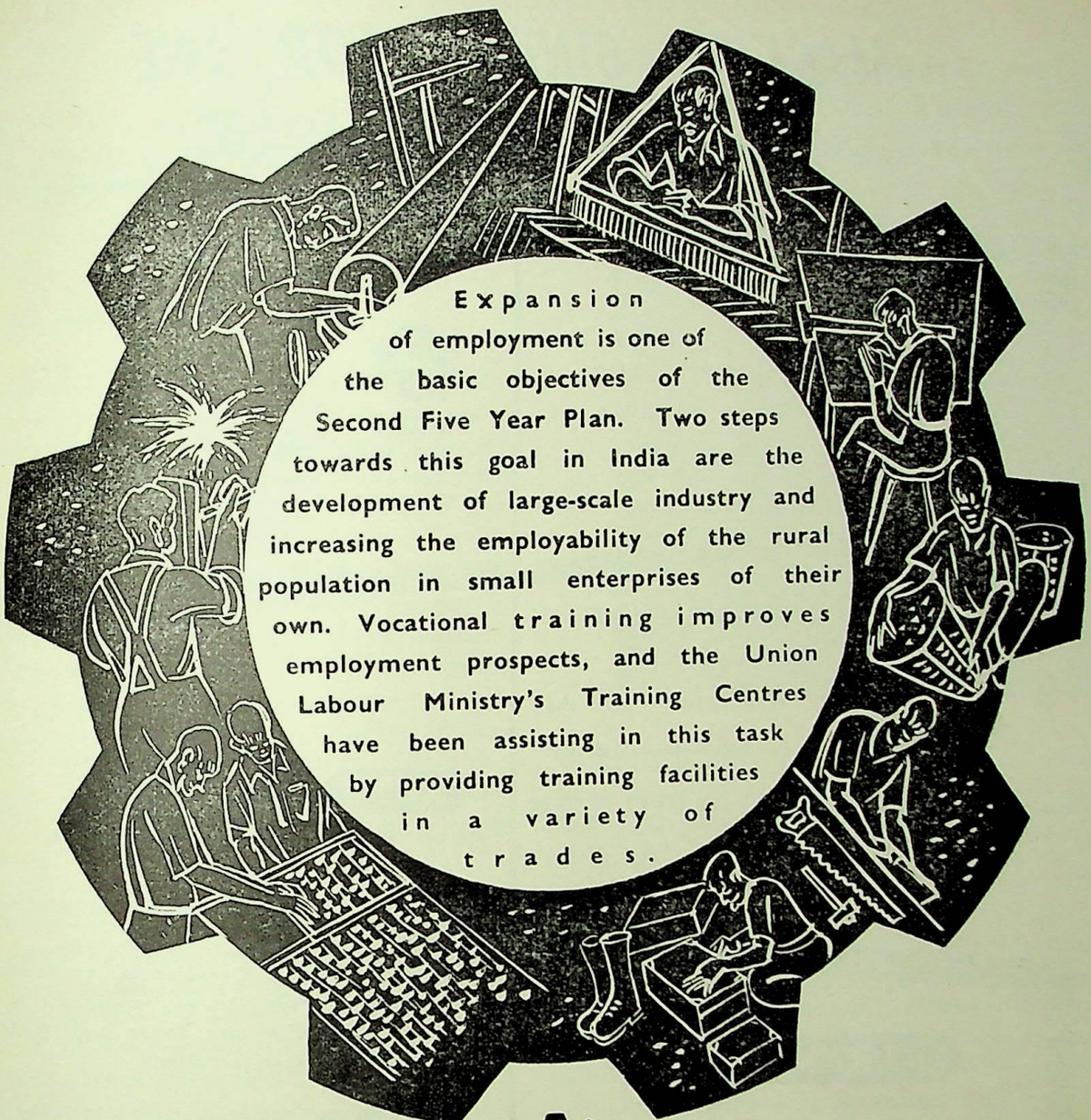
This appeal comes to you from the swadeshi soap-makers of India, represented by their organisation I.S.T.M.A. —Indian Soap & Toiletries Makers' Association.

I. S. T. M. A.

IST 56.1A

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THE CONGRESS LOOKS AHEAD

(By Shriman Narayan)



The Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress, which was also its Diamond Jubilee Session, marked an important milestone in the history of the nation towards the goal of social and economic freedom. By declaring as its objective a "Socialistic pattern of Society", the Congress had not abruptly departed from its aims and principles. In fact, the objective of the Congress, as mentioned in its Constitution, still remains the same *i.e.*, the establishment of a "Co-operative Common-wealth" by peaceful and legitimate means. But the new motto of a "socialistic pattern" gave a new emphasis and direction to the ideals of the Congress organisation and sent a fresh wave of enthusiasm and inspiration. The Congress which was supposed to be fast "withering away" gained a new lease of life based on a new faith and a noble programme.

It would be very wrong to think that the "Socialistic pattern of Society" is merely meant to be a slogan for catching votes in the next general elections. The Congress as an organisation has never indulged in empty phrases for deluding the general public. It has achieved what it aimed to achieve through hard work, daring sacrifices and unshakable faith. Ever since the passing of the "Socialistic Pattern" resolution at Avadi, the Congress organisation and the Union and State governments have been striving systematically to translate the ideal into actual practice. In the rural sector, more emphasis is being laid on radical land reforms in various States. Ceilings on absolute size of holdings, security of land tenures, reduction of rents, co-operative farming and stopping unauthorized ejectments are some of the important features of recent land reforms in the country. Thanks to the Bhoodan movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a very healthy and favourable atmosphere for far-reaching and revolutionary agrarian reforms has been created in India. The Second Five-Year Plan is bound to include a more radical programme for such reforms so that the tillers may become real owners of land. In the urban sector, the Company Law Amendment Act passed recently by the Parliament is a very significant piece of legislation. It aims at the abolition of what may be termed as "feudalism in industry". Just as our programme aims at abolishing intermediaries in land, so this Amendment in the Company Law seeks to eliminate the Managing Agency system which is a source of great economic exploitation and accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few businessmen. The imposition of the Estate Duty on the richer sections of the population has also exercised a good psychological affect on the minds of the people. This Duty is bound to be enhanced steadily in time to come. The Income tax rates are also become steeper and steeper in the case of higher incomes. With a view to reducing economic disparities, the Taxation Enquiry Commission have suggested that such inequalities should not be more than 1 : 30. With the implementation of the various recommendations of the Commission this target will also be realised during the next two decades or so.

On the social front, the Parliament recently enacted a Law against the practice of Untouchability in any shape or form. The legislation has prescribed regular penalties for the practice of Untouchability by the

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Indian citizens. Although it is true that such social reforms could not be achieved merely through legislation, the fact remains that such Acts of Parliament do go a long way in creating the necessary conditions for the achievement of desirable social objectives. Untouchability in our country has been the darkest blot on our culture and ancient heritage. Mahatma Gandhi risked his life several times for liquidating this social evil from national life. The Indian Constitution also recognised it as illegal and a cognizable offence. This social sin against humanity must be condemned in the strongest terms and every social and public worker should regard it as his or her duty to face the evil and eradicate it from society. There could be no "socialistic pattern" in India so long this sin persists in the body politic. Another piece of important legislation passed by the Indian Parliament in recent months is the Act on Marriage and Divorce. The Hindu Succession Bill which has already been passed by the Rajya Sabha is also very far-reaching inasmuch as it provides for the right of succession to daughters as well on par with the sons. All these social reforms are, surely, progressive and towards the ideal of the Socialistic pattern.

It is true that we have been able to achieve substantial results, of which any country could be legitimately proud. But there is no room for self-complacency. We cannot afford to rest on our oars. We have to work still harder during the Second Plan period. If we have to bring about a true Socialistic Pattern of Society within the next ten years, as visualised at Avadi, the next five years will surely need a detailed and systematic programme of "sweat, toil and tears". The Second Five-Year Plan will require an atmosphere of simplicity and austerity in all walks of life. Unless we are able to step up national savings for investment in development schemes it would be impossible to find the requisite finances for the National Plan. Before we could legitimately expect the masses to make sacrifices, the leaders at the top have naturally to set the example. Conspicuous consumption on luxuries in the form of palatial houses, big cars and numerous ... ties and receptions will have to be adequately contr... Only then could a national drive for small savings su... in the real sense of the term. The Amritsar Sessi... the Congress will have to give a lead in this direc... In 1919, the Congress Session at Amritsar was a si... for tough and arduous struggle for political free... The Amritsar Session of 1956 is expected to give a ... lead and inspiration towards the equally if not m... arduous struggle for the achievement of social and e... nomic freedom in India.

In this struggle for socio-economic freedom, the C... ress Organisation will have to play an important ... as an effective instrument for bringing about the re... site changes in the social and economic structure. I... therefore, necessary to overhaul the organisation ... making it essentially a constructive type of associa... of voluntary workers devoting themselves to spe... items of social and economic reconstruction on the lin... Gandhiji's programme. Mere electioneering campa... on the basis of Government achievements do ... ultimately help the organisation in becoming effe... and popular among the masses. We have to shin... our own light through solid, constructive work am... the people whom we profess to serve. Every ac... member of the Congress has to be an active worke... the cause of establishing a Socialistic pattern of So... in India. In order to do this, one has to begin with ... own way of life before advising others to change t... ways of life. Real reform always has to begin with ... self. This is the advice that the Father of the Na... gave us. It is this advice that every Congressman ha... keep before his mind's eye constantly. I have no ma... of doubt that the Congress Organisation has a br... future before it. It looks ahead to achieving even bi... results than it has been able to achieve so far. But ... real success of the Congress would depend on the l... and honest work of numerous members who have ... honour to belong to this great National Organisa...

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LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

(By R. K. Sidhwa)

The Local Bodies in India which are known popularly Local Government are not in the true sense, Local vernment as the County Councils of England. Local dies in India are restricted in their powers, and their ancial condition is really meagre.

There are three types of Municipalities in towns mely :

(1) Municipal Corporation, headed by the Mayor,

(2) Borough Municipality, headed by the President, d

(3) District Municipality.

unicipalities, in a way, govern the cities and towns of ndia.

Then there are Notified Area Committees, Sanitary ommittees, which more or less exist in the rural areas nd are controlled by the District Board in each district. he power of the Mayor of the Municipal Corporation merely to preside over meetings of the Corporation. e has no executive functions to perform, nor has he ot any power as exists in the Western countries.

It would be interesting to give here a very short escription of the existence of local self-government and s functions in India in the earlier stage of the British ule :

(a) The first period can be taken to have ended in 1882, the year in which Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, issued a resolution, giving certain powers to the Local bodies. The beginning of the period is not known because it was not marked by any distinctive thing. There were a handful of Local Bodies then and they too were governing in a very restricted sense.

(b) The second period was a real land-mark in the annals of the Local Self-Government in India because it laid the foundation of the system as it exists to-day.

(c) It was nearly after 40 years that the next step was taken and that was due to the advent of the new ideal of responsible Self-Government, as the goal of British rule in India. It was during this period that the people became familiar with the essentials of Self-Government in local affairs. But the progress was halting, because of the difficulties inherent in the conditions that the bureaucratic system had created. In fact, the bureaucracy did not like that any power should be vested in the people for the local areas and, therefore, there were many impediments and handicaps in the way of the Indians.

Even to-day the powers of the Local Bodies are more or less on the same lines as they were in the earlier period. The transfer of functions from the Local Bodies to the State Governments was not only considered, at that time, a retrograde step but anachronistic too. At the present moment the governing of the Local Self-Government is within the power of the State Governments. It would be useful to mention here that India is comprised of 27 States with a Central Government, which is known as the Union or Federal Government. The Union Government under the Constitution, has no *locus standi* in the administration of the Local Bodies. The 27 States are responsible for the proper governance of the Local Bodies. Excepting very few municipalities, most of the municipalities have to get a sanction from the State Government for resolutions which affect the finance of the Local Bodies. In fact, the budgets of several municipalities are subject to the approval of the State Governments. The power of taxation of the Local Bodies depends on their respective constituents' enactments. There is no uniform enactment of our Local Bodies. So far as the City Corporations are concerned, their powers are confined to particular items over which they have absolute right of final decision. This cannot be said of the Local Bodies. They operate over a wider range of taxes. But their power to impose fresh taxation or modify or abolish an existing one is not unrestricted as in the case of the City Corporations. It may, however, be stated that while they have powers to levy taxes on certain items, they are all subject to the sanction of the State Governments.

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There are 11 Municipal Corporations in India, namely: Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Patna, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Bangalore and Trivandrum. Bombay and Calcutta each have more or less a population of nearly three million. Madras has a million and a half and the rest of them have from half to three quarters of a million. There are 1816 municipalities in the whole of India, which have a total population of about six crores. There are about half a million and one hundred thousand villages in India which are not well-organized as yet. But recently, enactments have been passed by the State Governments known as village 'panchayats' in which groups of villages have been combined where the right of vote has been vested in the people of that area. They are controlled by District Boards, Union Boards, and in some cases by Local Boards. There are nearly 1,422 District Boards in India.

The rate of taxation of the Local Bodies is generally low as compared with the western countries. This is due to the general backwardness and poverty of the people.

It may be stated here that the total revenue of the municipalities in India in 1931, was 40·46 crores of rupees (1 crore is equivalent to 10 million; and one rupee is 13s. 6d.), which increased to 51·09 crores in the year 1951.

The income of all the District Local Boards was about Rs. 22,98,33,000. In 1889-90 the income was Rs. 2,67,83,682. In 1918-19 it rose to Rs. 8,53,83,671 and in 1946-47 went upto Rs. 20,28,31,093.

Education is not wholly the function of the Local Bodies but Primary Education is generally conducted by the Local Bodies and Secondary and Higher Education are administered by the State Governments.

It would be interesting to know as an illustration that in the year 1889-90 the total income of all municipalities was Rs. 1,43,68,869 which increased to Rs. 5,59,20,960 in 1918-19, which again rose to Rs. 17,59,58,035 in 1946-47.

The Community Project Administration has set up 375 primary health centres to ensure adequate health services in areas covered under the community development programme.

The 'Health Manual' recently brought out
Administration gives certain interesting details
the general health and sanitation in India's coun

It says : "Nearly 30 lakhs of people die a
in our country from gastro-intestinal diseases li
leta, typhoid group of fevers and dysenteries, as a
of soil pollution, resulting in contamination of
water supplies and of articles of food by pollute
and flies, due to carelessness and unhygienic ha
our people."

The health programme of the Community P
Administration mainly concentrates on pre
rather than curative measures. Provision of
water supply and hygienic disposal of human
control of malaria and other communicable di
provision of maternity and child health services,
ved houses and health education, are some of th
sures, resorted to under this programme.

One primary health centre is located in eac
munity block and forms the focus from which
services radiate into the area, covered by the
Each centre serves a rural population of about
spread over in about 100 villages. The centre is eq
with a dispensary, some diagnostic facilities a
indoor ward of about six beds. A maternity and
welfare section is attached to every health centre

It may be mentioned that there are in India

312 District Local Boards,
1395 Municipalities,
312 Small Town Committees.

62 Notified Area Committees, and a large num
thousands of Village Panchayats whose actual n
is not available as the formation of these Panch
by State Governments has been a very recent gr

The population of all the Municipalities is
compared to the Local Bodies, Small Town C
tees and Notified Area Committees and Panch
These would mean that merely 6 crores of people
in Municipal area. In cities hardly 6 gallons o
is available per head, whereas minimum 15 gall
required for the good health of a citizen. The
supplies 125 gallons and U.K. 45 gallons of wa
head. India gets hardly 2% against 40% in U

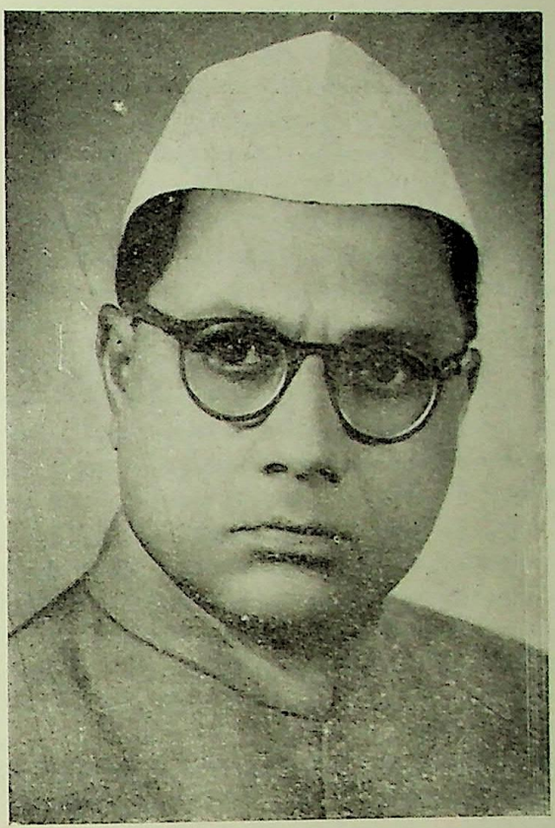
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ECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

(By K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production)



There is no doubt that the progress of Industry under e First Five-Year Plan has been on the whole very tisfactory when measured by the Index of the dustrial Production during the period. The orgasation and administration of the various nationalised dertakings have been subjected to a critical study by rious parliamentary committees, private bodies, d the press, during the last few years. The keen terest taken by Members of both the Houses of Parliaent in this matter is evidenced by the large number questions, and supplementaries asked during the ques-on hour, non-official resolutions, cut motions and other iscussions in Parliament, while passing the Budget etc. is right that it should be so in view of the fact that overnment hold the entire or a substantial part of the pital invested on these undertakings. It may not be ecessary or even desirable that Government underkings run as Joint Stock Companies should be given xactly the same measure of autonomy and freedom, s those enjoyed by their counterparts in the private ector. At the same time it has to be admitted that his form of running Public Enterprises has been decided pon by Government after a great deal of thought and onsideration of the various inherent defects and formalities in what is called 'departmental administration'. t has also to be borne in mind that the country is still n its infancy so far as industrial development is concernd, and any attempt of too much interference in the day o day affairs is bound to kill the initiative and shouldering of responsibility by the management. It seems rather too early, to come to a decision as to what form of management is the best, taking into account the fact that these undertakings have to be not only run on busiess principles having a large measure of autonomy in day o day administration, but also subject to the general conrol and supervision by the Government and Parliament. In their sixteenth report, the Estimates Committee have recently made a number of important recommendations in regard to the pattern of the nationalised undertakings, relation between an undertaking and the Minister-in-charge, submission of their detailed annual reports to Parliament and allied matters. Government are examining these recommendations with utmost expediency and it is expected that decision will be taken on each of them at a very early date. In this article, I have confined myself mainly to the progress made in the undertakings falling under the purview of the Ministry of Production, during the first plan period and what our proposals are for the Second Plan.

The target of production for the Sindri Fertilizer and Chemicals Limited which was built at a cost of Rs. 23 crores was fixed at 315,000 tons of Ammonium Sulphate under the First Plan. Its expected production in 1955-56 as now assessed is of the order of 320,000 tons. Its steady progress has contributed materially to the increased production of food in the country. It has so far produced over 10 lakh tons of fertilisers which is equivalent to a saving of about Rs. 33 crores in foreign exchange. The country's dependence on foreign fertilisers and foodgrains have been eliminated, to a large extent, by the success achieved by this factory. It has to be remembered that this is the first major industrial project of Government and is perhaps the largest fertilizer factory in Asia containing one of the most modern

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fertilizer production plant in the world. Its expansion scheme to produce 70 tons of urea and 400 tons of Ammonium Sulphate-nitrate per day at an estimated cost of about Rs. 7 crores has already been taken up and is expected to be completed during the early part of the Second Plan period. Sindri has also developed various allied industries. A cement factory to utilise the by-product chalk for producing about 300 tons of cement daily, has been put up by the Associated Cement Company. Several trained technicians and engineers for new industries have been provided by the Sindri factory. There is also an Apprentice Training Scheme for creating a corps of Engineers and Technicians, required for expanding the fertilizer industry. To meet the increased demand of fertilizer in the country during the Second Plan period, the establishment of 2 additional fertilizer factories is envisaged, besides the expansion at Sindri and the utilization of the Lignite deposits at Neyveli for the production of about 70,000 tons of Nitrogen per annum. One of the two new plants will be located at Bhakra-Nangal and a sum of Rs. 22 crores has been provided in the Second Plan for this purpose.

During the period 1951-56 the Hindusthan Shipyard was expected to produce 80,000 dead weight tons of new ships. About 63,000 dead weight tons have already been delivered since March 1951. The Company has now on hand orders for 10 vessels and 3 more ships are being promised to be ordered. The Shipyard is now building ships of modern design, as against those of the old design built when it was taken over by the Government. The Second Plan provides for further expansion of the Shipyard which includes the provision for a Dry dock and preliminary works *e.g.*, training of staff etc., required for the second Shipyard which may have to be constructed during the Third Plan period.

The Hindusthan Cables Factory at Rupnarainpur has fully reached the level of production for which capacity was installed in a remarkably quick time. The target of production of the factory, originally envisaged, was 470 miles per annum. It has been, however, possible to step up production even in the first year. The factory will now manufacture during 1955-56 about 550 miles of cables which will be supplied to the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department. Steps have been taken to double the armouring capacity of the factory and this projected expansion will be completed towards the end of 1956. It is then expected that the factory will be in a position to manufactu... miles of cables annually and thereby meet the ... of telephone cables, not only inside the country ... other parts of Asia also. It is proposed to spen... Rs. 50 lakhs for the expansion of the factory dur... Second Five-Year Plan period.

The Machine Tools Factory at Bangalore w... commenced production has a capacity to produ... lathes of $8\frac{1}{2}''$ centre per annum on a single shift ... It is expected that this capacity will be fully u... by the end of 1957. In the Second Five-Year ... period, it is proposed that this factory should ... over to the production of lathes of larger sizes an... machines like milling machines and drilling ma... The technical consultants of this project have ... Government that the new items of manufacture ... set up within a period of 2 years, if Government ... on such expansion. The total expenditure that ... entailed in this connection has been estimated ... at Rs. 2 crores, which is being provided for, in the ... sals of the Second plan relating to this undertak...

Penicillin factory at Pimpri near Poona set ... Government with the assistance and collaboration ... two United Nation Agencies, the World Health ... nisation and the United Nations International C... Emergency Fund, commenced production last ... Against the target of 4·8 million mega units of ... cillin fixed for this factory in the first plan, the ... of 8 million mega units is the rate of production ... achieved. It is expected that before the end ... Five-Year Plan, production may be at a much ... level of a monthly rate of 1·25 million mega units ... to 15 million mega units per annum. This has be... to taking advantage of better strains of Penicilli... improvement in processes including those develop... the factory's own laboratory. The factory has ... for the expansion of its manufacturing activities ... the Second Plan period, in directions which come ... a natural sequel to the objectives of the project. ... expansion of Penicillin production by 60% is to be ... taken to meet the increased demand of the co... In addition, the manufacture of other Antibio... importance is also being planned. The factory ... plans to manufacture Bicillin and possibly Pe... 'V'. Training of technical and scientific pers... in plant operation has also been undertaken wi... production of Antibiotics. The factory has a re...

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laboratory built and equipped at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs and it will serve as an Antibiotic Research Centre.

The DDT. factory which has been set up at Delhi has commenced production and is making about a ton of DDT per day. This factory which has been set up at a cost of about Rs. 50 lakhs, involves a complex chemical process utilising some of the most hazardous chemicals; modern glass and plastic machinery are used. The factory has been built up with the assistance from UNICEF and UNTAA, who have also provided technical aid. During the Second Plan it is proposed to double the existing capacity of 700 tons per annum to 1,400 tons in the Delhi factory. It has also been decided to set up a second DDT factory at Alwaye in South India with a capacity to produce 1,400 tons of DDT per annum. These two factories, together with a small quantity of B.H.C. produced in the private sector is expected to meet the country's entire demand of insecticides for fighting the ravages of malaria, during the Second Plan.

National Instruments Factory is one of the oldest factories in India engaged in the manufacture and repair of scientific and mathematical instruments. It specialises in the manufacture of survey, drawing, mathematical, optical and other scientific instruments, like prismatic binaculars, telescopes, prismatic liquid compasses and sun compasses, besides a large number of sundry items like thermometers, excise apparatus, hydrometers, measuring cylinders, barometers and manometers, microscopes and theodalites. The standard of quality and prices of the products of this factory compare favourably with those of the imported products. The factory is being reorganised and a sum of Rs. 65 lakhs has been provided during the Second Plan for this purpose. Manufacture of many specialised items are expected to be undertaken as soon as the factory moves into its new buildings.

Among the more important new projects that will be undertaken by the Ministry of Production during the Second Plan are: (1) the setting up of a new Heavy Electrical Equipment Factory (2) the exploitation of lignite deposits at Neyveli in South India, and (3) the expansion of production of coal and salt both in the private and public sectors. Government after considering the reports of the various technical committees appointed for the purpose during the last five years decided in March 1955 that a factory should be set up to manufacture various items of Heavy Electrical Equipment. The new factory is expected to produce Hydraulic turbine and generators, transformers, circuit breakers, switch boards, industrial and traction motors and similar items. Negotiations have been completed with Messrs. Associated Electrical Industries, the technical consultants and an agreement has been signed. Their recommendation on the location of the factory is expected to be submitted within 4 months of the date of signing the agreement. A sum of Rs. 20 crores is being provided for this factory in the Second Plan and it is expected that it will commence production in 1960. In view of the paucity of natural coal deposits in South India a high priority has been given to the development of a multi-purpose lignite project at Neyveli. In the first phase of this project the mining of 3·2 million tons of lignite is programmed. This lignite that will be produced at Neyveli will be utilised for the prupose of (a) power generation in a thermal station of 210,000 k.w. capacity, (b) production of 714,000 tons of lignite briquets per annum, and (c) direct gasification and subsequent conversion into Nitrogenous Fertilizers, urea and sulphate/nitrate, equivalent to 70,000 tons of nitrogen per annum. During the second plan period a sum of Rs. 52 crores is being provided for this purpose. The output of coal during the year 1954 from the various coalfields both Government and private was about 36·77 million tons as against 39 million tons visualised at the end of the First Five-Year Plan. Taking into account the requirements of coal by the Iron and Steel industry, demands of the Railways and other essential consumers, in the context of a general increase in the industrial production during the Second Plan, the provisional target has been fixed at 60 million tons by 1960. The plan is to increase production in the public sector as much as possible. The additional production of 23 million tons has been provisionally allocated as 15 million tons in the public sector, and 8 million tons in the private sector to be raised from the existing mines and immediately contiguous areas. These targets, however, are being examined in greater detail at present.

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THE SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

(By Diwan Chaman Lal)

The launching of the idea behind what is called "The Socialist Pattern of Society" was not something out of the unclouded, blue skies, unrelated in any manner, whatsoever, to the history and development of Socialistic thought through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries upto the present day. There must be many people alive who in their youth had seen and talked with James Keir Hardie. He was a coal miner from Scotland who started, like many Labour men of that period, as a Liberal and ended as a Socialist. I remember him very well. There was one peculiar feature of the type of Socialism Keir Hardie preached. His Socialism was not dogmatic. He was not a man for theory. His concept of Socialism was based on a gradually evolving programme of social reform whose pace, because of the times which he lived, was necessarily slow. For him it was not a revolutionary but essentially an evolutionary process.

The Pace of Progress

One important fact must be noted. It has been said that every country deserves the type of Government it gets. Certain historic periods dictate the forms of Government arising out of the social and economic necessities, the pace is slower and at other times it is revolutionary or almost revolutionary. In Keir Hardie's time and period the pace was necessarily slower fitting in with the slow-moving changes that were gaining upon the social and economic structure of the last decade of the last century. Sociologists are familiar with the method of studying primitive societies in the world's backward areas but in contemporary time. A particular tribe with its primitive customs survives and its contemporary study relates back to and illustrates conditions that prevailed many centuries ago. I venture to think that the study of the development of socialist practice and theory reveals the same method of approach whereby what happened to a particular country at a particular time can indeed be studied today happening elsewhere [illegible] our very eyes. Therefore, when I cite the exam[ple] Keir Hardie it is with the express purpose of dr[awing] a parallel (not, of course, altogether justifiable) be[tween] what the expression "Socialist Pattern" signifies [today] and what Keir Hardie thought and believed to be [the] possible and necessary for the purpose of adva[ncing] Socialism in his time. It must not, however, be ta[ken] for granted that the pace of that time dictates the [pace] for today. Far from it. The difference lies in the [fact] that we are not advocating, in a society patterned [on] Socialism, merely an evolutionary process and rem[aining] content with that. We are, in fact, living in rev[olu]tionary times which dictate the pace even if we [are] anxious to go slow or avoid precipitous haste.

Reason for Caution

What then is the reason for the caution we [have] advocated in the advance towards Socialism? [Is] the horror of revolution or the tragic stupidity of [war]? Is it due to the fact that we are essentially a non-vio[lent] people and abhor, as a Nation, any form of ex[ploi]tation intolerance or force? It is partly that and partly [the] fact that we have seen enough of violence in this w[orld] and enough of intolerance and enough of brute f[orce]. Hence we not only learn to haste slowly but the pro[cess] suits our tradition, our temperament and our experie[nce].

So much then for the method we have adopted [in] changing the aspect of our Society, changing its colo[ur] almost feudal and highly individualistic characte[r] tics into the Socialist Pattern.

The Approach

On January 12, 1956, Jawaharlal Nehru said in re[fe]rence to the approach to the Second Five-Year P[lan] "that it was not a rigid, doctrinaire approach but so[me]thing which dealt with the specific objectives wh[ich] we were aiming at and the way these objectives co[uld] be realised". So that it is clear that the approa[ch] is a pragmatic one in the setting up of a Welfare S[tate] patterned on Socialistic lines. And what does exp[eri]ence teach us in this matter? We start first of all w[ith] the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. "This Re[so]lution provided," Nehru said, "that the question [of] nationalisation could be taken up after ten years. [In] the light of the broad policy to bring about a Socia[list] Pattern of Society, it had to be considered whether [the] position in regard to the resolution had to be reviewed

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This practical approach has led the Prime Minister, obviously, to certain definite conclusions both regarding the next steps to be taken in regard to the content of the Socialist Pattern and the methods to be concurrently pursued in achieving it. But before we deal with these significant matters is it not necessary to be clear in our own minds about the meaning of Socialism and of the expression "a Socialist Pattern of Society"?

Meaning of Socialism

Socialism ultimately visualises the public ownership of the means of production, exchange and distribution. The expression 'public ownership' has many variants. Public ownership can be exercised through co-operatives, through State Control, partial or complete, or through Workers' Councils or through autonomous bodies. Each one of these concepts has its own variant. But by and large what is indicated is that the application of labour to land shall be not in the interest of individuals, trusts or monopolies but in the interest of the people at large. The old masters said no man is fit enough to be another man's master. A certain reading of Karl Marx led the Communists to conclude that this aim could never be achieved without the imposition of a new dictatorship which they called 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' but which, in essence, became the dictatorship of the politician turned functionary. The Socialists, on the other hand, rejected this reading of history and preferred in short the long and tedious method of the ballot to the swift but precarious method of the bullet. The debate, it will be noticed still goes on from Peking to London, from Moscow to Washington. We, in India, have not only preferred the method of the ballot but have most significantly shown to the world that we are capable of so energising this system as to make it serve the aims of a Socialist Pattern of Society by moving in quick five-year bounds, which, in the opinion of some, take on the characteristics of rather Skittish leaps. Hence any limitations that this system necessarily demands have their origin first and foremost in the type of Democracy we have chosen as the basis of our action. We have to carry the people with us. We cannot impose, as the Chinese can or as the Russians can, a system upon the people by an authoritarian decree or executive fiat. Even if constitutionally we can act in this manner (as certainly we can) we have to come before the Representatives of the People for their sanction and approval. Therefore, whatever we do, we do with this cautionary injunction. I remember Lokmanya Tilak telling us one day in London that he was a leader who always looked back to see if the people were following him and thus necessarily he kept himself just a little ahead of them. This deference to a politically organised public is the motive behind the doctrine of *Festina Lente* which we apply to our approach towards Socialism.

The Two Categories

In this manner we seek to divide the action we take towards the fulfilment of our aim into two distinct categories. We call them the Private Sector and the Public Sector. How does the 1948 Resolution affect this development ? It affects it because it was visualised then that certain industries after a ten year period would be ripe for nationalisation but our thinking has come to slightly different conclusions. We have begun to realise that the taking over of existing industry would not advance our purpose where the lack is great, production limited and new developments most imperative. We, therefore, suggest that existing production should continue for the present in the mould in which it is set but new production in the main in heavy industry and in what may become monopoly industry should belong to the Public Sector and light industry and consumer industry (not altogether of course) should continue to develop in the Private Sector.

A Ruined Nation

When we entered upon our heritage of independence we were sunk in abject poverty. We had a poor agricultural economy with its main feature of recurrent famines. Generally for industry we were dependent either upon imports or mainly upon foreign controlled indigenous production. So meagre and insufficient was our economy that a Nation of nearly 400 millions had a Revenue Budget of less than a hundred crores, half of which went in direct defence expenditure. Hence it was obvious that something drastic had to be done. We did that in regard to land although as is obvious, the next steps that we have to take to introduce and expand the principle of co-operation are as yet tentative. Nevertheless, we seem to be quite clear in our minds that these steps are essential. Individual prosperity even with the limitation of ceilings is no substitute for communal prosperity. We in India are not unfamiliar with this approach.

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There were only three countries in the world where the village community system was to be found and these are Ireland, Russia and India. And with us it was Socialism of a truly utopian kind. Here all shared in the produce of the entire village. The blacksmith got so much grain every six months but served every one professionally. The shoe-maker made shoes for all and sundry, sharing in return in the total produce of the village. Scientific calculations did not enter into peoples' minds. They saw what was just, fair and equitable, what assured in fact a measure of egalitarianism, and they acted upto what they saw.

It is clear that we have to give a modern garb to this early attempt in over civilization to introduce the socialistic concept in the economy of the village. We have begun abolishing the big estates. But that by itself is not Socialism—not even the Socialist Pattern. We have to stimulate the old tradition which is so hardy that it still persists with us of making each villager a co-sharer. Patterns are available the world over—whether it is a Yugoslav Co-operative or a Soviet Russian Kolkhoz—it matters little so long as the mistakes made by other countries are avoided and we learn not only from the experience of others but equally from the marvellous tradition of our own past.

Advent of the Industrial Era

Although then we have had this extraordinary tradition in an economy which was mainly agricultural and craft and artisan led, we had no such tradition in Industry for the simple reason that Industry as we know it is a modern concept and we who lost both our independence and our initiative were dragged into the industrial era by foreign hands literally dripping with human blood. We used to say that for the production of a needle and a pin, a razor-blade and a nail, we had to stretch our hands across the seas and pay dearly for it with raw material or with such things as textile production (jute) and tea. In both these industries in India the hand of the foreigner was paramount. It still continues to be paramount. I was so horrified at what I saw and learnt that I wrote a book about it : *Coolee or the Story of Capital and Labour*. At the end of the second volume I gave a chart concerning the Jute Mill industry which showed that practically all the Mills had foreign Managing Agents while some of them were actually incorporated abroad. And this was also true of about eighty per cent of the Tea Plantation capit... area and of large and important sections of the... industry. At the same time, while enormous ... were being made and exported abroad the wre... worker lived the life of a semi-starved coolee. An... cial report said that in the great metropolitan ... Calcutta where the great Jute Mills were estab... the average wage of a particular Jute Mill worke... then (not so long ago—the nineteen-thirties) about ... annas a day and that, like our horses and cattle, he ... partly on raw, soaked gram. In earlier times chil... were coaxed into the Textile Mills of Bombay and ... rally imprisoned at work. And more recently in ... great city of Amritsar (1930) we discovered chil... pledged with Carpet Manufacturers living as sold s... practically all their young lives until, as one of them ... us, they either died or ran away. All this horrif... evidence is to be found in the pages of the Repo... the Royal Commission on Labour. Now, obvio... when colonialism had left us in this dreadful condi... of economic bankruptcy and industrial disequilibr... abject poverty and sub-civilised standards, there ... only two courses open to us. As I have indicated ... deliberately chose the path of peace and democ... We are attempting to fit into the framework of p... and democracy all the urgent developments needed ... make of India a great, powerful and prosperous ... And one of the steps is in the sphere of Industry. ... this task Nehru says · "Indian thinkers must work ... a path of economic and political development suited ... the country's genius. It is not just obstinacy on our p... not to see things as others see them. While we m... benefit from the knowledge and experience of o... countries we have to think and act in the context of ... own situation.... A nation has to think for itself ... act for itself and march for itself...."

Therefore, the basic lodestar is "our own situati... Its pattern is that of a slow sloughing off of the sk... the colonial snake with all its attendant disparities ... weaknesses and uglinesses until one feels in utter de... that it is almost impossible to be patient. But in ... pattern of life we have set for ourselves patient we h... to be—not patient in putting up with evil but patien... working out a pattern of society which will destroy ... evil without destroying the nation and all the good th... we have stood for during the many centuries of ... civilisation. We have to be patient in our searc... patient and wise in the search for programmes and p...

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cies which will ensure as quickly as possible the highest standard of living for our people and their well-being through a change over from the present system to a Socialistic one assuring to all from the cradle to the grave the benefits of Social assurance but set in the mould of our own tradition and experience. And in this task we have to keep in mind certain concepts, avoid certain difficulties, set ourselves certain aims, and adopt certain policies. We should learn to think loudly about these matters, each one of us. For instance is there no alternative to immediate overall nationalisation ? Of course, there is. As long as the Private Sector lasts certain steps can be taken to lessen the gap between the poor and the rich. Estate duties, Income Tax and Taxation of land values—not specifically tried so far in our country—are some of the obvious means to this end. But the other day I asked a question concerning the Reserves held by Joint Stock Companies and their utilisation. It is obvious that here is a source which could be utilised for the irrigation of the channels of the Welfare State. Vast resources are needed to provide employment and Social Insurance advantages, decent housing and the protection of the health of millions in our land and free education for the children.

Again the integration and development of such a State demands highly qualified technical personnel. Are we going about it the right way to produce the personnel necessary for this purpose ? Our educational emphasis has to shift from Arts to Technology. Secondary Technical Schools must be set up everywhere training and guaranteeing the utilisation of the trained personnel in our fast developing industry. The Soviet example in this respect is a good one modified to suit our pace and time. It would be folly to expect the Civil Servant to be so omniscient that he can be taken from his secretarial desk and turned over-night into a financial or industrial expert.

Are we quite satisfied that the pattern of foreign trade fits in with the Socialist concept ? Since the Nation provides the exchange and is becoming an important trader in its own right, it is necessary to look the possibility of State Trading Corporations straight in the face. Are we satisfied that our fiscal and monetary policies have exhausted their search in aid of the Welfare State which is the main objective of the policy of the Socialist Pattern ? A great deal has been done and the concept of deficit financing has found favour in the very act of its success. Indeed many ideas are fermenting in the minds of Socialists, Economists, Financial and Industrial Experts—all designed to set our feet firmly on the path of Socialism.

Lines of Progress

There are some dangers we have to avoid. For instance, we must not elevate a practical experiment in the matter of the division of industry into the private and public sector into a principle. There is no principle involved—only national convenience. Again, some of our leaders must make up their minds unreservedly to follow the line set for them in the adoption of the Socialist Pattern. No interest should be allowed to stand in the way of our march. If a neighbouring Nation offers to build for us for instance, the Pharmaceutical Industry, the Aluminium Industry or any other similar Industry, no private interest obviously can be allowed to stand in the way of such fruitful development. Similarly, if German Industry is now helping to build diesal trucks and diesel rail-road engines in the private sector, we should welcome this addition to our production. If again, small and medium sized industry can be fostered by allocation of adequate financial aid through the co-operative movement, we have to devise means to further this end, which like the co-operative design for land development and cultivation, can envelop every sector of light and medium industry in course of time.

Basis of Success

Some of us who have seen the impossible happen in our life time—the achievement of independence—have also seen under Nehru's leadership, the flowering of the idea of the Welfare State. It is certain that some of us will not be alive to see the fulfilment of this dream we have dreamt for the last forty years or so. But that the dream will be fulfilled is a matter beyond doubt and question, since it is the logical outcome of our own tradition which sets the seal upon a new civilisation in which no man shall be another man's master but all must be the servants of the people of India and of humanity.

The basic needs for the success of our policy are many. Foremost among them is the unity of our people and the unity of our purpose. The will to work for the common good is another. We must put an end to stupid dis-

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putation. We have to assure the worker his proper place in the management and control of industry—a step which will end trade disputes. And where trade disputes still continue, we have to provide internal conciliation machinery at each level with independent chairmen who inspire confidence instead of the cumbersome procedures that have somehow so far commended themselves to our administrators.

We have to devise some machinery whereby the hordes of functionaries are put to useful purposes functioning with democratic responsibility instead of bureaucratic isolation. And, as for the content of the experiment we are engaged in, let us not forget that inequality, the contrasts of poverty and riches, the development of economies which make the privileged more privileged and the poor more poor instead of closing the terrible gap—all these have to be ended and the means of production, exchange and distribution made to serve all our people equally, instead of serving as instruments in the hands of the few for the benefit of the few. Inevitably Banks, Shipping and Insurance Companies, Financial Corporations and Industry which creates industry—all must pass into the hands of public corporations or co-operatives along with the further development of the Public Sector, in order that poverty may be abolished and equality, not only political but economic, assured for our people.

We have worked hard during the last eight years in building a *New India* under the guidance of Nehru. Let us pool all our resources, gather all our energy and march forward in this task of national reconstruction towards Socialism. We have all the resources in raw material (except oil) possessed by Soviet Russia and the United States of America combined and more than their joint man-power. Nothing can stop us in our steady march towards Socialism—towards prosperity—towards peace—except our own weakness and lack of unity and lack of awareness of our high purpose. And can there be a higher purpose than the service of our people in the establishment of a civilisation greater and more significant than any that our nation has pr witnessed in the past ?

(Contd. from page 84)

In India drinking water is used in cities for purposes by the Fire Brigade whereas in U.S.A. e town has separate provision of water supply for I do not mean that such a provision is possible in In

It is interesting to note that only 5% of Munic lities in India get tap water, whereas in Ceylon in U.S.A. 56% and in U.K. 52% people get water fr taps. In U.K. wells are provided in all villages, pumping plants from the tap by means of cistern. India, there are hardly 2% of the Municipalities, w have underground drainage. All these will indicate t we are far behind in the development of sanitat drinking water and drainage even in town (urban) are Planning Commission will have to give serious con deration to this part of the subject in their schem I may again stress that no development can progr unless the entire work is decentralized, under the pro and careful supervision.

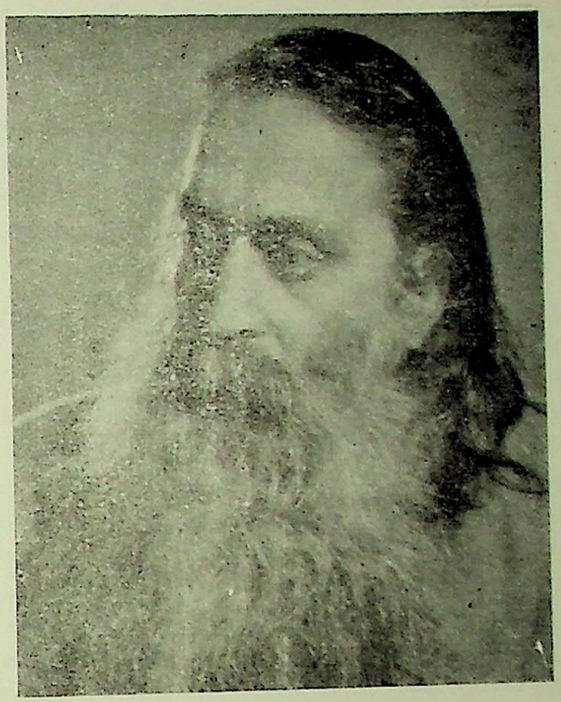
I appreciate that the Community Project Admin tration has set up 375 Primary Health Centres to ens adequate health service. While I appreciate that effo are being made by the Community Block to improve health of the villages, I am of the view that unless proper plan to develop 5½ lakh villages in relation health and hygiene, communications (roads) is p pared, we will be considerably behind the schedule, in ultimate goal even under the next Five-Year Plan. cannot be completed within the next five years, it m have to be extended to 15 to 20 years. What is need is a plan for all these villages giving priority to th villages which are larger in population which will an effective measure to put the villages on a so footing.

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SONGS OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

(*By Devinder Satyarthi*)



"Centuries ago," says Sarojini Naidu, "poets used the simile of the spinning-wheel and the weaver's loom, the Fates spinning and weaving out man's destiny." The poet of the *Rig Veda* asked his gods 'to spin out the ancient thread'; he sang again and again : "As fathers they have set their heritage on earth, as a thread continuously spun out." Rich in detail, the picture of the young husband wearing on the first day of the marriage the garment made by the bride, as seen in the *Atharva Veda*, looks very significant.

In the Punjab it was only natural that Hussain, the Sufi poet (1539-1593 A.D.) should compare his soul to a girl, who remained unmarried because she failed to prepare for her trousseau the yarn which, after the ancient tradition, she had to spin herself ; as the husband adored the young wife who brought dowry, hand-spun and country-made, so God liked the Sufi who died with a good account of Karma.

The Spinning Bee

The spinning-bee, or the *Trinjan* as it is called in the Punjab, always makes a happy picture. The young, unmarried girls, the brides, and women of every age, all sit together at their spinning-wheels. They all imbibe the spirit of competition. They all lift their voices together and sing. It seems spinning has never been independent of song.

Any time may be fixed for the spinning-bee, any house selected for it. The winter is good for spinning, they say. An all-day spinning-bee, called *Chiri Charoonga*, is easier on a short winter day. *Chiri* means sparrow ; *Charoonga* is an obscure word for baby-sparrow. The spinning-bee is called *Chiri Charoonga* for the spinners are expected to be so busy in their work as to have no time even to look at the sparrows. After the day-break, they assemble inside a room and spin till sunset ; at noon they get their meals from their homes and they know that it should be soon taken. An oil-lamp is kept burning all the day if the room is dark. Every spinner returns from the spinning-bee with over half a pound of cotton turned into fine yarn. Another winter spinning-bee is the all-night *Jagrata*. The same as *Ratjaga* in Hindi, *Jagrata* means vigil. This begins at about 10 p.m. after the other household work is well over ; it continues till next morning. The night being longer than the day, they can have more output of yarn than what they turn out in the all-day *Chiri Charoonga*. Some call it *Rat Kattani*, or spinning throughout night. Often fire is kept in an iron pot in the centre. Songs continue. The dawn wears away. The rays of the morning sun fall on the spinners' faces.

Summer is less liked by the sisters of the spinning-wheel. Hot winds make the cotton coarse, they say. Water is sprinkled in a basket in which are placed the *Poonian*, or rolls of carded cotton, which become moist and make fine spinning easier. The sittings of the spinning-bee during summer days are held in some airy room, or under the shade of a tree in the compound ; at night they prefer a roof but also like the stars, especially the constellations and the pole star, to watch over them, and the moon, particularly when full, to serve as their lamp.

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Rainy days are pleasant. Cotton gets automatically moist for fine spinning. In every thunder, in every shower of rain, in every downpour, the spinners hear a song. 'If I am a spinner, I can spin even on a broken spinning-wheel' repeats every one of them. But 'as a cook I spoil the flour ; and as a spinner I turn cotton into wick-like yarn' is a proverb which when put into the mouth of a good-for-nothing woman, is sure to make the whole spinning-bee burst with laughter.

The placing of the spinners' rolls of carded cotton in a common basket is essential. It is generally done before the commencement of the spinning-bee. One of the women is selected. She first places a set of four or five cotton-rolls taken out of her own reed-basket on the palm of her left hand, and as she receives similar sets from every body turn by turn, she goes on placing them crosswise over her own. This group of cotton-roll sets is then placed in the common basket. She gathers a second, a third set and so on in the same order and places them in the basket. She will distribute them as work goes on, so that every spinner receives her own set every time. The sets from the common basket are distributed only when the distributor herself has spun her set. No songs are sung while the cotton-rolls are gathered in the basket.

Poetry of Life

Work songs, all over the world, show an obvious, psychological connection between tunes and the tasks of manual labour ; they are hardly to be severed from the efforts and movements they are invented to fit.

Old songs live in the memory. But the spinners continue to make attempts at new songs. Words of new songs some time appear to fit a tune badly. The singers soon smooth out the crudity. Women who would make new songs always have the richest treasury of old songs at their finger-tips.

All the songs are not about the spinning-wheel. The spinners seem to think little and dream much. The spinning-songs evoke the poetry of life. In districts scores of miles apart, variants of the same songs may be heard. "Words of old songs are clever enough, my son," the old peasant grandmother may tell you, "they remain hidden from me while my hand is away from the handle of the spinning-wheel. Back at my work of spinning, my songs would rush out correctly."

In one of the old spinning-songs the sad girl [illegible] to her spinning-wheel. Perhaps none else is ready [illegible] share the deep sorrow with her. She is married [illegible] under-aged boy. She has to wait till he becomes a youngman. As she seeks advice, the spinning-wheel seems to reply symbolizing the voice of a guardian angel. She is advised to wait and bear with everything as she learns to spin even the rough cotton into fine thread. This song is sung to a significantly melodious tune :

"*Ghoon, ghoon,* O my spinning-wheel !
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?
"Spin, girl, spin."
"Far-off is my father-in-law's place.
Should I live there or not ?"
"Live, girl, live."
"Long, long is my woe,
Should I tell or not ?"
"Tell, girl, tell."
"My husband is a minor boy.
Should I stay with him or not ?"
"Stay, girl, stay."
"*Ghoon, ghoon,* O my spinning-wheel,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?
"Spin, girl, spin."

In some of the songs the spinners dream of the sandal-wood spinning-wheels :

My spinning-wheel is of the *kikar* wood, darling.
Get me one of sandal, darling.
Cotton I won't spin any more.
Wool I won't spin any more,
Get me silk for spinning, darling.
My spinning-wheel is of the *kikar* wood, darling.
Get me one of sandal, darling.

The spinning-wheels have been there ; and the spinning-songs, with all their soulfulness, have been echoing from house to house in every village in the Punjab. The peasant housewife would tell you, "In my dreams the spinning-wheel talks with me : 'I was made by Vishwa Karma, the divine artisan, it says, every heart I approach with creeping footsteps ; wherever I go I give work. I breathe the air of songs ; Life is God's gift, I tell the women, and that they should spin as God spun life. Men do not want me, I am the beloved of women.'"

In a note, entitled 'Swaraj through Women' (*Harijan*, December 2, 1939), Mahatma Gandhi rightly

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ented : "Since the beginning of time there has been a vision of labour between men and women. Adam ove and Eve span. The distinction persists to the resent day. Men spinners are an exception....expe- ence shows that spinning will remain woman's specia- y. I believe there is a good reason behind the perience. Spinning is essentially a slow and com- paratively silent process. Woman is the embodiment sacrifice....Equality of sexes does not mean equality occupation."

"I draw songs from my heart as I draw yarn," any ood spinner would tell you, "sitting at the spinning- heel I become a new woman. Sometimes the spindle oes wrong, but I can soon mend it, and that, too, I o accompanied by some tune that seems to hang from y lips ; long live the spinning-wheel, I say, when it oves rightly."

Trinjan noon ki dar pale da (What fear has winter r the spinning-bee ?) says a Punjabi proverb. *Char- ha vi us te hasse jo trinjan de vich oonghe* (Even the pinning-wheel laughs at the napping spinner in the pinning-bee) says another proverb.

The sad note is predominant in the spinning-songs :

Listen to me, O sun, listen to me, O moon,
Tears roll down my eyes ;
The whole world enjoys,
I spin my sorrows.

The members of the spinning-bee cannot have an ut and out certainty of meeting again without even a ingle soul being absent :

I

Travellers in a ferry boat, girls of a spinning-bee,
Hardly they all meet once again.

II

The lovesick girl can spin no more.
Remove her carded cotton rolls, ye girls.

III

My friendships of the spinning-bee,
O I remembered them in my bridal bullock-cart.

IV

In my dream I embraced him,
I opened my eyes and did not find him.

V

The moon will rise as usual,
Without you my sight will have no light.

VI

All the night you searched and searched,
I hid myself in the spinning-bee.

VII

Overhearing the echo of the spinning-wheel,
The ascetic came down from the mountain.

The spinning-songs are a woman's life history ; her tenderness, her shyness, her mischief as a young girl, her nature, her character—all are written upon the spinning-wheel. Without the spinning-wheel she would be no longer herself ; it is at once one with her dignity and position in the village.

The singing voice of the spinning-bee has made a special appeal to all generations. The spinning-songs have much to tell ; they provide us with a mighty range of folk-songs. The intimacy of the contents, the touch of Punjabi idiom, the rare combination of mind and heart, the lore of the spinner—all this is emphasized in the spinning-songs of the Punjab.

Punjabi Folk-songs

It was Richard C. Temple who took up the pioneer work of collecting folk-songs and legends of the Punjab in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and his great labours are enshrined in *The Legends of the Punjab* (1884-1 01, 3 volumes). "The folk-poem is very far from dead," says Temple, "but the wandering bard is beginning to die out." Later on, C. F. Usborne took up this work in his *Punjabi Lyrics and Proverbs* (Lahore, 1905). The first Punjabi scholar, who felt the need of presenting a feast of Punjabi folk-songs, is Pandit Sant Ram ; his *Punjabi Geet* (Lahore, 1927), published in Devanagri script, is a valuable study of Punjabi folk-songs in general, and the provision of Hindi translations of most of the songs shows an attempt to make it useful for even those who may not be knowing Punjabi language. Pandit Ramsaran Das's *Punjab de Geet* (Lahore, 1931) is printed in Persian script ; it contains many rare and valuable folk-songs of the Punjab. My own book in Punjabi, printed in Gurmukhi script, is *Giddha* (Amritsar, 1936) ; it deals with the folk-songs mainly connected with the

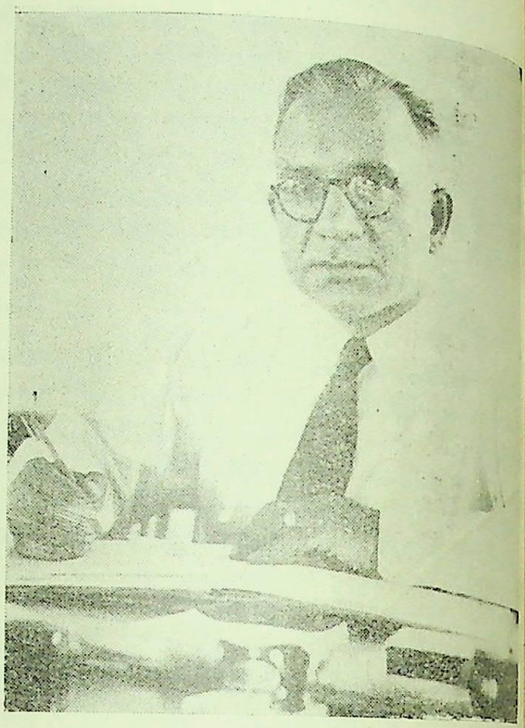
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INDUSTRIAL STANDARDS IN FREE INDIA

(By Dr. Lal. C. Verman,
Director, Indian Standards Institution)



Increased industrialization and the progressive all round development visualized in the National Five-Year Plans make it necessary that the role of industrial standards in the economic advancement of the country be widely appreciated. The formulation of such standards to meet national requirement began with Indian independence. The need for these standards was a natural outcome of industrial development in India. Appreciating the role which the British Standards Institution and other National Standards Bodies had played in the progressive development of industries in their respective countries, the Indian industry demanded the establishment of a similar body in India. The proposal made at the Industries Conference at Lucknow in 1940 received reinforcement when a few years later the Industrial Planning Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research also made a recommendation to the same effect. Accepting these recommendations, the Government of India adopted a resolution in 1946, which led to the establishment of the Indian Standards Institution (ISI) the following year.

ISI Organisation

The Indian Standards Institution works through Committees of experts drawn from manufacturing firms, large Government purchasing agencies, organizations of trade, research and testing laboratories, and scientific and technological institutions. There are at present nearly 500 such Committees, Sub-committees and Panels, with a membership of about 5,000. The Committees are appointed by Division Councils and Sections, who are responsible for all the technical work. The former comprise the Engineering, Building, Textile and Chemical Division Councils. and the latter the Agricultural and Food Products, Statistical, Steel Economy and Publications Sections. The staff of the ISI guides and assists Committees in their technical work. It arranges meetings, makes bibliographies, gathers technical information required, prepares drawings, assists in formulating drafts, collects comments, arranges for res... work to be carried out and finally edits and publ... standards. But on all technical questions, the Com... tees take decisions.

The overall control of the ISI, which is neith... Government Department nor a private body, is exer... by a General Council. The Union Minister for Comm... and Industry is its ex-officio President. The mem... of the Council represent the Central and State Gov... ments, the Government of Ceylon (a member of ... ISI), selected industrial, trade, scientific and te... logical organizations and the subscribing members.

Making Indian Standards

Making an Indian Standard involves a number ... steps, beginning with the receipt of a proposal by ... ISI Directorate. Any authoritative body, like an ... ciation of trade or industry, a Government Departm... or an ISI Committee can make the proposal. The D... torate does not itself initiate work on any subject. ... investigation, if the need for a standard is establis... the subject proposed is approved for standardiza... The work is entrusted either to a Technical Comm... already in existence or to a new Committee which is ... up for the purpose. The Committee prepares a ... and circulates it for comments to interested pa...

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in India and abroad. A press note is issued for general information, and a copy of the draft is sent to anyone who asks for it. The comments are considered carefully by the Committee and the draft is revised, if required. The finalized standard is submitted to the Division Council for endorsement and then to the Executive Committee for approval before it is published as an Indian Standard.

Indian Standards

So far over 600 Indian Standards have been issued (*see* fig. 1). Broadly speaking, these may conveniently be grouped under the following heads :

Engineering.

Iron, steel and their products ; tools ; non-ferrous metals and alloys ; machinery ; electrical equipment and accessories ; radio equipment and components ; refractories ; raw minerals ; sports goods ; bicycle components.

Building.

Cement, concrete and allied materials ; builder's hardware ; timber and timber products ; bitumen, tar and tar products.

Textile.

Textile terminology and test methods ; wools ; woollen and worsted fabrics ; jute ; miscellaneous textile mill stores ; grading of silk ; National Flag of India.

Chemicals.

Chemicals, heavy ; chemicals, fine ; paints and allied materials ; soaps ; oils and greases ; essential oils ; vegetable oils ; rubber products ; leather and leather products ; coal and coke ; office stationery and equipment.

Others.

Glass and glassware ; documentation ; pest control products ; sugar ; etc.

Besides these, the current and future work includes nearly 1,200 other subjects. New proposals are constantly being received, for it is not in terms of hundreds but thousands that Indian industry and trade require standards. The ISI is going at a fairly high speed, yet for many reasons not fast enough, to meet the country's demand for standards.

The work in hand includes subjects such as hurricane lanterns, pencils, cutlery, ammonium sulphate, food-grain storage structures,

What is in a Standard

A standard is intended to serve as a guide to manufacture, as a basis of trade contracts, as an instrument to help technologist to judge quality and performance values, and as a solution to recurrent problems of the designer and constructor. No standard aimed to achieve these objects can afford to fix a pattern or to freeze a design to the exclusion of free play of creative ingenuity, or for that matter to the encouragement of monotony.

Within these limitations a standard may attempt to meet the economic need of the nation by laying down a specification for materials in terms of their chemical and physical properties. It may define the methods of test for evaluating these characteristics or determine the service value of an equipment. It may also deal with contentious problems of definitions and terminology ; define methods for carrying out a process, an installation or a design ; or limit the number of sizes or varieties of a product to the essential minimum so as to make its production more economical. It may, in fact, do any or all of these things, but never may it restrict the path of progress of economic, technological or artistic development.

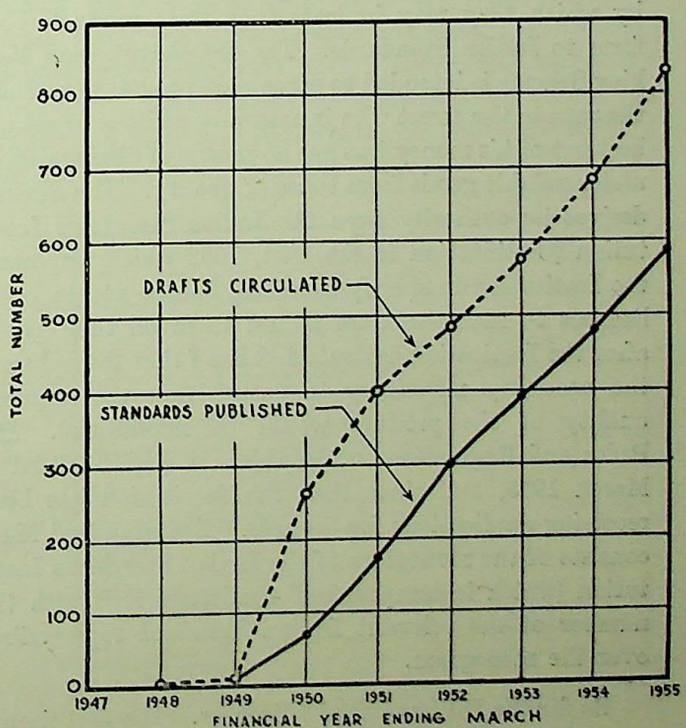


FIG 1 GROWTH OF STANDARDS

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Using Indian Standards

Indian Standards are purely voluntary instruments. Their use is not binding even on the members of the ISI. They derive their authority chiefly from the fact that they represent the largest consensus of views of producers, consumers, technologists and others on the quality and other important characteristics of a product.

As a result of an official directive, Government Departments buy goods that conform to Indian Standards wherever they exist. This directive together with the instruction that each Department should let the Institution know within a reasonable time as to why a particular standard or draft standard may not be acceptable is going a long way in diverting Indian production to standardized channels. It is but natural that when a particular industry begins to produce items in response to official tenders, in accordance with standard specifications, the benefits of the improved quality become available to all consumers of such product.

Standard Marks

All the same, Indian manufacturers, who are producing goods in accordance with Indian standard specifications, are anxious to have some inexpensive means by which they may indicate that their products conform to Indian Standards. The ISI Certification Marking Scheme is intended to serve such producers and also the man in the street who is naturally anxious to get the best out of his money but has no means of distinguishing undependable goods from those of quality. The Scheme derives its authority from the Indian Standards Institution (Certification Marks) Act, 1952 which empowers the Institution to specify Standard Marks, and to grant licences to manufacturers to use them on their goods after the Institution has satisfied itself that they possess the necessary machinery to ensure that the required quality of the product would be maintained. The Rules and Regulations under this Act were finalized in March 1955, and since then the Institution has been receiving applications for licences. The Standard Mark consists of the monogram of the Indian Standards Institution (which is composed of the letters ISI) with the number of the relevant Indian Standard superscribed over the monogram.

So far the ISI has issued 7 licences. The first licence was given to the Aluminium Industries Ltd., Kundara, for aluminium conductors for overhead transmission

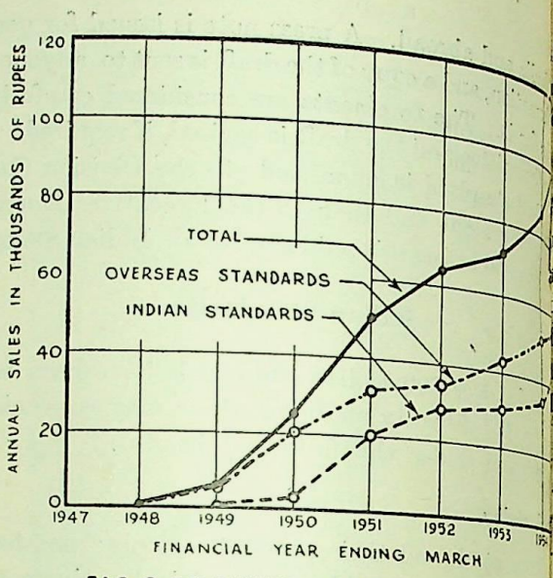


FIG 2 GROWTH OF SALE OF INDIAN & OVERSEAS STANDARDS

purposes. The next five were given to the Indian Company. One of these five also covers alum conductors, and the other four for copper cond bare annealed copper wire, cotton covered high c tivity copper wire, and rubber insulated cables and ble cords. The seventh licence, issued last Dec has been granted to the Pioneer Magnesia Works Bombay, for their magnesium chloride. Appli from about 50 other factories are at present unde mination by the Institution. The ISI is anxious to its Certification Marks Scheme as inexpensive as po and is in this respect receiving encouraging co-oper from manufacturers.

Membership and Finances of ISI

Membership of the ISI is drawn from organiz and persons interested in its objects. There are three gories of membership : Sustaining Members and Su ing Members (Associates), Ordinary Members, and mittee Members. Sustaining membership is ge open to every organization, company, firm, Gover Department and a neighbouring country. The ciate membership, however, is limited to firms w annual business of under Rs. 2,50,000, and profes scientific, technological and educational insti Individuals can join as Ordinary Members. P serving on the ISI Councils and Committees are as Committee Members. Depending upon the c membership, members have the right to apply for mation on standardization both in India and a to give evidence at appropriate technical levels a

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inuously to receive information concerning the develop-ent of standards on subjects in which they are inte-ested.

The ISI is supported by a grant-in-aid from the overnment of India, subscription from its members nd income from sale of standards (*see* Fig. 2). The embership which to-day stands at 1,144 (*see* Fig. 3), onsists of 960 Sustaining Members, 104 Sustaining embers (Associates), including State Governments, unicipalities and public bodies, and 80 Ordinary embers.

The grant-in-aid has in 1955-56 been raised to Rs. lakhs, and the income from subscriptions and sale of andards is estimated to aggregate to Rs. 4 lakhs.

International Standardization

Co-ordination of national standards to arrive at inter-ationally agreed solutions promotes trade between ountries participating in such work. Transactions ased on such internationally accepted standards eli-inate disagreeable disputes, placing trade on a firmer asis.

The International Organization for Standardization ISO), an association linking National Standards Bodies f 38 countries, including India, provides the necessary rum for international standardization activity. The SO functions, at present, through more than 80 Tech-ical Committees, each covering one special field, such s of paper steel, plastics, manganese ore, lac, mica, tc. Of these, the secretariat for the last two is held y the Indian Standards Institution, which participates n the work of more than 50 other Committees also.

The ISI co-operates both in the technical and ad-ministrative work of ISO. India has been on its govern-g Council since 1946, and it was a pleasure and a pri-ilege for the author to work as its Vice-President for ix years from his first election in 1949.

International work on electrical standardization is eing carried out by the International Electro-technical ommission (IEC), which though set up in 1904, now unctions as a division of ISO. The ISI co-ordinates he national work in electrical standardization with that of the IEC, and has set up for this purpose an Indian National Committee of the IEC. For the last three years, an additional responsibility has been put on the ISI by its election to the Committee of Action of the IEC for nine years.

Recent Developments

Functioning thus on both national and international levels, the Indian Standards Institution is going forward in the service of Indian industry. To meet its growing needs, more and newer fields are being covered by indus-trial standards. With the opening of its first Branch Office in Bombay last October, the ISI has created a convenient centre from where to establish closer contacts with the industries in that area. Depending upon the effectiveness of the service which this office is able to render, the Institution has plans to open branches in other industrial centres of the country, beginning with Calcutta as the next place.

The Executive Committee of the ISI has decided to set up a Division Council for Agricultural and Food Pro-ducts, which is another landmark in the development of standards activity in India. A particularly important aspect of this Division Council will be that the improve-ment of the quality of processed foodstuffs covered by its work will effect, directly and indirectly, the common man, in his day to day life in a larger measure than, perhaps, the work of the other Division Councils. Arrange-ments have been made that there should be no over-lapping between the work of this Council and that of the Agricultural and Marketing Organization under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and that the work of the two should be complementary.

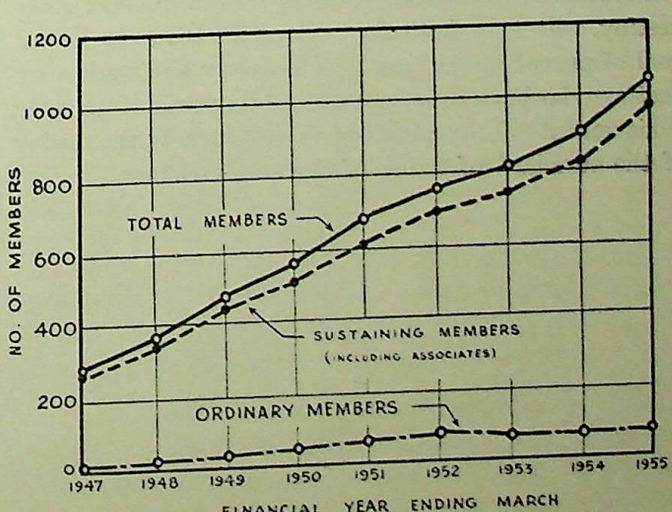


FIG 3 GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP

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Second Five-Year Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan of the Institution has just been submitted and there is every hope of its being adopted. Among other things, it provides for an expansion of present standardization activities by about fifty per cent. Expansion of certification work would be determined chiefly by the demand of industry and no target can be fixed at present. The opening of the branch offices and the new headquarters building in New Delhi, the foundation stone of which was graciously laid by Prime Minister Pandit Nehru a year ago, would add considerably to the facilities which ISI would have for service to industry.

The acceptance of ISI Report on Weights and Measures presented to Government in December 1949 has paved the way for eliminating the present chaos that prevails in various parts of the country, and in different sectors of enterprise. Decimalized currency is soon to appear and the metric weights and measures are expected to follow immediately with a plan for their general adoption over a period of ten to fifteen years.

Reviewing thus the ground covered by the ISI so far leaves one with an overpowering sense of inadequacy and a strong feeling that the work of the Institution has only just begun, and that a major part of it lies ahead in the future. At this stage, the debt which the ISI owes to its constituents, whose constant help, guidance and support has made such a beginning possible, cannot be over-estimated. But, more than any thing else, the hope is valued and cherished that the fundamental soundness of our national character, which guides India's destiny, will carry forth the work of the ISI to its logical goal of providing the country's industry and trade with that standardization service which is essential to an early achievement of our plan objective—namely the raising of the standard of living of the common man.

(Contd. from page 95)

Giddha, the popular folk dance of the East Pu... *Nain Jhanan* (Lahore, 1942) by Harjeet Singh ... *Bar de Dhole* (Amritsar, 1954) by Prof. Sher Singh ... are two significant anthologies of Jangali folk-s... from West Punjab. Among the very recent books ... be mentioned Amrita Pritam's *Punjab di Awaz* ... *Mauli te Menhdi* ; both these books provide us with ... valuable notes on the nature and style of Punjabi ... poetry.

The latest book of Punjabi folk-songs is *Punjab... Lok-Geet* by M.S.Randhawa. Arranged subject-wise ... nicely annotated, it offers over seven hundred s... In the introduction Mr. Randhawa has stressed ... national importance of various types of Punjabi f... songs. The photographs, used as illustrations of ... village life in the Punjab, may be valued even for t... pictorial appeal.

Every collection of Punjabi folk-songs publis... so far has a special feature of spinning-songs ; this ra... of folk-songs is all the more rich in M.S.Randha... *Punjab de Lok-Geet* that offers the multi-coloured *Ph... kari* design on the dust cover.

Help of the Tape Recorder wanted immediat...

It is high time that we should take the help of ... tape recorder. Folk-songs devoid of their tunes ... more than half of their charm. All India Ra... has been doing a good deal of work for popularizing ... folk music, but to do full justice with the original t... we must go to the field with the tape recorder, and b... with us the vanishing chants and melodies of olden d...

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THIS SACRED LAND OF MARTYRS

(Darbara Singh, M.L.A., General Secretary, Reception Committee, 61st Session, Indian National Congress)

Death is an inevitable end. Soul is immortal. Saints and patriots who die martyrs to their ideals immortalise their names. The courageous and valiant never taste death but once. They live to speak the truth and bravely stick to their principles. They fall victims to their noble ideals. Their steady pulses do not indicate even the least symptoms of cowardice. Their spirits cry out from their ashes and prove more potent than their voices.

Patriotism is a natural instinct, a divine spark lodged in the human breast. Patriots and lovers of motherland taste death heroically.

The land of the Five Rivers—rich in fauna and flora, blessed with unending produce of foodgrains, and peopled with ruddy, robust, simple sons and daughters—has been rendered sacrosant with the blood of innumerable martyrs and heroes whose names will shine to enternity, giving life and inspiration as well as glow to millions of souls in times to come.

Rightly and with reverence, we bow our heads in homage to them whose noble blood has been the seed of our freedom and emancipation.

The sands and stones, farms and fields, rivers and woods of the Punjab are even today resounding to the echo of those patriots of this land who laid their lives in the supreme cause of mankind liberty, equality and fraternity. Generations in this region will continue to anoint their foreheads with the holy earth of this land. When can their glory fade who identified themselves with the sighs and tears of the oppressed and who sacrificed their all for freeing their people from foreign yoke? The galaxy of those noble sons and daughters of the motherland will for ever guide us on nobler paths.

The Punjab may justifiably claim a place of pride in our India for its contribution towards the attainment of independence through the sublime principles of truth and Dharma.

A very large number of patriots and soldiers of humanity sacrificed themselves like Guru Tegh Bahadur, were bricked alive like sons of Guru Gobindsingh, roasted and boiled to death like Guru Arjandevji, sawed like Bhai Manisingh, blasted by bullets and guns like 66 brave nationalist Namdhari Sikhs, speared and lynched in thousands by the foreign rulers who were out to crush all national movements. Many others kissed the rope of the gallows like Sardar Bhagatsingh, Kartarsingh Sarabha and their noble colleagues. Some, of course, resorted to force in order to secure emancipation of the fellow beings from the jaws of tyranny when they had exhausted all other means of this purpose. But their aim was always noble, sublime and supreme - defending the defenceless and upholding the banner of universal brotherhood. There were others like S. Sewasingh Thikariwala who were made to wither away on the stock by cankering iron, chains and bars of prisons. Many more including heroes of Gaddar Movement like S. Bakhshishsingh Gillwali, Harnamsingh Bhatti Goraya, Jagtsingh Sursinghwalla, Kartarsingh Sarabha, Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Surainsingh Gilwali were subjected to brutal and hair-raising torture and death.

These heroes never committed any conspiracy but they were tried under such laws and were hanged mercilessly. These heroes also included Sardar Birsingh Bahuwal Sardar Isharsingh Dhudike, Rangasingh Khurdpur, Rursingh Talwandi Dosanjh, Uttamsingh Hans, Shri Baburam Fatehgarh, S. Balwantsingh Canadian Khurdpur, Shri Nama Fatehgarh Hafiz Abdullah Jagraon, Rusingh Sangwal, S. Harnamsingh Kabri, Shri Chaliaram Sahnewal, S. Wassawasingh, Wara, S. Narainsingh Balo, S. Niranjansingh, Sangatpura, Sardar Palasingh Sherpura, S. Jawandsingh Nangal, Bantarsingh Sangwal, Butasingh Akalgarh and Pandit Sohanlal Pathik of Patti.

They were countless. Men and women, known and unknown laid down their lives for the sake of motherland. They preferred death to budging an inch with ignominy from their loyalty of India.

Such is the land of Punjab inhabited by the orphans, widows, grand-children and devotees of the martyrs in the path of freedom and humanity. And so numberless are the volunteers and heroes of death in the holy

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land that the venue of the 61st Session of Indian National Congress at Amritsar could only be named as Shahidnagar in honour and homage to all the martyrs and not to a particular one out of them.

The brave people of Punjab have inherited three precious qualities—an ability to march—an ability to starve and an ability to fight cheerfully during tense and thrilled moments. They have retained their enthusiasm through ages. The story of the revolutionary people of this land is full of historic and unforgettable incidents. They have always responded every call from the fighters of the freedom movement heroically and showed the warmest admiration for them. They have crossed many a stream and pushed through trackless forests. They always fought doggedly with confidence and smile on their faces. In revolutionary struggles under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru these people placed the interests and fair name of the revolutionary cause above everything else. We could not possibly have won the freedom so quickly and gracefully if our fighters had not possessed a high degree of political consciousness initiated by the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi. At moments of decisive importance these Punjabees with lofty ideals and stout hearts always stood behind the Indian National Congress.

It is easy to imagine what feelings were here in Punj... when the Indian National Congress met in Lah... in 1929 and passed a resolution of Swaraj. Non-violen... had more appeal to them since non-violence knows n... defeat and Gandhism has proved to be the greate... revolutionary movement of the world.

The chapter of martyrdom is not yet closed in the hi... of these vanguard of India. They are fully aware o... their duty towards Motherland especially in the hour... of crisis. They have recently exhibited their unremitting... spirit in Kashmir and Goa. Punjab soldiers, hand in... hand, with their brethren, came forward to defend t... paradise like charming valley of the Kashmir and she... their blood boiling with patriotism there and pushe... away the coward aggressors. Last but not the least i... the name of S. Karnailsingh, a young martyr who fea... lessly and heroically faced the bullets of brutal Portu... guese and thus upheld the banner of India in Goa. It... can safely be predicted that sons and daughters of the lan... of Martyrs would never lag behind than any patriotic... heart whenever they are called upon to face even the... worst trial for the honour, prestige and freedom of their... Motherland.

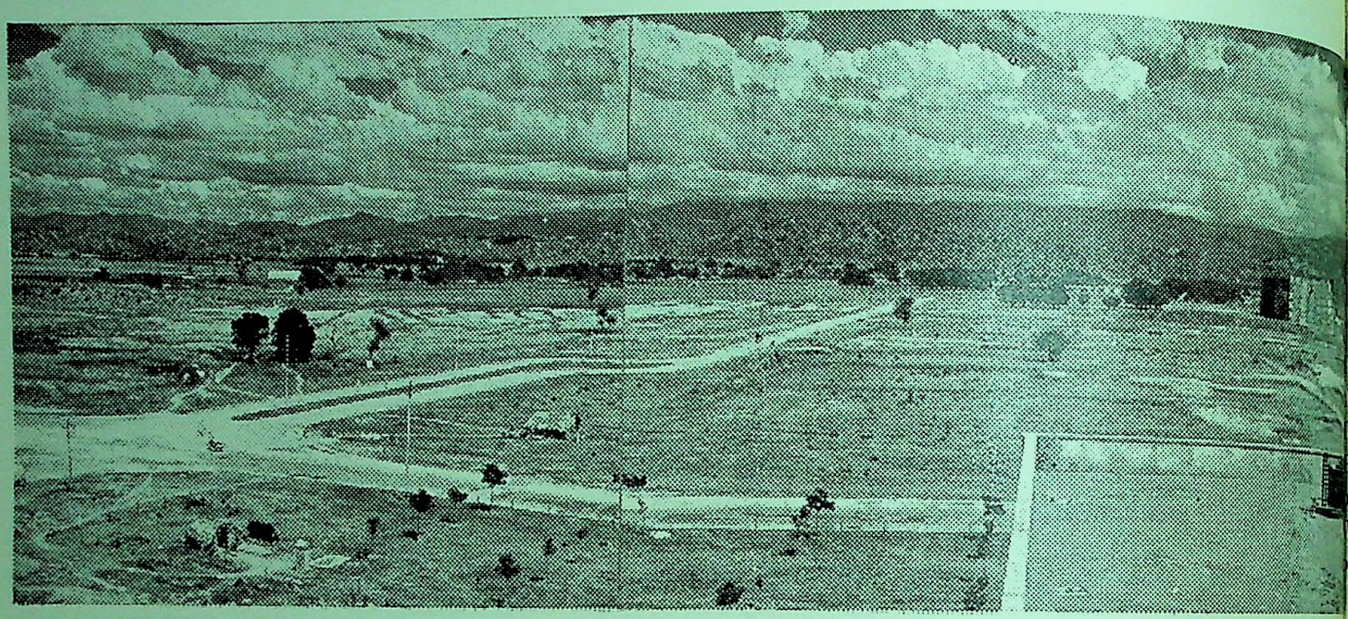
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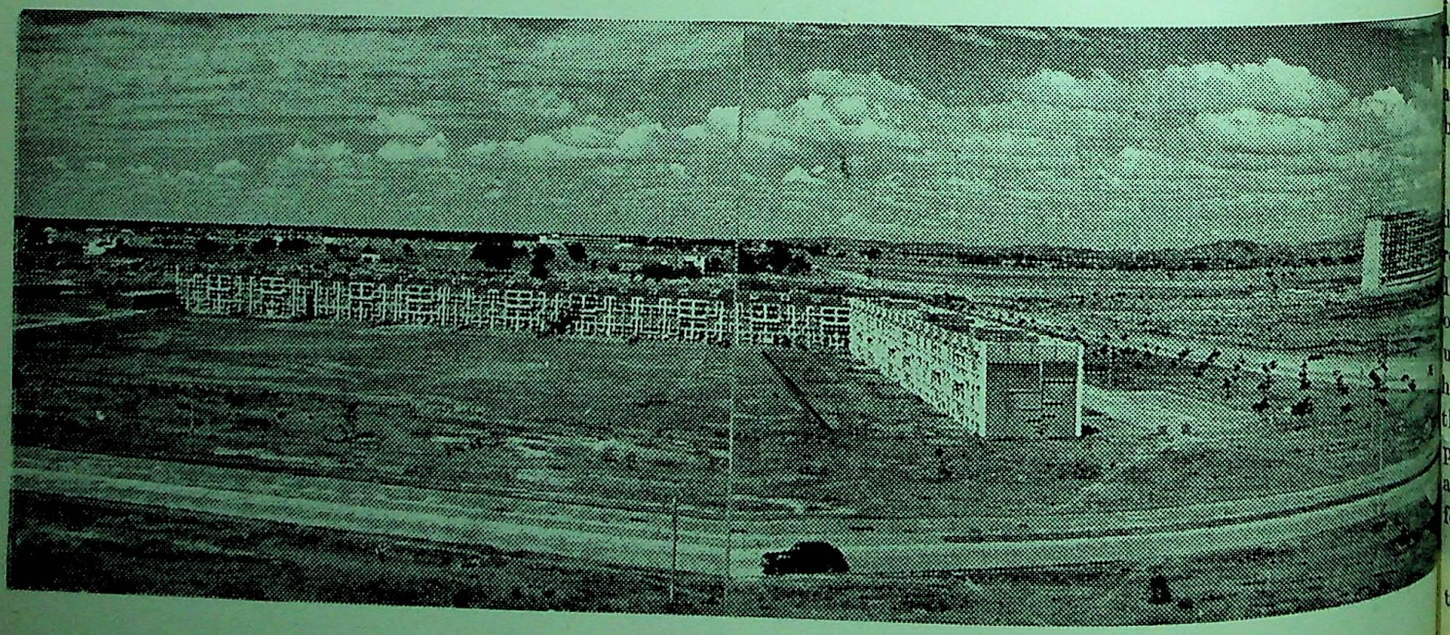
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PUNJAB, PEPSU AND HIMACHAL PRADESH

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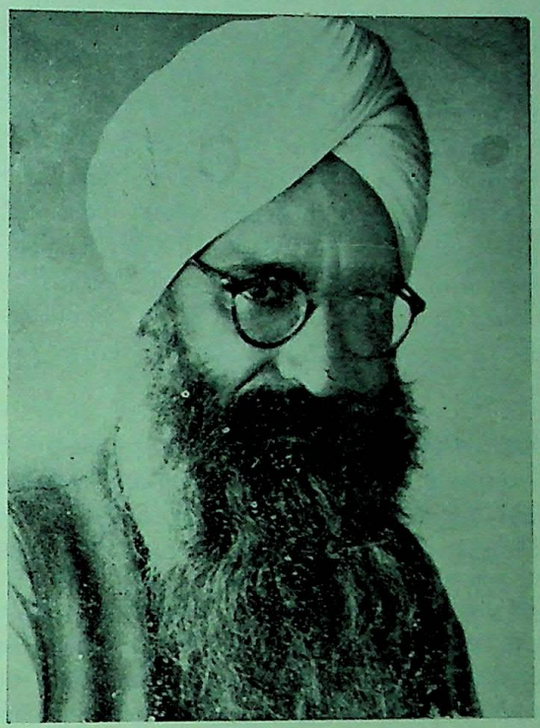
Some Views of Chandigarh

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TRUNCATED PUNJAB PICKS UP THE THREADS OF LIFE AGAIN

(By Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister, Punjab)



Eight years ago, a great revolution took place and India became a free country. Along with the rest of the country the Punjab gained a new life as a result of India's liberation. The past eight years in the history of Punjab constitute a period of consolidation and general progress on all fronts—social, political and economic. We have not only recovered from the devastating effects of partition but have also marched ahead.

The brief spell of our independent existence has been marked by intense activity all round, with a view to gradually uplift common man from the sub-human level to which a century old foreign rule had reduced him. The impact of planned development on the economy of the State is becoming more visible as we are drawing towards the close of the first Five-Year Plan. Not only have the basic necessities of shelter, food and clothing been provided to the people in an increasing measure, but policies and plans calculated to bring about the greatest good of the greatest number have been initiated.

The combined efforts of the people of India under the distinguished leadership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru have resulted in an all round progress all over the country. India has made rapid strides towards the establishment of a welfare state. In the political plane the setting-up of a republic under a democratic secular constitution has ushered in a new era. In the economic sphere, there has been general improvement in our industrial production. Our country has also earned world-wide admiration for its huge projects which will dam rivers for power and irrigation.

In the all-India context of recovery and reconstruction, the Punjab presents an equally inspiring scene. Removal of controls and derationing of foodgrains indicates Punjab's victory over the food crisis. Provision of irrigation facilities through the recently inaugurated Bhakra Canals System and other irrigation works is another step towards prosperity. Stabilization of industry and enactment of labour welfare laws and fixation of minimum wages—all these factors show increased production and a growing sense of social justice.

Truncated Punjab.

Every fifth individual in the State is a displaced person, the 1951 census puts the figure of emigrants from Pakistan who have settled in Punjab at 23,75,997 out of a total population of 1,26,41,205. The absorption of such vast numbers in the depleted economy of the State was no small matter. Apart from the expenditure it involved, it strained the administrative machinery to the utmost.

Cold statistics are a poor index of the suffering which Punjab had to pass through. Whole cities and towns ablaze, vast stretches of uncultivated land in countryside, lakhs of human beings with lost moorings and herds of starving cattle—all presented a scene of utter desolation in this border State eight

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years ago. Who could imagine that the State would recover so soon from the deadly blow of partition. The best educational institutions, training centres, industrial and commercial enterprises, public trusts and cultural organisations were all left on the other side of the boundary-line. The displaced persons, forsaking their native hearths and homes kept pouring in for months on end into the Indian territory in one ceaseless stream of human misery. Food, cloth and shelter had to be provided for them and there were at one time no less than seven lakh inmates of refugee-camps in the Punjab.

During the past eight years the people of Punjab gave ample proof of the resilience and hardihood of Punjabi character and it is no exaggeration to say that like Phoenix a new Punjab has risen out of its ashes.

The greatest achievement of ours since we got our freedom is neither addition of a few thousands of tons in our foodgrains production or opening of a number of canals here or there, although these things have an intrinsic importance of their own. What freedom has given to us is that our people have now the incentive to work and to divert their energies to constructive ends from somewhat negative channels necessarily concomitant with the forms and methods of a revolutionary struggle which preceds the achievement of national freedom. This is evident from the fact that during the past eight years Punjab's genius has flowered forth into new, creative and constructive expressions in literature, through applied sciences and so many other fields of activity, and the concrete results of this development we see in over expanding number of schools and colleges all over the State, improved standards of health, increased production of foodgrains, accelerated production in industry and remarkable progress achieved by our projects. It is but natural that the achievement of national freedom should energise our people into a ceaseless struggle against poverty and hunger and to attain that standard of life and culture without which political independence also alone has no meaning.

Progress on all Fronts.

Today the Punjab presents a scene of ceaseless progress on all fronts—which has no doubt been considerably marred by the unprecedented floods which brought havoc and devastation to nearly 7,000 villages out of a total of 15,000 in the State. Punjab gained, during the recent years international because of its huge projects, Bhakra Nangal garh and speaking in terms of human beings served, the Community Projects. In November the Prime Minister performed the Concrete ceremony of Bhakra Dam, thus initiating the stage in the construction of the world's highest ght gravity dam which will be nearly double me the seven great pyramids of Egypt—but its sical proportions do not matter so much as its tialities as a source of power and irrigation to and adjoining States of Delhi, Pepsu and Raja In July 1954 the Bhakra canal system was inaugu amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, thus releasing for the arid areas of South-East Punjab. Gan Power House, an integral part of the Bhakra N Project, was commissioned in January 1955, pro 24,000 KW of electric energy. The economic adv ment of a country is largely determined by the ability of cheap power. In the Punjab where are no coal or oil resources, water provides the means of generating electric power. Till late Punjab had potential supply of only 40,000 KW th the Uhl river and thermal power stations, but B Nangal project is designed to produce ten times much. Some facts and figures in this connection cate remarkable progress made by Punjab durin period 1948-49 to 1955-56. In 1948-49 the numb general and industrial consumers was 18,378 and and it rose to 91,219 and 8,462 respectively, wh the power supplied increased from 32,997 KW 1,19,000 KWs respectively. As regards irrigation 3·8 million acres in Punjab, one million acres in and 9 lakh acres in Rajasthan will receive irri for the first time. The additional agricultural pr tion is estimated at about 132 crores annually. T new mandis are expected to grow up. The sch of operations contemplates the completion of the in 1959.

Bhakra Nangal Project is unique and unp dented in terms of its huge potentialities and tre dous efforts it involves, but more important anything else it is symbolic of the peoples reso banish poverty and backwardness from their The Prime Minister was perhaps inspired by aspect of Bhakra Nangal when he described it

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with other projects "as temples and places of worship, where thousands of human beings were engaged in constructive activity for the benefit of millions of their fellow beings".

Growing Prosperity.

The success of Punjab's plans to build a new capital for itself at Chandigarh is as much an index of the State's growing prosperity as it is of an egalitarian and a welfare outlook of a State. To build new towns and to provide schools for children and hospitals for the ailing and recreation centres for youth indicates a desire on the part of the State to follow the paths of peace and Chandigarh is a sign and symbol of India's passion for peace. As a modern city which has been planned from A to Z, Chandigarh reflects the democratic spirit of the modern times in its provision of civic amenities for all of its citizens, irrespective of their income or status, and it has also shown the remarkable progress which science of architecture and town planning in India has made in recent years. That is why perhaps it has been hailed as "symbolic of India's genius, untrammelled by the traditions of past".

Bhakra Nangal and Chandigarh are projects with a significance of their own, but a project of a different kind was launched recently which does not depend for its success on the work of a few experts only, but demands the active and voluntary and conscious co-operation of every citizen and it, therefore, transcends in its scope all schemes of national reconstruction. On Mahatma Gandhi's birthday in 1952, a great experiment was launched all over the country, an experiment which had the proportions of an adventure and implications of a revolution. The object of the Community Projects and its allied activity the National Extension Service, is to utilize local man-power for a concerted and co-ordinated effort for raising the entire level of rural life. At present community projects and National Extension Services cover about 4,600 villages with a population of about 42 lakhs. Community development work has caught the imagination of the people. The money value of voluntary contributions received from them in the form of donations of land, buildings, labour and cash amounts to Rs. 186 lacs upto the end of March 1955. This is more than double the amount disbursed among them by Government in the form of grants for development work since the inception of the scheme. At many places the people have taken upon themselves with unexpected enthusiasm and vigour, the task of implementing the schemes that will ameliorate their economic and social condition and help them in raising their standard of living. Reports of construction and levelling of roads and drains, making of bunds and digging of ponds and tanks are being received from all the districts of the State. From the schemes undertaken or completed so far, it is amply evident that, in spite of their ignorance and illiteracy, the masses in the rural areas are capable of understanding in what their interest lies. A detailed scheme has recently been chalked out to organise students camps in the Community Project and National Extension Service Blocks in the Punjab during vacation. The scheme when actually put into practice will be harbinger of new era in rural life. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1961 the whole of the Punjab will be covered by the Community Projects.

Besides achievements of certain physical targets in the form of developing virgin lands, improving yields of crops and breeds of cattle and spreading literacy and encouraging panchayats and co-operation the community projects mean ushering in new life in all domains of life in rural areas. It has led to all round brightening up of homes and villages through cultural programmes, community melas, libraries and recreation centres.

It will be interesting to analyse some facts and figures under various heads to see what progress the Punjab has made since 1948-49. The number of hospitals and maternity centres has gone up from 492 and 24 to 657 and 104 respectively in 1955-56. In education the progress is still more remarkable. The number of colleges, high schools and primary schools was 26,307 and 3,893 in 1948-49 and in 1955-56 it was 70,453 and 9,132 respectively. It showed that in 1955-56 nearly every village in Punjab had a primary school—surely eight decades work had been done in bare eight years. Production of foodgrains rose by 1·28 million tons during the period between 1948-49 (total production 2·41 million tons) and 1955-56 (total production 3·69 million tons). The State had thus not only overcome its food shortage of 35,000 tons which occurred in 1948-49, but had become a surplus State. Progress in industry has been no less remarkable. In 1948-49

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NEW LIFE IN PUNJAB : Shramdaan to build a new road.

there were only 572 registered factories in the Punjab and this number exceeded 2,000 in 1955-56. During this period new industries like sports goods, cycle parts manufacturing industries were established, old trades like hosiery goods manufacturing industries were stabilized. Huge industrial undertakings like opening of textile, paper and sugar mills were also started at various places in the State.

As a result of increasing consciousness movements for co-operation and panchayats received great impetus during the past eight years. The State government also adopted the policy of increasing decentralization of administration to give greater measure of autonomy to the rural people to settle their own affairs. There are now nearly 10,000 Panchayats in the Punjab (1955-56), showing an increase of over the figures for 1948-49. A Panchayat at work a village shows that the democratic practice electing representatives to manage the local affairs been accepted and understood. In this context 10,000 village republics functioning in our rural the Punjab presents an inspiring scene of pe consciousness. Similarly the co-operative moveme the State has grown tremendously, the number operative societies has risen from 10,562 in 1948- over 16,000 in 1955-56 and they have started operations in hitherto uncharted fields. Punjab has, perhaps, the credit of launching two huge pro on co-operative lines—the setting up of lakhs work sugar mills in Jullundur and Rohtak districts pursuance of State policies to eliminate profite

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in Government works executed through private parties it has been decided that all earth work involving unskilled labour should be entrusted to labour co-operative construction societies.

Roads, too have received due attention. Nearly 1,700 miles of roads (1955-56) have been added to the 1948-49 mileage of 2,106 miles and this shows a progress of more than 75%.

Rehabilitation of displaced persons has more or less been achieved. The conferment of full proprietary rights on quasi-permanent allottees occupying agricultural land and rural houses and beginning of payment of compensation to displaced persons in respect of property abandoned by them in urban areas marks the completion of final stage of the rehabilitation of displaced persons.

In the sphere of education, a number of schemes for effecting an all-round improvement were launched. Expansion of primary education and introduction of basic type of education was undertaken with full zeal. Now every village in the State having a Panchayat can boast of a school. From April, 1954 new syllabi were introduced in all elementary and junior secondary classes. There syllabi not only take into consideration the psychological needs of the children but also imbue them with a deep sense of patriotism and civic responsibility.

The State Five-Year Plans.

The progress made by Punjab in different directions, as stated above, has been achieved mainly as a result of a well-co-ordinated Five-Year Plan (1950-51 to 1955-56) which is now drawing to a close and the Second Five-Year Plan is also ready. Our plans of national reconstruction spring up from below, that is, the plans are initiated by the people themselves and they are not imposed upon them by the State and this is a characteristic of real democracy. In India planning aims at eradication of poverty and provision of social services. It is based as much as possible on people's voluntary participation. The First-Five Year Plan involved an expenditure on Bhakra Nangal, Chandigarh and centrally sponsored schemes of community development. In formulating the second Five-Year Plan the State Government have been guided by the necessity of continuing the processes already started. The Second Five-Year Plan involves an expenditure of about Rs. 200 crores out of which Rs. 137 crores will be contributed by Government in the form of public contributions and loans.

The period 1947-48 to 1955-56 constitutes a revolutionary epoch in the history of Punjab because a number of progressive measures were adopted during these years to proscribe untouchability in any shape or form to ameliorate the lot of Harijans and back-ward classes and to ensure minimum wages to agricultural labourers.

The State Government realised that in a predominently agricultural State like the Punjab, the solution of the land problem was of primary importance. Steps have, therefore, been taken to put on the statute book a number of legislative measures which have to a very great extent tackled the land problem in the State. These include the Punjab Security of Land Tenures Acts, 1953 and 1955, the Punjab Occupancy Tenants (Vesting of Proprietary Rights) Act and the Punjab Abolition of the Ala Malkiyat and Taluqdari Rights Act. The out-dated institution of Zaildari was abolished from October, 1952.

Our efforts to give the tiller of the soil a position of honour and self-reliance have continued with determination. The Punjab Security of Land Tenures Act has already gone a long way in solving the two major problems of tenants, namely, security of tenure and fair rent.

No tenant can be ejected unless the Government provides land for him. The land that is given to him comes from "surplus land" which means land above 30 standard acres under self-cultivation. I am happy to be able to say that the Government has succeeded in solving this most ticklish problem. All Government and private waste lands will be given to landless people like Harijans, for cultivation.

In a brief survey like this only a passing reference can be made to progressive changes introduced recently in administrative system to decentralise as much as possible the Government work so that the common man feels that Government is not something superimposed, but that he is the fountain spring of all power. By setting up of sub-divisions in a number of districts, by separation of the judiciary from the



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executive, district authorities have been placed in a position which facilitates their active participation in development work.

The Punjab has made tremendous progress during the recent years, but much yet remains to be done before we can achieve the goal we have set before ourselves. Recent floods have done a serious damage to all the work done during the past eight years and in many areas we have to start afresh. In vast tracts of land, sand and mud deposited in four to five feet layers have rendered all agricultural operations impossible. Roads, bridges and bunds have been washed away. Floods have upset entire life in rural areas because school buildings have been destroyed, wells have been filled up and there has been considerable loss of cattle and standing crops. All this will have to be rebuilt before we resume work on development and projects.

To have faith and hope in the future of people does not necessarily imply tendency to complacent. As a matter of fact nothing is injurious to a cause than self-intoxicated complac on the part of those edicated to it. To cease work and to yield to a sense of false pride over we might call our achievements is a betrayal of sacred trust the present generation holds on behalf national martyrs. We must always remember inimitable words of the Prime Minister :—

"We fought for freedom and won it. We are children of that revolution. But that revolution not yet over. We shall continue it. We fin it in the political sphere, but we have to continue in the social and economic spheres."



MIRACLE OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS : One out of every three villages in Punjab is under Community Projects. Picture shows a street in a Community Project village.

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CHANDIGARH IS A DREAM COME TRUE

(By Sardar Gurbachan Singh Bajwa)

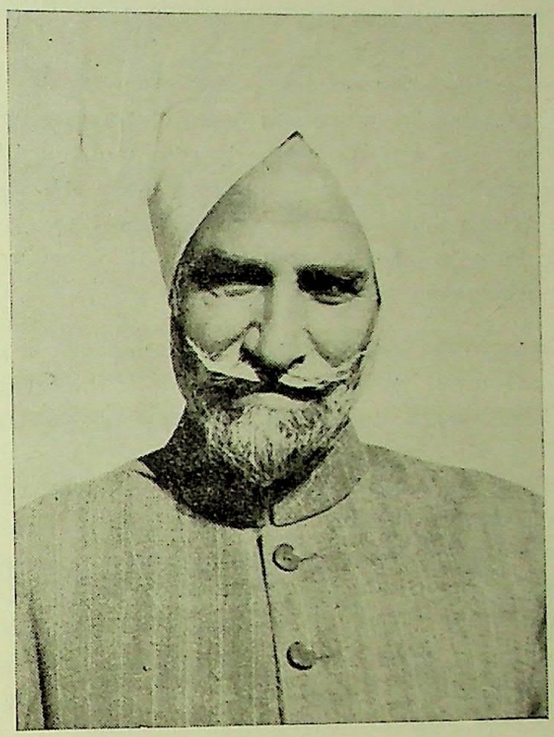
The fast growing modern city of Chandigarh, with full civic facilities for the inhabitants, is as much a landmark in the domain of town planning and architecture as a symbol of triumph of human will over difficulties. It epitomises the dynamic spirit of resurgent and independent India. There was a time when the idea of building a new capital for the truncated State of Punjab I) was dismissed as an empty dream. The dream has today become a reality and the new capital is the focus of world-wide interest.

Located in a sub-mountainous tract at a distance of about five miles on the south-west of the Ambala-Kalka road, Chandigarh extends over an area of 15 square miles. Its central position in the Punjab and its proximity to routes to Kashmir and Tibet endow it with tremendous importance.

The new capital was placed on the railway map of India from 1st April, 1954, by the diversion of the Ambala-Kalka Section of the Northern Railway. Schemes are also afoot for connecting Chandigarh directly with Jagadhri on the one hand and Ludhiana on the other, with a view to bring it on the main railway line. The railway link has naturally given a powerful impetus to the commercial and industrial activities of the city, besides facilitating the transport of building equipment and material for the Project. Chandigarh is also served by regular Bus Service that links it with Delhi and all important cities of the State. This has been achieved by connecting Chandigarh by means of all-weather-link roads to all the main roads leading *inter alia* to Delhi, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Patiala and Simla.

A Planned City

Chandigarh is unique—it is perhaps the only town in India which has been completely planned. Some of the remarkable features of Chandigarh that place it in a class by itself, are its natural scenic beauty, the concept of the Sector or the neighbourhood unit, the rugged



simplicity, symmetry and sublimity of its architecture, its airy and comfortable buildings, its original system of seven types of roads for different kinds of traffic, its provision for piped water supply and underground water borne sewage for every house and last but not least, its continuous belt of greens and spaces extending from one end of the city to the other.

The city has been divided into a number of rectangular colonies called Sectors—thirty in number, of which 24 are residential—enclosed by a girdle of fast-moving traffic roads crossing each other every half a mile in one direction and three quarters of a mile in another. Covering roughly an area of 250 acres and housing upto 15,000 people a sector is practically self-sufficient in its day-to-day requirements.

The town has been planned by the world famous architect M. Le Corbusier. The system of seven types of roads for various kinds of traffic in the new capital is perhaps, an original contribution to town planning. It is designed to minimise road accidents and traffic dislocations that work havoc with human life and nerves in all big modern cities of the world. Inside the sectors roads for slow moving traffic, shaded paths for pedestrians and tracks for cyclists have been provided.

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The city was formally declared open by President Rajendra Prasad on 7th October, 1953. Since then it has made rapid strides. Completion of the High Court building, a unique and massive structure in concrete and steel with its peculiar parasol roof, constitutes a remarkable achievement in the domain of architecture. This enabled the Punjab High Court and Bar to move down to Chandigarh in January 1955—a development which has been hailed by the public.

Among other important buildings completed or nearing completion, mention may be made of the Engineering College and its Hostel, Provisional Secretariat Building, M.L.As' flats and Hostel, Government Press, City Sarai (at present being used as office of the Chief Administrator), Health Centre, Maternity Hospital, 6 Junior Secondary Schools and 4 Nursery Schools in various Sectors, Provisional Assembly Hall, and the Multiple High School. The main Secretariat Building nine storeyed high—estimated to cost Rs. 120 lakhs is being constructed at a rapid pace and has reached the third storey. It is expected to be completed in a year when all the Departments of the State Government will be shifted down to Chandigarh in full strength.

Suitable arrangements have been made at Chandigarh for the board and lodging of visitors, tourists and Government officers coming on tour. A first rate modern hotel *viz.*, the Mount View Hotel and an Indian style Hotel, namely, Aroma Hotel are functioning in Sectors 10 and 22 respectively. Apart from this there are the Nagla Rest Mouse, Rest House in Sector 22 and Subordinate Rest House in Sector 23 reserved for the use of Government officials. A Dak Bungalow in Sector 22 and a big serai in Sector 23 have been provided for the public.

Sukhna Choe Dam

With a view to providing irrigation water at the Capital, the construction of Sukhna Choe Dam has been undertaken through the Irrigation Branch that have the requisite machinery with them. The work started in March last and satisfactory progress is being made thereon.

A swimming pool, the first of its kind was constructed in Sector 23 and thrown open to public for recreation purposes in May last. A luxury cinema house was also constructed during the last year through private enterprise.

An expenditure of the order of Rs. 2·8 crores incurred on the Project during the year 1954-5 large number of residential and industrial plots sold during the year. Various schemes of house ing loans *e.g.*, High Income Group Housing Low Income Group Housing Scheme, loans verified claims and loans to High Court Advocates introduced during the year and a total amount tune of Rs. 19·55 lakhs was disbursed to the plo ders for construction of their houses. This fin assistance has given a powerful stimulus to p construction which is making a rapid progress.

Scenic Beauty

Chandigarh is situated in an area well-known f scenic charm. There is beautiful play of the moun and plains and it is proposed to take full adva of the landscape to beautify the town. The charm capital will be further enhanced by the creation of a lake on its northern boundaries as a result of dam the Sukhna Choe. Construction of this Dam has al been taken in hand and is scheduled to be comp within a year. A vast lovely park is also propos be set up in the environs of the lake which will as an enchanting approach and an ideal holiday r for the city.

A 25-acre nursery has been started where more one lakh plants of 200 varieties of shrubs and trees been grown for landscaping the town.

The dust, the din and the smoke caused by fact which are the besetting sins of most of the big c have been skilfully overcome in Chandigarh by loca the Industrial area at a respectable distance to the south east of the residential zone, segregated wide green belt.

Some 3,200 residential flats for Government serv have been built. 150 private shop-cum-flats have raised and a number of private houses have also constructed.

Twenty-eight tubewells have already been sun fully installed in the capital and these are supply water to the city. A reputed British Firm has

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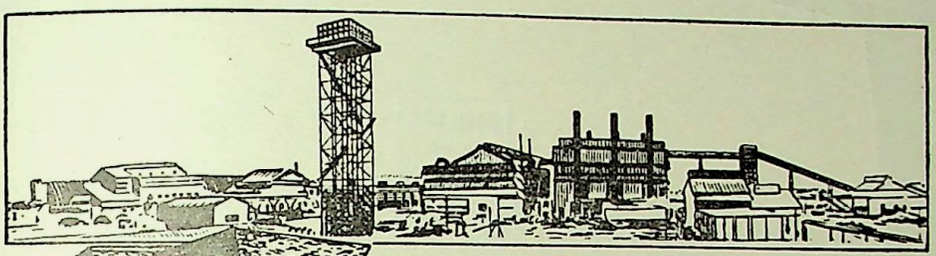
HOUSEHOLD LINEN

VANASPATI

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PHILIPS

PHILIPS

Contributing
to-day
to India's
future

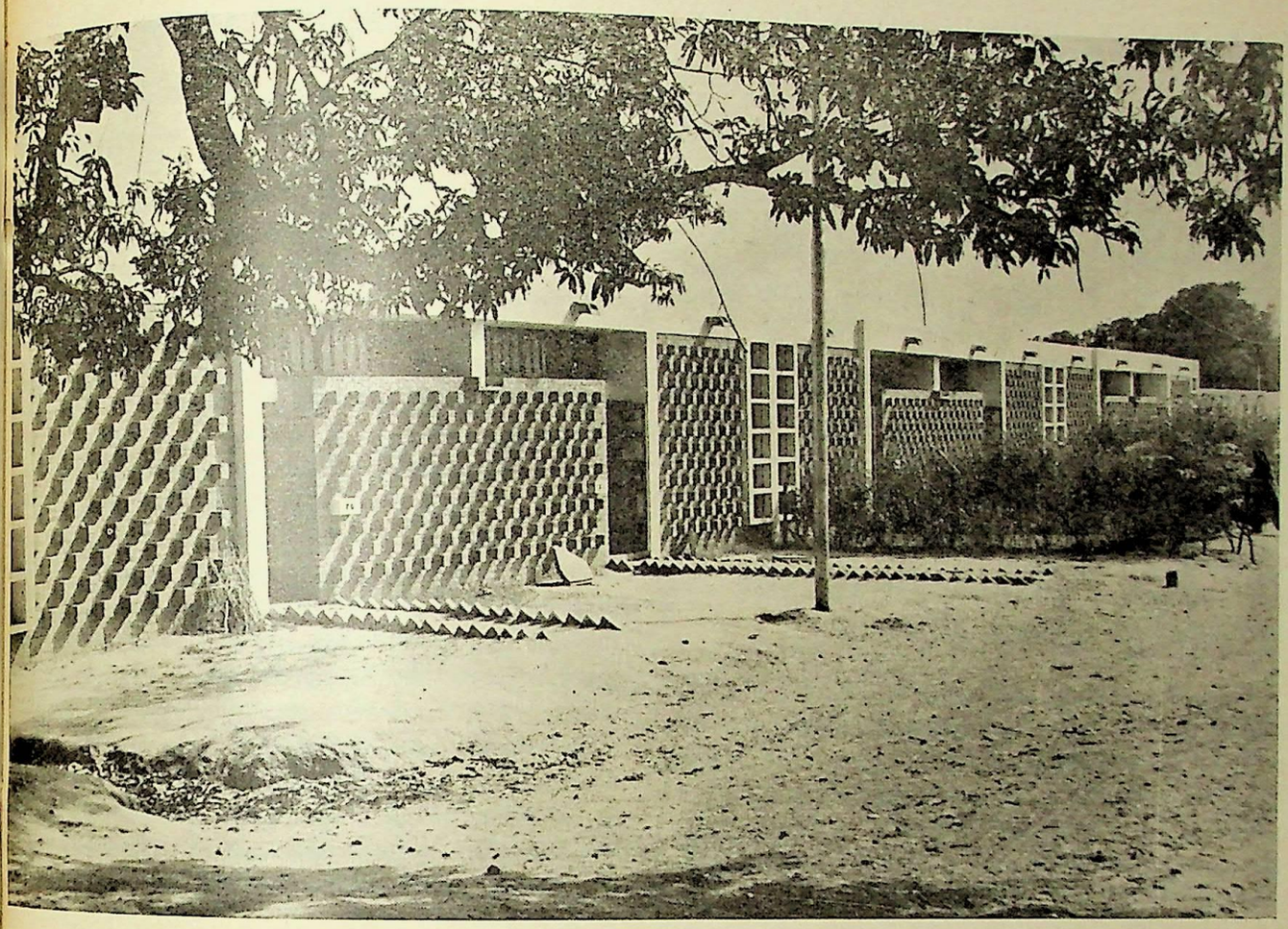
LIGHT ★ RADIO ★ ELECTRONICS

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Chandigarh Low-income Group — houses for Govt. staff

(*Contd here instead of on page 28*)

commissioned to instal another twenty tubewells in the city.

The first phase of the Project is estimated to cost Rs. 17·44 crores. Upto the end of year 1955-56 about Rs. 13·5 crores will have been spent on the Project.

Industries

As a meeting point of highway to Kashmir, Tibet, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi and as a terminus of the trains for Delhi, Bombay and other important cities of India, Chandigarh possesses great potentialities of becoming an industrial and commercial centre.

Provision of first rate housing and educational facilities together with supply of cheap power from Nangal Project are additional aids for development of industries at Chandigarh. A few factories have already been installed in the Industrial Area at Chandigarh, while schemes for setting up a number of more industries are under active consideration.

The industries that appear to have good prospects of development at Chandigarh in the near future are light engineering, saw mills, tiles and concrete products, flour mills, oil factories and textiles. The State Government proposes to set up shortly a cement factory near Chandigarh. There are also indications for a Rayon Factory and a Typewriter Factory being established by private enterprise in the near future.

Looking Ahead

There can be no two opinions about the fact that Chandigarh, now an infant city, is destined to have a glorious future. With its new and superior standards of town planning, architecture and civic amenities, it will develop a characteristic personality of its own that will continue to be a source of pride and inspiration for generations to come.

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MEN OF ACTION AS WELL AS MEDITATING SAINTS

(*By Professor Teja Singh M.A.*)

The Sikh is essentially a disciple. His religion, therefore, is best understood when we regard it as a life, a discipline, and not only a history or a mere philosophy. Most students of Sikhism take the events of Sikh history incoherently, and begin to make invidious distinctions about the conduct of different Gurus. Some they regard as "peaceful" others as worldly and contentious. They are equally disappointed when they study the Holy Granth as a book of philosophy.

These doubts and difficulties will be removed if we carefully study the whole range of Sikh history as revealing the gradual making and development of a nation in the hands of its ten successive leaders. It is the crystallization of a nation's spirit, and is to be realised as a unity, and not read as a blue pencilled note book. Had it been designed merely to promulgate a new system of belief or lay down some beautiful rules of conduct, Guru Nanak's teachings would have amply met the need ; for, as a matter of fact, his successors did not bring any new truths to add to those he had already revealed. The genius of the Sikh Gurus, by the Divine dispensations, had a greater and nobler task before it. A whole nation was on the anvil, and all the teaching and action were designed to contribute to the making of its character.

If studied from this point of view all apparent contradictions of Sikh history would vanish. There would seem to be no break, no digression in the programme of Sikh life. It was like an organism experiencing change even while it performed its work, developing new organs and functions, because it was daily challenged to exercise new energies. Its principle of life remained the same, though it underwent a constant transfiguration (not 'transformation', as some writers have put it), assuming a great variety of forms, caused solely by local and occasional circumstances.

Guru Nanak (1459-1539)

Guru Nanak at his advent found his nation in depths of degradation. The Punjab which had been the land of power and wisdom had, through sive raids of the foreigner, become utterly helpless ruined, and lay like a door-mat at the gate of I Its people were physically and morally bankrupt. had no commerce, no language, no inspiring re of their own. They had lost all self respect and f feeling. It has become a maxim now to ca Punjabis brave, social, practical and so forth : a found them recently fighting, thousands of miles from their homes, for the honour of the men and of Europe and Africa ; but we forget that the same people, before the birth of Sikhism, were cont see their wives and children being led away as so cattle, without daring to do any thing in defence of They had no sense of unity or organisation. Baba Budha asked his father to drive away th vader, who was destroying his fields, the latter only shake his head and confess his inability to

It is usual to say that Guru Nanak was a devotion and peace, and did not think of the needs of his people. This is entirely a wrong The Guru did think of the social and political dis ties of his people, otherwise he would not have

> Sin is the king, Greed the minister, Falsehood mintmaster.
>
> And Lust the deputy to take counsel with sit and confer together.
>
> The blind subjects, out of ignorance, pay h like dead men (*Asa-di-Var*, xvi).

He rebuked 'the masters of the herd', the Pathans, for not putting up a stiff fight for India, allowing such a precious gem to be snatched away by the foreigner. To quote his own words :

> The dogs of Lodhis have thrown away the less inheritance ; when they are dead, no one remember them with regard (*Āsā*).

He complained that the people were so cowed down spirit that 'they mimicked the Mohammedan manners 'ate meat prepared in the Mohammedan fashion 'wore blue dress in order to please the ruling (*Vār Āsā*). 'In every home people called themselves by foreign names. Even their language had changed (*Basant*).

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Looking at the helplessness of his countrymen, he discovered that moral degradation was at the root of it all. When asked why such a suffering had come to the people during the foreign invasion, he replied : 'It is ordained by the Creator that before coming to a fall one is deprived of one's virtue' (*Āsā*). He felt sure that, as long as men were steeped in ignorance and corruption, nothing could be done for them. He freed them from the bondage of so many gods and goddesses, and led them to accept one Supreme Being as the creator and sustainer of all, no matter by what name they called him. Man was the highest manifestation of God, who spoke more frequently through the heart of man. With the uplift of man, woman also received her due. She was declared not only not inferior to man but as having an equal responsibility. To give a practical shape to the idea of equality, the Guru instituted the custom of interdining in a common mess attached to every place of worship. No devotion or programme of life was genuine which did not lead to the love of mankind, which in practice must mean social service. He laid down very simple rules of conduct, which did not forge any new shackles in place of the old ones, and left the people to work out their social conscience themselves :

> Put away the custom that makes you forget the Loved One (*Wad-hans*).
> My friend, the enjoyment of that food is evil which gives pain to the body and evil thoughts to the mind (*Srī Rāg*).

By adopting the vernacular of the country for religious purposes he, in a way, roused the national sentiment of the people. It was strengthened by the community of thought and ideal, daily realised in the congregational singing of the same religious hymns. It also improved the understanding of the people. The high truths conveyed to them in their own tongue made them conscious of new powers of thought in themselves. To this was added the illumination of intellect which comes with the sincerity and enthusiasm of a newly found faith.

In order to work out his ideals in practice, Guru Nanak set a personal example of pure life lived in the midst of the world. He successfully and faithfully discharged his worldly duties towards his family and people around him which was also a practical form of the gospel he preached throughout the world wherever he lived or travelled as a house-holder, *udasi* or a settled down farmer in old age.

He had done all this, but much had still to be done before a people morally and physically degraded could lift up their heads and come into their own again. The religion he had founded was not to remain content with the salvation of a few individuals. It had far nobler potentiailites in it. It was to organise itself as a world-force, and evolve a living and energetic society for the uplift of mankind. That the Guru was not a mere reformer but the founder of a new religion is clear from the fact that he travelled abroad and established Sangats or Sikh organisations in different centres. He took special care to select and appoint a successor who should continue his work after him.

He tested his Sikhs and his sons, and his followers saw what he had done.

It was when Lenhna was tested and purified that Guru Nanak consecrated him.

He took him to his seat and calling him *Angad*, the flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, saluted him as his successor. He died soon after, on September 22, 1539.

Guru Angad (1504-1552)

Guru Angad continued the work of Guru Nanak for about thirteen years. He had been a worshipper of Nainadevi whose temple he used to visit every year, but being introduced to the teaching of Guru Nanak he became a Sikh. After serving his master for a number of years he was severely tested and was finally appointed Guru.

He explained to his congregations the teachings of Nanak, and maintained the free kitchen, presided over by his wife, named Khivi. Although rice boiled in milk was served to the visitors of the kitchen, the Guru himself lived on coarse food earned by him by twisting *munj*. He was fond of seeing children at play, and occasionally organised wrestling matches of young men at a place called Mal-Akhara. From games he drew lessons for his congregations.

The chief contribution made by him to the development of the Sikh movement was that he gave definiteness and distinction to the general ideals laid down

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by Guru Nanak. He took the sayings of Guru Nanak and got them recorded in a special script called *Gurmukhi*. Thus a nucleus of the Sikh scripture began to be formed, giving a definite direction to the faith of the disciples. It 'reminded those who employed it their duty towards their Guru and constantly kept alive in their minds the consciousness that they were something distinct from the common mass of Hindus' (Narang). It also dealt a powerful blow to the priestly class, whose importance rested on their knowledge of Sanskrit, which had so far been the language of religion.

After testing and appointing his successor he died at the age of 48, on March 29, 1552.

Guru Amar Das (1479-1574)

Amar Das, the most long-lived Guru, was only ten years younger than Guru Nanak. He belonged to Baserke, a village near Amritsar, where he worked as a farmer and a trader. He was a staunch Vaishnavite, and used to practise severe austerities to subdue his mind. He was introduced to the teachings of Guru Nanak by Bibi Amaro, the devout daughter of Guru Angad, and became a Sikh. Guru Angad removed his Vaishnavite prejudices against the use of meat and enlightened him on the futility of austerities without a real change in life. The best austerity, he was told, was to exert himself in the service of humanity. He began to fetch water for the common kitchen. In spite of his old age and the very delicate relationship with the Guru, he took upon himself the performance of the humblest kind of work for the Guru. His devotion and service won for him the position of Guru.

To disarm the hostility of the late Guru's sons, he took up his residence at Goindwal, in the founding of which he had had hand. There too he was pursued, and had to go away, for a time, to Baserke. He returned, however, at the invitation of Sikhs like Bhai Buddha, and resumed his work at Goindwal.

He was a man of invincible patience and forbearance. When Datu, the eldest son of Guru Angad, once kicked him off his seat his only reply was : "O honoured Sir, pardon me ; my old bones must have hurt your delicate foot." The Muslim residents of Goindwal often annoyed the Sikhs. When the latter went to fetch water from a well, the Muslims would throw stones to break their pitchers. The Guru forbade all acts of retaliation. The Guru once said to a headman : "God is patient, and patience He rewards. If you receive treatment, bear it. If you bear it three times, Himself will fight for you the fourth time."

This, however, should not be taken to mean the Guru could be easily led to deviate from principles ; for, as the bard Satta sang of him, "he firm as the mountain of Meru, and was not swayed the gusts of wind."

His free kitchen was very popular. When Emp Akbar offered to make a grant for its maintena the Guru respectfully declined the offer.

The Guru himself lived on simple food purch with his own scanty earnings, but his public kitchen supplied with butter, refined flour and sugar *Satta*). Whatever was daily received was daily s and nothing was left over for the morrow. E visitor, whether Hindu or Muslim, was asked to take of food in the same mess before he could see Guru. Even Akbar and the Raja of Haripur had t the same. All had to sit in a line and eat toget Guru Amar Das says: "Even if I were a lea Pandit I would take care to remember that nothi polluted in the kitchen. All outlined dining-sq are false. Only God is pure" (*Marū-ki-Vār*).

He condemned the use of wine (*Bihāgrā*). prohibited the practice of Sattee and the observ of purda among women.

The number of Sikhs having increased considera it was felt necessary by the Guru to organise scattered Sangats or congregations into a sys Taking his cue evidently from the division of Ak empire, he partitioned his whole spiritual domain 22 provinces, called Manjis, each Manji being u the charge of a devoted Sikh whose business it w preach the mission of the Guru and to keep the body in touch with the centre.

He had got the sayings of his predecessors fr Guru Angad, and his own were put together by grandson, Sahansar Ram, son of Mohan. He also a selection, on his own account, of lyrics from Bhagats whom he used to admire in his Vaishnav days, and adding his comments here and there them for posterity. These volumes were later on u by Guru Arjun for the compilation of the Holy Gra Guru Amar Das declared the Guru's word to be sup

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to all the scriptures of the world, and the Sikhs were enjoined to use only the Guru's word in worship (*Anand*, xxiv).

As a result of this integration of Sikh doctrine, the Sikhs were becoming more and more self-contained in social matters. Some reform in the matter of marriage and death ceremonies was taken in hand in the time of this Guru. 'He introduced the system of performing all ceremonies with the help of the Guru Bani.' When dying he ordered his sons, relations and followers to sing only the praises of God on his death, and not to follow the old practice of calling in a Pandit to recite a Puran, to light lamps, etc.

He breathed his last on September 1, 1574, after consecrating his son-in-law, Ram Das, as his successor.

Guru Ram Das (1534-1581).

Ram Das was born of a Sodhi family in the Chune Mandi, Lahore, in 1534. He was married to Bibi Bhani the daughter of Guru Amar Das. To avoid the opposition of the relatives of the last Guru, he shifted his residence to the city of Amritsar. Here he obtained a grant of the site, together with five hundred bighas of land, from Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 - to the zamindars of Tung, who owned the land. The Guru dug the tank and laid the foundation of the city of Amritsar. He invited men of fifty two trades to take up their residence there, and to open their business in the Guru's market, which is still known as *Guru ka Bazar*. The city in the course of time grew to be the biggest centre of trade in the North.

In the search after purely religious matters, we often forget how much the Punjab owes to the Sikh Guru for advancing the trade and manufacture of the country. If the Mughal emperors were great builders, the Sikh Gurus were no less. Judging from the scanty resources at the disposal of the Gurus, it is nothing short of a marvel for them to have founded so many cities, reservoirs and wells. The immediate effect of teaching, that religion could be best practised within the secular concerns of life, was that all prejudices against labour and trade were removed, and the people —even the spiritually-minded people—began to take active part in what were called worldly affairs. Gango, a Khatri of the Bassi tribe, came to Guru Amar Das and asked, 'Lord, what shall I do to save myself?' 'Open a bank at Delhi,' said the Guru. Possession of wealth was no longer to be considered as Maya, but as a very salutary and helpful thing in the conduct of human affairs. 'For a religious man, it is not unholy to get wealth, provided he spends it in God's way, and gives and lives in comfort' (*Vār Sārang*). Guru Ram Das once said to his Sikhs, 'When a Sikh has an important business in hand, join him and pray for him. If you see that it cannot be carried on without funds, collect subscriptions for him from every quarter, and at the same time contribute something yourselves." Henceforth we often hear of horse-dealing, banking, embroidry and carpentry among the Sikhs.

Guru Ram Das seeing his end approaching went to Goindwal, where he died on September 1, 1581, leaving three sons, the youngest of whom, Arjun, became the Guru.

Guru Arjun (1563-1606)

Guru Arjun had shown his fitness by his devotion, learning and proficiency in Sikh doctrine. Born on April 15, 1563, he had been a favourite of his maternal grandfather, Amar Das, who had called him 'the ferry-boat of scriptures'. Guru Arjun took his residence at Amritsar and completed the work of building the tank and the city. To ward off the opposition of his brothers he assigned his whole income from the house-property to them and kept for the maintenance of public kitchen and other institutions only the voluntary offerings of the faithful. To regulate these offerings he appointed prominent missionaries called Masands. He ordered that in future every Sikh was to set aside *Daswandh* or one-tench of his income for the central fund and to remit it only through an accredited Masand, who was to come regularly every year at Baisakhi with a Sangat and to present his collections to the Guru in person.

In 1589 Guru Arjun laid the foundation of the Golden Temple in the midst of the tank of Amritsar. Its doors were open on all sides, signifying that the Sikh worship was open to all.

The Guru founded Tarn Taran in 1590 and Kartarpur in the Jullundur Doab in 1594. They became centres of trade and helped the prosperity of the surrounding tracts. At Tarn Taran he opened an asylum for lepers. At Lahore he constructed a Baoli

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in the Dabbi Bazar. Sri Gobindpur on the Beas was built to celebrate the birth of his son Har Gobind in 1595.

In Sikhism the most obvious religious exercise was the recitation or singing of the Guru's word, to the exclusion of all other ceremony or ritual. Seeing the importance of this practice many clever persons, like Prithia, the Guru's own brother, had begun to mix up spurious writings with the true contributions of the Gurus. There was a danger of confusion in the creed and the ritual ; and the Guru, who was responsible for the organisation of Sikhism on a sound basis, had to ensure unity of belief and practice. He undertook, therefore, to collect the genuine writings of his predecessors and, adding to them his own, to prepare a grand volume out of them. This was done in 1601. It was finalised by Guru Gobind Singh. In the holy Granth, as it was called, a most honoured place is given to writings of several saints, Hindu and Mohammedan, who were noted as well for their keen interest in worldly affairs as for their high flights in the spiritual domain.

The Guru himself died a martyr. That he suffered for his religion at the hands of Jehangir may be seen from the following words taken from the Emperor's own Tuzuk :

"So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Moslems, too, had been fascinated by his ways and teachings. He was noised about as a great religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions crowds of people would come to him and express great devotion to him. This busy traffic had been carried on for three or four generations. *For many years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or that he should be brought within the fold of Islam.*"

Guru Har Govind (1595-1644)

Historians usually see at this stage in Sikh history a sudden change. The change, however, was gradual, as necessitated by circumstances. It happened that the Moghul emperors in the beninning were not intolerant. It also happened that Sikhism began with the establishment of the Moghul rule. Both being in their infancy, the Emperors, on the one hand, had not that command over the empire, which they got with Akbar and his successor ; and on the other hand, Sikhism the eyes of the public had not yet assumed any gr proportions. Many causes like these conspired to ma the progress of Sikhism a little smoother in the begi ing. After Akbar's laxity of principles, however, was thought better in the interest of Islam to chan the State policy towards non-Moslems, and, there fore, we hear more of persecutions after him. A re religion, which has active followers, is always felt t be a source of anxiety to the ruling community. Fo reat religions do not bring with them only new do trines ; they also give a newer and stronger life to th gnation, which it feels in every part of its being. It stirred up socially, economically and politically as w as spiritually. When Guru Nanak began his work, w have seen how he felt the political degradation of t people as much as their religious deterioration. H wanted to see them free in every way, from the foreig yoke as well as from the trammels of the priest class. According to him, "only fools or idiots try t rule over other" (*Basant*). He condemned the Lodh for their cowardice and upbraided the Moghul in vaders for their tyranny. He deplored the use of a foreig language in place of the people's own mother-tongu (*Basant*). All this was not spiritual but very ver secular, and yet it issued from the heart of a Bhaga who saw that earthly freedom was rooted in spiritua freedom and could not be separated from it. This ma sound queer to those who are accustomed to think o saints as mere recluses, mumbling Mantras, with hand folded and eyes upturned. The Sikh Gurus, however were of a different mould. They were practical leader as well as meditating saints, and thought it not in consistent with their religious ideals to take activ measures to teach service of mankind as much through advancement of trade, art and learning, as through holy communion, high thinking and noble living. Guru Arjun talked of his struggle in terms of wrestling matches (*Sri Rāg*). Under his stimulating leadership the Sikhs had acquired an intensity of character which steeled them against all tyranny and corruption. After describing the work of organisation he had effected among his Sikhs, he says, "Now the Order of the Merciful has gone forth that no one shall molest another." And the Sikhs had been sufficiently pre pared to understand what that order meant for them.

Seeing the needs of the time, Guru Arjun had placed his son Har Govind with Bhai Budha, a veteran

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Sikh, who was asked to make a soldier-saint out of him. He instructed him in the sacred lore and taught him the use of offensive and defensive weapons, besides riding, wrestling, hunting, and many other manly sports. So he grew up to be an all-round man, healthy and strong, as well as saintly and enlightened.

He wore two swords, one to represent the spiritual and the other the temporal interests. In 1609 he built a meeting-place for Sikhs and called it the Akal Takht, or the Throne of the Almighty. Here, besides praying and preaching, talks were held on questions affecting the welfare of the community. He enlisted an army and fought whenever he was harassed.

The Emperor was alarmed at these preparations and summoned the Guru to his presence. The Guru went, and was sent as a State prisoner to the Fort of Gwalior. He was soon released, however, and the Emperor tried to befriend him.

He offered to complete the building of the Akal Takht at his own expense. The Guru, however, declined the offer, saying, "Let me and my Sikhs raise this throne of God with the labour of our own bodies and with the contributions from our own little resources. I wish to make it a symbol of Sikhs' service and sacrifice, and not a monument to a king's generosity."

Being left in peace the Guru engaged himself in the work of preaching. He went as far as Kashmir in the North, and Nanak-Mata, near Pilibhit, in the East. In Kashmir particularly he converted thousands who had gone over to Islam.

Jehangir died in 1627 and Shah Jahan succeeded him. The new king changed the policy of his Government towards the non-Moslems. He prohibited the conversion of Moslems, and ordered the demolition of many temples (see Sri Ram Sharma's *Religious Policy of the Moghul Emperors*, page 107). This brought him into conflict with Sikhs, who were determined to exert their right of making conversions, and were particularly annoyed at the desecration of their famous Baoli of Lahore. War followed, Guru Har Govind won four battles, but as his purpose had always been only defensive, he did not acquire even an inch of territory as a result of these victories.

The Guru retired to Kiratpur and resumed his work of religious ministry. He appointed Har Rai to succeed him, and himself died on March 3, 1644.

Guru Har Rai (1630-1661) and Guru Har Krishen (1656-1664)

The period of these two Gurus is not much eventful.

Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-1661)

Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Har Govind, was born in Amritsar on April 1, 1621. He was twice passed over at the time of the Guru's appointment, for his time had not yet come. He was still meditating on the difficulties of the time and the best way out of them and when he consented to lead the community he was prepared to do what the times required. To avoid the madding crowds of the plains he retired to the hills and purchasing a piece of land from the Raja of Kahlur founded a new town of Anandpur (the City of Peace). Even there, however, he was allowed no peace, and was forced to move out. He set out on a long tour to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach its doctrine throughout lower India. His progress through the country created such a stir that the Moghul authorities seem to have grown suspicious of his activities, and he was hauled up before the Emperor. He was called upon to embrace Islam, which he refused to do. He was publicly beheaded in the Chandni Chowk of Delhi on 11th November, 1675.

Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708)

Guru Gobind Singh was only nine years old when his father was martyred in Delhi. The effect of the blow was very staggering at first. Nobody from the high-class Sikhs came forward to claim the dismembered body of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Only a Lobana Sikh eluding the vigilance of the gaurds took the headless trunk and burnt it with all his belongings in order to make out that it was an accident. One Jaita, a Rangreta Sikh, belonging to the sweeper class, took up the head of the Guru and hurried away with it to Anandpur, where he presented it to the Guru's son. Gobind Singh, who was mere child, was touched with the extreme devotion of the Rangreta, and flinging his arms round his neck declared "Here I embrace, through you, all the Rangretas as the Guru's own sons." He was very sorry to learn, however, that at the time of trial very few Sikhs had shown the courage of their convictions. Then questioned by the officials as to whether they were Sikhs, they had the weakness to deny their reli-

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gion. The Guru saw in this the danger of a backsliding among the Sikhs. He vowed, therefore, that he would make it impossible for the Sikhs to hide their creed in future, even if they were among thousands, by giving them some distinguishing marks.

He retired for some years to the Himalayan hills in the State of Nahan, where he founded a fort called Paonta. There sitting on the beautiful banks of the Jamuna he thought of the way to free his countrymen from the bonds of sin and suffering. He applied himself closely to self-education. He went through the whole range of epic literature in Sanskrit, and learnt to compose poetry in Hindi and Punjabi. In Hindi he developed a style, which for martial cadence, variety of form and richness of imagination, spreading itself out into similes drawn from life as well as from old familiar literature, has remained unsurpassed since his time.

While going through the Puranic literature, he had been deeply impressed by the idea that God had been sending a saviour from time to time to uphold righteousness and to destroy evil. From his early days he had a feeling that he himself was the man required by the times. In his *Vichitra Natak* he declared that God had commissioned him 'to advance righteousness, to emancipate the good, and to destroy all evil-doers root and branch.' While believing, however, in his heaven-ordained mission he took care to see that his followers did not fall into the old Hindu weakness of deifying their leader. He emphatically asserted that he was human, and that to pay divine honours to him would be blasphemous :

'Whoever says I am the Lord,
Shall fall into the pit of hell,
Recognise me as God's servant only,
Have no doubt whatever about this.
I am a servant of the Supreme,
A beholder of the wonders of His creation.'

He placed literary activity in the forefront of his programme of national reconstruction. He translated the old stories of Indian heroes, as found in the Puranas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and engaged fifty-two poets to help him in this heavy task. The keynote of this vast literature, some of which is preserved in the *Dasam Granth*, is optimism, freedom from superstition, and strong faith in the oneness of God and of all humanity.

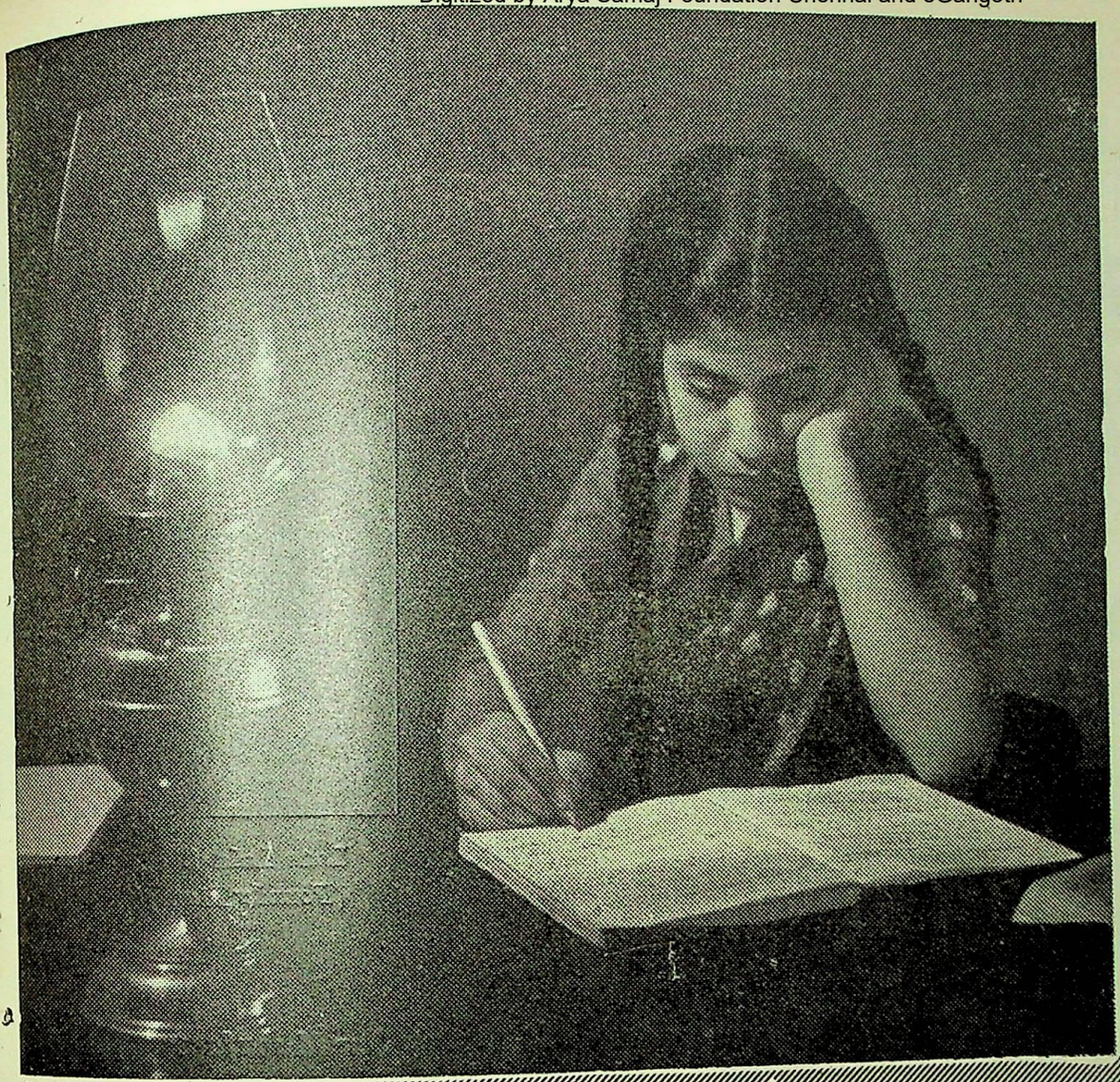
Guru Gobind Singh, by administering his baptism to his Sikhs, poured his life into them and invested them with his own personality. As a result of this they acquired his peculiar characteristics; for, as Guru Amar Dass has said, 'men take after him whom they serve.'

In the first place, due to the tremendous change occurring inside, their outward appearance underwent a marvellous change. There was about Guru Gobind Singh a stern Olympean air which he imparted to his Sikhs. They came to be regarded as models of physical beauty and stateliness of manner as much as they were respected for the truth and honesty of their character. They came from different races, but such was the effect of Guru Gobind Singh's baptism on them that, contrary to the experience of ethnological experts they developed racial features of their own.

Along with this they acquired the quality of fitness in every sense of the term. They were enjoined by their religion to be physically fit, *i.e.*, to be healthy, strong, active and clean. They were to be mentally fit, *i.e.*, to be full of intelligence and commonsense. And they were to be spiritually fit, too, by cultivating a deep sense of the divine in everything, by being cheerful and optimistic in all extremities, and by acquiring a steady vision of life and a harmony of desires, by which to co-ordinate things of the soul with those of the body, things that concern this world with those that concern the world beyond. In short, they were to live the life of discipline, in which the fullest use was to be made of all the God-given faculties.

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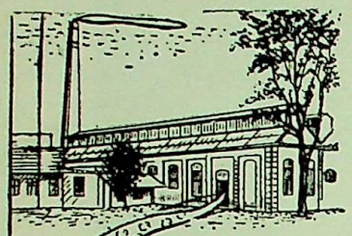
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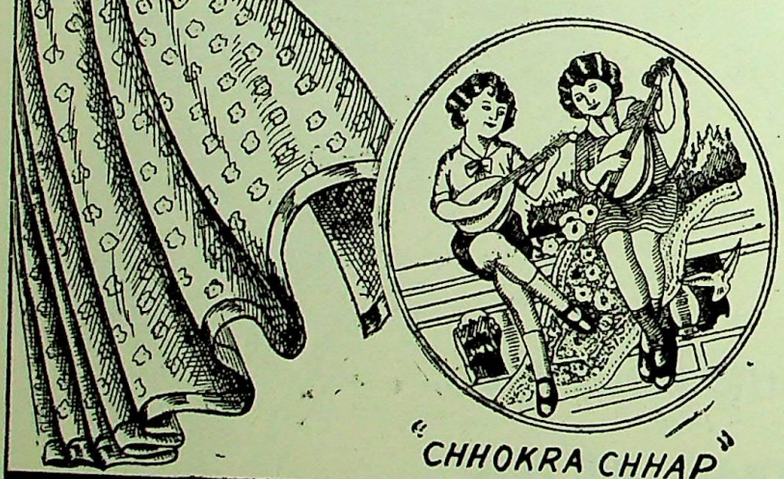
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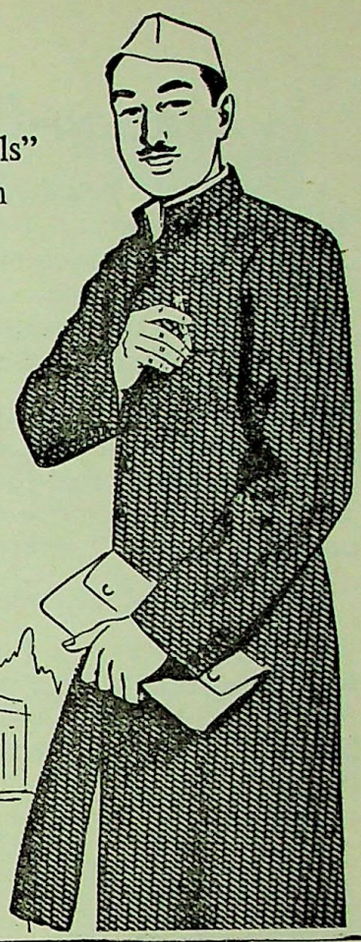
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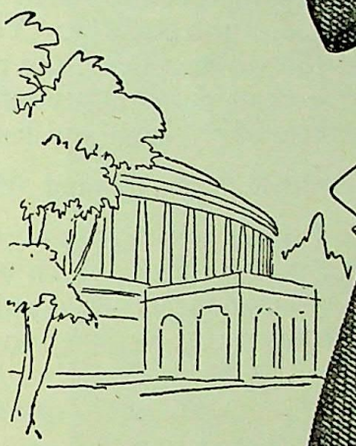
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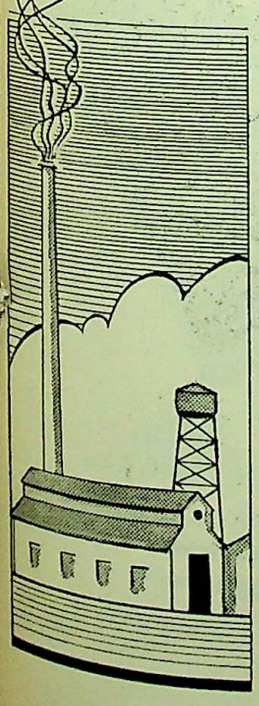
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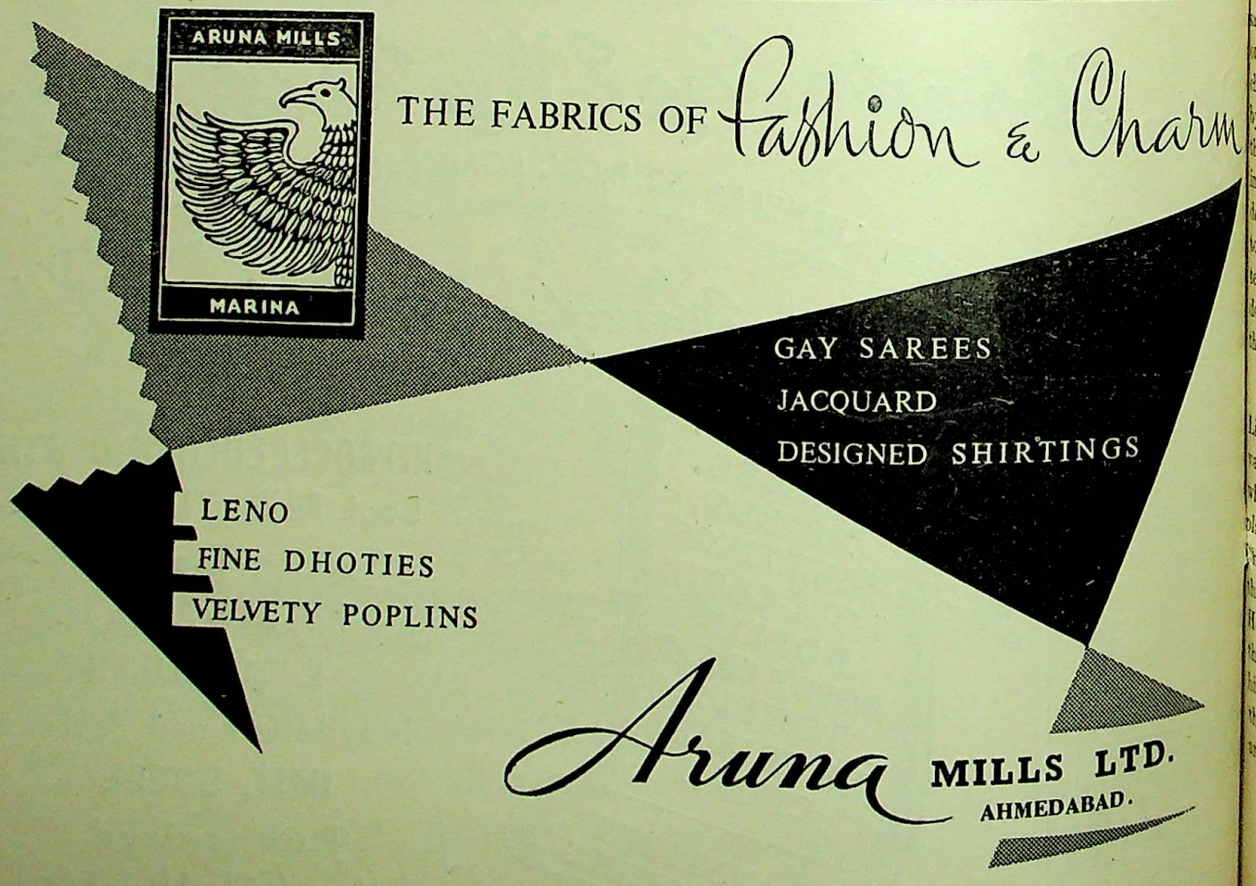
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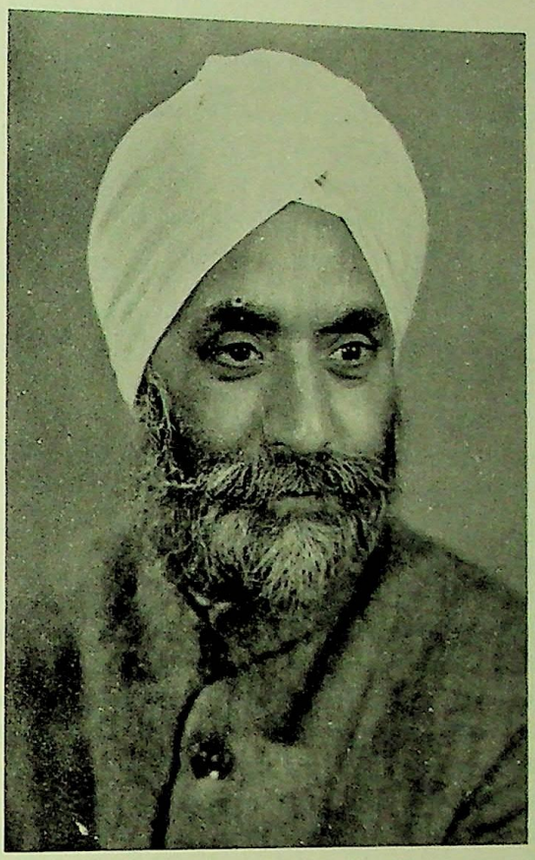
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HOW SIKHISM CHANGED THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE

(*By Prof. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, Patiala*)

The *Darbar Sahib*, as the Golden Temple of Amritsar is commonly known, is a symbol of the culture and conduct of the people of the Punjab. It enshines a liberal religious tradition consecrated by noble deeds of piety, sacrifice and heroism. Unlike the old Indian temples with a single entrance, it has four doors opening out in four different directions offering welcome to people without any distinction of caste or creed. Dedicated to no particular deity, and with no ideal or image installed in it, it has no secterian bias. The word *darbar* literally means a dwelling, a court or an audience chamber. And in this great chamber the visitor is admitted to the audience of the Invisible Lord, whose praises are recited and sung in the words of the Gurus and other saints and divines of India. The *Guru Granth Sahib*, or the Sikh Scripture, installed in the middle of the chamber is the bible of the people. It includes hymns by the Sikh Gurus as well as from by Hindu, Muslim and the socalled untouchable saints and sages. It is written in the spoken idiom of the people to whom the Masters delivered their message of devotion to God and service to humanity. In addition to its cosmopolitan character and outlook, it is the only scripture which has come down through generations in its original form, without the change of a single letter or a vowel sign.

Amritsar (the *Sar* of *Amrit* or the Pool of Immortal Life) was the name originally given to the tank, excavated in 1577 by Guru Ramdas, the fourth Sikh Guru, who had founded the city three years earlier. The place and its surrounding lands were then known as Ramdas Guru. Guru Ramdas's successor, Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru, added to the fame and glory of the town. He had the tank built in lime masonry and constructed the temple in the centre of it. He composed and sang his hymns on the banks of the sacred pool and preached the message of truth and truthful living to his visitors and disciples. He reorganized from here the Sikh con-



gregations at home and abroad, and Amritsar became the nucleus of the faith emphasizing values of love, sacrifice and humanity.

Guru Nanak had laid the foundation of Sikhism—the path of a disciplined life. Like the founder, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das had set before their disciples—the Sikhs—very high examples of personal conduct. Guru Ramdas had created for them a rallying centre in Amritsar. Guru Arjan assembled the hymns of his predecessors and compiled these, along with his own and those of other Indian saints, into the *Granth Sahib*, the Holy Book, and gave to Sikhism the shape of a regular church.

But the Sikhs were not meant to be a sect of ascetic recluses. They were to be a band of the servants of God and His people. "Having created the human body, God has installed His veryself therein," had been said by Guru Nanak. And "this world is the chamber of God wherein the True One resides"—*Ih Jagg Sachche ki hai kothri sachche ka vich vas*. Therefore, with this human body "Let us be of service in this world so that we may

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find a seat in the court of the Lord"—*Vich duniya sev kamaiye, tan dargeh baisan paiye.*

These teachings of the Gurus, the abolition of the distinctions of caste and creed and the establishment of Sikh congregations throughout the country, with Amritsar as their Mecca and the *Granth Sahib* as their bible, made the Sikhs a living community devoted to the uplift and welfare of their fellow countrymen. The spirit of service and self-sacrifice engendered by the teachings of the Gurus crystallized at the time of Guru Arjan into distinct national traits.

Guru Arjan's increasing popularity among Hindus and Muslims aroused suspicions in the mind of Emperor Jehangir, who wrote in his autobiography, the *Tazk-i-Jehangiri* thus : "A Hindu, Arjan by name, lived..in the garb of a *pir* and *shaikh* and had captivated the hearts of many simple minded Hindus, a foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and means...They called him *Guru* and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this shop warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that I should either put an end to this false traffic or that he (Guru Arjun) should be brought into the fold of Islam." Then referring to the allegation against the Guru having blessed his rebellious son Khusro, he said: "*I fully knew his heresies.* I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, mansions and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures." The orders were carried out and the Guru was tortured to death in 1606 A.D.

Guru Arjan thus suffered martyrdom at the altar of his faith. His successor, Guru Hargobind, seeing that the tyranny of the Mughal authority in India had become unbearable, relegated the rosary to the treasury and accorded sanction to the use of steel in the defence of *Dharma* and for the protection of the oppressed. He himself wore two swords on the occasion of his succession at *Akal Takht* at Amritsar as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority—*Piri* and *Miri*—the combination of the *Deg* and *Tegh*—the kettle to supply food to the needy and the sword to smite the oppressors. This was the first step towards the transformation of Sikhism into a militant church.

Mohsin Fani, a contemporary of Guru Hargobind, tells us in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* that "the Guru h... seven hundred horses in his stables ; and three hund... cavaliers and sixty artillerymen were always in his s... vice." This was the first corps of the Sikh volunte... raised by the Guru at Amritsar. It was near the s... of the Khalsa College that the Sikhs fought in 16... their first battle against the Mughal forces of Empe... Shahjahan.

But Guru Hargobind was not a mere soldier. He w... primarily a saint, a *Guru*, the sixth in direct spiritu... inheritance from Guru Nanak. He had taken to m... tial ways with a view to creating among his people a ... to resistance and preparing them to stand up to the ... ranny and oppression of the ruling race. Guru H... gobind's reply to a question by the Maratha saint S... *Samarth* Ramdas is very significant. During his n... Indian rambles *Samarth* Ramdas met Guru Hargob... at Srinagar in about 1634. Fully armed and riding... horse, the Guru had just returned from a hunting ex... sion. "I had heard that you occupied the *gaddi* of G... Nanak," said Ramdas. "Guru Nanak was a *tyagi Sa*... a saint who had renounced the world. You are w... ing arms and keeping an army and horses. You al... yourself to be addressed as *Sacha Padsheh*, the Tr... King. What sort of a *Sadhu* are you ?" asked t... Maratha saint. Guru Hargobind replied : "Intern... a hermit and externally a prince. Arms mean protec... to the poor and destruction to the tyrant. Baba Na... had not renounced the world but had renounced m... i.e., the self and ego—"

These words of Guru Hargobind found a ready r... ponse in the heart of Ramdas, who, as quoted in *P... Panjab Sakhian*, spontaneously said, "this appealed t... my mind—*Yeh hamare man bhavti hai.*" He found in t... words of the Guru an expression of his own inner sp... and latent ideas. He seems to have realized that t... Marathas, who had much n common with the people ... the Punjab in their physical and spiritual make up, c... well imbibe the spirit of the Guru and collaborate w... the Sikhs in resisting and vanquishing the intoler... Mughals.

The vision of Guru Hargobind and *Samarth* Ram... was fulfilled in the eighteenth century.

Guru Hargobind was a great missionary as well, a... it was as a result of his own work and that of the or... of Udasis and Masands, and other organizations, c...

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reged and strengthened by him, that the faith of Sikhism spread beyond the boundaries of India. To this Mohsin Fani bears witness saying that "there were not many cities in the inhabited countries where some Sikhs were not to be found."

Guru Hargobind was succeeded by Guru Har Rai whose assistance to the fugitive philosopher-prince Dara Shikoh excited the royal wrath. Aurangzeb wreaked his vengeance upon Guru Tegh Bahadur, the nineth Guru, who had espoused the cause of the Kashmiri Hindus. Accusing him of proselytising activities and of association with Sufi saints, such as Hafiz Adam and others, for whom he harboured in his mind the deepest hatred, the Emperor ordered the Guru to be put to death and his body to be cut in four pieces and hung at the four gates of the fort of Delhi.

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last of the Gurus, has been rightly called the soldier-saint of India. In his youth he applied himself closely to self-education and was deeply impressed by the idea that God had been sending saviours from time to time to uphold righteousness and to destroy evil. He felt that he himself had this mission to perform in his own country which suffered under the yoke of religious and political tyranny. The teachings of his predecessors and the unique examples of martyrdom had elevated the spirits of the Sikhs. But the old social shackles of the Hindu community, such as caste system, had not yet been completely broken. This hindered the growth of a homogeneous well-knit class of people inspired by a common national ideal. In fact, the idea of the division of labour had created among the people well marked groups and classes which, with the passage of time, developed into rigid castes with deep rooted prejudices. The Sikh institutions of *Sangat* (mixed congregations) and *Pangat* (dining together sitting in one row) had gone a long way towards demolishing caste. But the difference in the social level of the low-caste Sudras and the high-born Brahmins and Kshatriyas was so great that they could not join together in any common cause. These differences and prejudices could only be abolished by a bold reformer ready to fight at once the religious fraternities and the political rulers of the land.

The first thing to do was to change the psychology of the people. This the Guru achieved by introducing a new form of baptism, and enjoining upon the baptised Sikhs, to be called the *Khalsa*, the Master's Own, to wear, in future, the same five signs, all beginning with the letter *K: Kesh* (uncut hair), *Kangha* (a comb), *Kachha* (a pair of shorts), *Kara* (an iron bracelet) and *Kirpan* (a sword). Bravery, as much as truth and purity, was to be their religion. The Khalsa was inspired by a sense of divine mission, and no fear of any earthly power was to deflect him from his duty. A tremendous change was thus brought about in the character of the people. The lowest of the low in society, the sweepers, the barbers and the confectioners, were transformed, as if by miracle, into doughty warriors who, along with baptised Jats and Khatris, fought under the Guru's command as many as fourteen battles, in twelve of which the Sikhs were distinctly successful against the imperialist forces.

Soon after the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh at Nander in the Deccan where he was fatally stabbed in October, 1708, by an agent of the Governor of Sirhind, the Sikhs of Amritsar had to defend themselves at first against the *Amin* of Patti and then against the combined forces of the *Chaudhri* of Naushehra Pannuan and the Governor of Lahore. This was the first trial of their military strength under their own elected leaders and they proved equal to the occasion. This was in April 1709.

Towards the end of 1710 Emperor Bahadur Shah marched with a huge army against Banda Singh, the first leader of the Khalsa after Guru Gobind Singh. On the 10th of December (Shawwal 29, 1122 A.H.) he ordered an edict to be issued directing his *faujdars* to kill the worshippers of Nanak (the Sikhs) wherever found—*Nanak prastan ra harja ki ba-baband, ba-qatl rasanand*. The Mughal empire was yet too strong for the rising power of the Sikhs. Banda Singh was driven out of his possessions in the province of Sirhind to seek shelter in the hills and the Emperor moved to Lahore. On the 30th of December, 1711, Amritsar was formally granted to Ajit Singh, the adopted son of Mata Sundri, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh. Amritsar henceforward regained its past importance and became the centre of Sikh activities.

The management of the town and temple was entrusted to Bhai Mani Singh, a revered Sikh saint and scholar of the time, who had to play w th his life for his efforts to bring the Sikhs together at Amritsar. He was hacked to pieces joint by joint at Lahore in 1734. Moving columns now issued from the provincial headquarters in search of Sikhs. Many of them were captured and killed. Their admission to the tank and tem-

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ples was banned and sentries were posted all round the city to watch out for them. But these oppressions failed to conquer the Sikhs. They shot out with vengeance whenever they found a chance. Some performed their pilgrimage in secret disguise ; "but in general, according to a contemporary Muhammedan author," says John Malcolm, "the Sikh horsemen were seen riding at full gallop towards their favourite shrine of devotion. They were often slain in making this attempt, and sometimes taken prisoners, but they used, on such occasions, to seek, instead of avoiding, the crown of martyrdom, and the same authority states that an instance was never known of a Sikh, taken in his way to Amritsar, consenting to adjure his faith." (*Sketch of the Sikhs*, 88).

This indiscriminate persecution of the Sikhs continued for over forty years (1710-1752), and during the Governorships of Zakariya Khan, Yakiya Khan and Mir Mannu it reached its culminating point. In hundreds and thousands, men, women and children were captured from their villages and carried in irons to Lahore. There they were paraded through the bazars of the city and then taken to the *Nakhas*, the Horse Market, outside the Delhi gate, to be cut up limb by limb, flayed alive or broken on the wheel. Throughout this period "not one (Sikh) abjured his faith or perjured his soul to preserve 'his muddy vesture of decay'."

In the closing years of the thirties and the early years of the forties of the eighteenth century a large number of Sikhs had to seek shelter in the far off hills and jungles.

The desecration in 1742 of the Darbar Sahib by Massa Ranghar of Mandiali, a Muslim Official, was a challenge to the honour and heroism of the Sikhs, then living in the desert of Jaipur. Two of them, Mehtab Singh of Miran Kot and Sukha Singh of Mari Kambo, travelled all the way to Amritsar to avenge the insult to the Darbar Sahib. Showing unique courage and presence of mind and braving many a danger, they succeeded in getting at Massa Ranghar and slaying him.

In the Punjab Ahmad Shah Durrani found his strongest opponents in the Sikhs who fought valiantly for every inch of their motherland. The Shah had brought the great Mughal to his knees, he had defeated the Jats and the Marathas, but the Sikhs stood unvanquished. He made several efforts to reduce them to submission, but with no success. Twice in 1757 and 1762, he sacked the city of Amritsar, blew up the temple with gun-powder and filled the tank with the dead bodies of men, carcases of slaughtered cows and the debris of demolished edifices. But with undaunted courage the Sikhs continued the struggle and were successful not only in driving off the enemies from the sacred precincts but also in freeing the entire Punjab from the clutches of the Afghans. In one of his last efforts to retake the Punjab from the Sikhs in 1764-65, the Shah attacked Amritsar with a huge army. There was no Sikh force in town then. A batch of thirty Sikhs under the leadership of Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh rushed out of the *bungas* to oppose an army of thirty-six thousand Afghans and fell fighting in defence of the Darbar Sahib. An eye-witness Baluch chronicler, Qazi Nur Muhammad, thus describes this supreme sacrifice of Sikhs:

"When the Shah arrived at the Chak (Amritsar) there was not a single infidel to be seen there. But a few of them had remained in an enclosure so that they might spill their blood. And they sacrificed their lives for the Guru. When they saw the renowned king and the army of Islam they came out of the enclosure. They were only thirty in number. But they had not a grain of fear in them. They had neither the fear of slaughter nor the dread of death. Thus they grappled with the *Ghazis* and in grapping with them they split their own blood. All the accused Sikhs were killed." (*Jang Namah*, 35).

With the conquests of Sirhind and Lahore by the Sikhs in 1763 and 1764, the Punjab heaved a sigh of relief and afforded an opportunity to the *Missaldar* Sardars and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to unite and strengthen the country. The tank and temple of Amritsar were reconstructed by the *Missaldar* Sardars who spent nine lakhs of rupees on its renovation. Maharaja Ranjit Singh spent large sums on the beautification and enrichment of the Golden Temple.

During the British regime Amritsar remained the centre of Sikh activity. From here sprang the renaissance which earlier in the century influenced the life of the community and created new impulses for literary, social and national regeneration. The Sikhs' foremost educational institution the Khalsa College is situated here. It was again at Amritsar that Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims mixed their martyrs' blood in their national fight against alien rule.

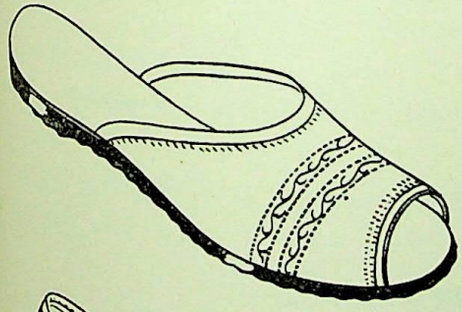
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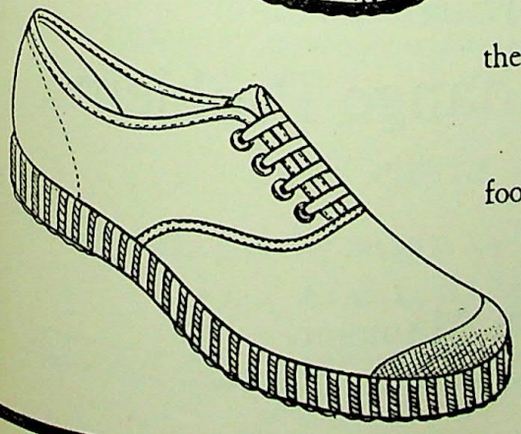
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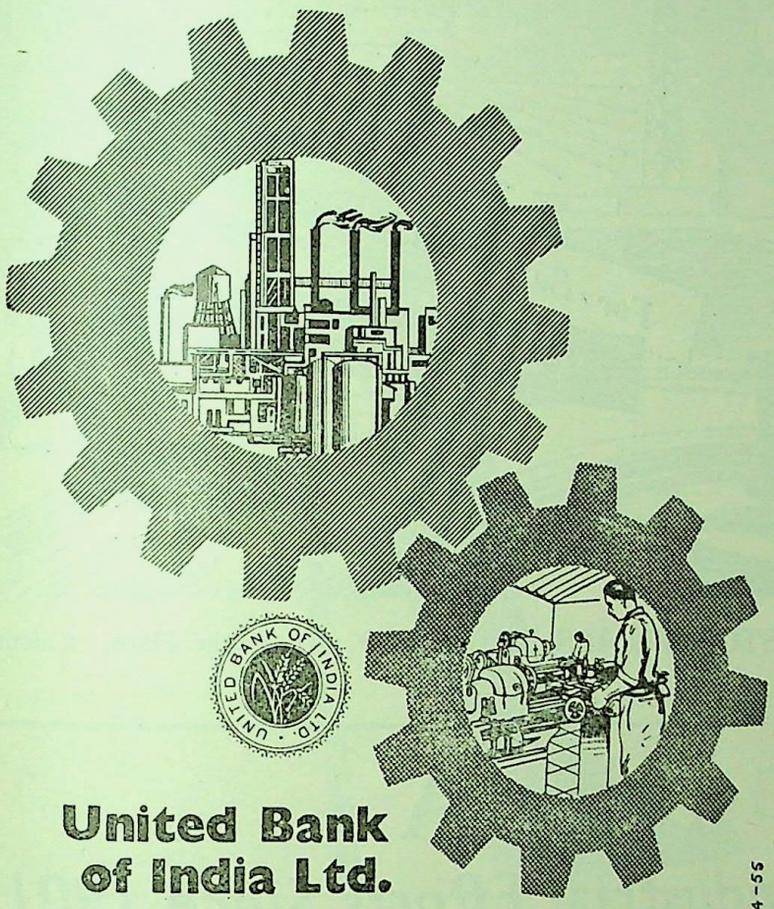
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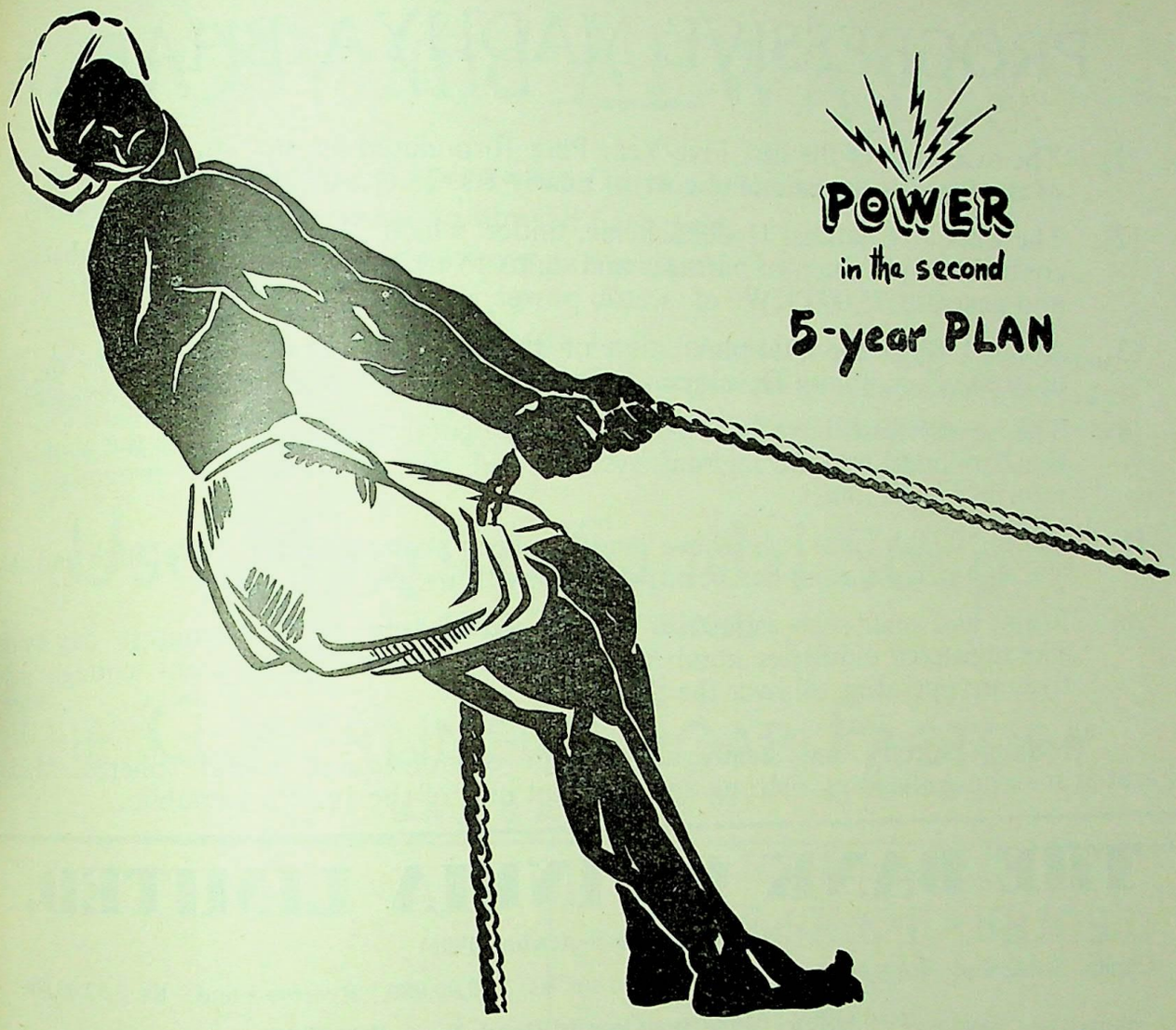
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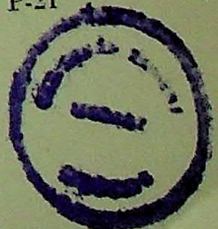
(*By L. Govardan Das*)

I am passing through 84th year of my life. My memory is failing and physical exhaustion has also overtaken me. The dates on which the events happened are difficult to remember and it is also hard for me to do full justice to the subject but as the memory of these events will inspire our young men to fresh enthusiasm to work for the motherland I am inclined to do it. I left all my notes and diary in Pakistan and there is nothing else to guide me. The whole of the Punjab rather India was in a state of silent revolution in 1919. The oppressive and repressive policy of Sir Michael Odwyer brought about developments that would in peace time require quarter of a century, by imposing a breaking strain, and the province that was rotten and decrepit became active as a forest fire on the burning hearts and kindling minds of millions of our countrymen.

The barrels of revolt were being heavily loaded for the last several years. What Sir Michael did was to pull the trigger that caused the explosion. His actions and speeches precipitated the crisis and he was mainly responsible for it. The Martial law was proclaimed and with its promulgation it was certain that ramshacle and half-medieval Indian Empire will explode things. The process of decay of the old order was drammatically evident in the Punjab.

Sir Michael did not know that by following a policy of repression he was hovering on the brink of some great catastrophe. He did not know that the solid crust of things was crumbling under the hammer strokes of the repressive laws and that it was being eaten away from below by revolutionary forces. Seeing things in the historical retrospective it was clear that the earthquake and eruption when they came would be not the end but the beginning of the end of the old order and despotism. News-papers in the province were expressing the horror of Sir Michaels' reign in severe language. The people were filled with feelings of discontent, anger and revolt. They wanted change in the existing order i.e., in political, economic and social spheres.

The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee was holding meetings twice or thrice a week to consider the situation and chalk out the programme. The Committee sent me to Delhi to inform Hakim Ajmal Khan about the situation. It was at or about the 4th of April 1919. On 9th April, Dr. Satya Paul and Dr. Kitchlew were deported under the Defence of India act without any trial or judicial proof. Before that on 30th March and 6th April there was complete Hartal in Lahore and other places. The order of deportation was communicated to the Deputy Commissioner Amritsar on the 9th April and executed on the 10th. On the same day Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and the result was that all business was suspended and there was complete Hartal in Amritsar and Lahore and at other places. Processions were organised in Amritsar and deputations waited on the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar. In those days I was working in Delhi and found on return to Lahore that things had gone from bad to worse. On my coming back from Delhi I found a great activity of the Police at my residence and other places. On 14th April, the deportation order of Pt. Ram Bhaj Datt, Mr. Har Kishan Lal and Lala Duli Chand was issued and Martial law was declared on 15th April. The result of the promulgation of the Martial law was that all papers stopped printing any news and meetings were also banned. The people became very nervous and some of the big men who were partaking in the Provincial Congress Committee meeting were frightened and nervous. I thought that I must go out of the Province and publish the news of the Martial law. Before starting my hazardous tour I considered fully the risk I was taking and the feeling grew stronger and stronger in my mind that I was witnessing the death-throes of the old order and the birth-pangs of a great political revolution. So under the circumstances it was my duty to take the risk and go out. I, therefore, decided to go to Delhi and publish the news. But when the following morning I went to the station I found that the C.I.D. Police was watching me. So I returned and I thought of going



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elsewhere. A friend of mine offered me a car to leave Lahore. I went in his car to Raiwind Railway Station and got ticket for Karachi and reached that town on 16th or 17th April. I went to a first clast European Hotel where my first work was to draft a complete statement of the events leading to the deportation of Dr. Satya Paul, Dr. Kitchlew, Lala Harkishan Lal and others. The next day I sent a cabel through a hotel-bearer to the Telegraph office. As far as I remember the cabel cost me about Rs. 600. But after the delivery of the cabel the telegraph authorities informed that the cabel could not be sent and that the question of the return of money was under consideration of the authorities. On the same day I visited the leading newspapers and some Congress men and I handed over to them a copy of the above cabel for publication in the newspapers which I came to know later was not published in the papers. On the evening of 15th or 16th April, a Congress man of Karachi informed me that warrants for my arrest would be in the hands of the police in a day or two. I, therefore, decided to leave Karachi for Bombay.

On reaching Bombay I stopped with a friend of mine. The first thing I did was to see Mahatma Gandhi and related to him all the atrocities of the Police during the Martial law period. When he heard my story, he gave me a letter for Sir S. Reid of the *Times of India* to introduce me to the Governor of Bombay, but I avoided seeing Sir Reid.

I wrote three articles for the *Bombay Chronicle* and saw Mr. Horniman, the Editor of the paper. He was already known to me and promised to insert those articles in his paper. He also told me that the result of publishing those articles would be very unfavourable for him. The first instalment of the article was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on or about the 18th April and the result was that Mr. Horniman was ordered to leave India. When on the 2nd day I went to see Mr. Horniman I found the Police and the Military surrounding his bunalow. So I hurriedly returned to my place or residence and packed my luggage to leave Bombay. I left Bombay on the same day but I found that two or three suspicious men were following me like a shadow. When the train reached Jubbalpore I decided to break my journey there. In the meantime these two gentlemen who were following me went for a stroll, to the city. When they had gone I thought I must buy another ticket for Allahabad and go the... The train was still on the platform as the main ... from Jubbalpore to Allahabad was out of order. ... reached Allahabad on the 2nd day and visited ... Motilal Nehru, to whom I described the situation as ... had developed in the Punjab and also gave him ... brief idea of the indignities and atrocities which ... Punjabies were experiencing, under the Martial ... regime. I also told him that my first instalment ... the article was published in the *Bombay Chronicle* ... that its result was the deportation of Mr. Hornim... This news had not reached the Press as the Bom... Government censored all such news. He told me tha... did not care what would happen to his paper if my a... cles were published. He gave me a letter introducing ... to Syed Hussain and asking him to publish the arti... which he had seen. When I reached the office ... the *Independent* Syed told me that he had receive... telephonic call from Pt. Motilal Nehru regarding ... articles. The result of the publication was that ... security was forfeited and fresh security was demand... by the Government I stopped for two days in Alla... bad and I found the two men who were shadowing me ... Bombay and who had travelled with me up to Jubba... pore, appeared in the Hotel. I was much embarasse... by their presence and had a talk with them. I did n... know at that time whether they had any warrants ... my arrest or not. I handed them currency no... worth Rs. 500 and asked them to go away. I ... staying in the Hotel under *nom-deplume*. They adv... ed me to leave Allahabad, so I left the same evening ... Calcutta. I did not know what fate awaited me in C... cutta. It was possible that I might be arrested th... or if I was spared I might go on with my work. I ... all the Congressmen (leaders) like Shri Surendra N... Banerji, B. B. Bose and Moti Lal Ghose and t... them the same tragic story of the happenings in ... Punjab. I also had an interview with Shri R... Tagore, who was astonished and pained to hear about ... sufferings of the Punjab. I think it was after listen... to my tale of woe and misery that Sir Rabindran... wrote a letter to the Governor-General, protes... against the Martial law. He also relinquished his titl... of knighthood. I could not do much in Calcut... during my stay of four or five days, because I w... apprehending my arrest at any time but still dur... the short time I was there, I met Shri Moti L... Ghose, Editor *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and a few oth... and related to them the story of the Punjab atrocit...

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st of the papers in Calcutta wrote leading arti-
s on the Punjab happenings and those which had
blished the articles their securities were forfeited and
sh securities were demanded from them by the
vernment.

After I had finished my work I thought of going
Madras. I started at once and reached Madras and
t up in an English Hotel. I met the leading Cong-
ssmen and editors of the papers who obliged me by
blishing a brief account of the Punjab happenings.
y writings created a great sensation in Madras and I
s asked by the President of the Provincial Congress
committee to speak to the members of the Committee
bout the Punjab situation. I complied with their
quest. I was also advised by the Committee not to
ek arrest but to leave for Pondichery where I could
ay for a few days.

When I reached Pondicery, my first task was to
e Yogi Arbindo Ghosh. After two or three days I had
e good fortune to meet him and relate to him all about
e Punjab. In the meantime the Governor of Bombay
de a speech in which he referred to the non-co-
erators, who put the match to the situation and
n away to save their skin. On reading this speech
y conscience pricked me and I decided to return to
Lahore to suffer whatever punishment was in store for
e.

I cannot give the exact date of my departure
from Pondichery but when I was travelling in the first
class compartment between Pondicehery and Madras,
two C.I.D. people came and awoke me up and told me
that I was under arrest. I asked them where were the
warrants of my arrest. They told me that they had no
warrants but that I was under arrest. The following
morning when the train reached Madras, they came to
my compartment and arrested me without putting
any hand-cuffs. I said "As you have no warrants of
my arrest I cannot be arrested but if you like I shall
go with you." The C.I.D. people were decent and in
order to avoid any untoward incident allowed me to
go to some of the leaders. I do not remember whom I
met but I had my tea and wash and after that I was
taken to the Police court. Shri Rajagopalacharya
and one more Vakil appeared on my behalf. They
told me that they would request the court to produce
the warrants of arrest from the Punjab Government but
I was anxious to go to Lahore. Therefore, I told them
not to suggest any other course. I was sent to the Police
lock-up, but all the facilities were provided to me.
On the second day the case was taken up and Rajaji
attended the court. After all it was settled that I should
go to the Punjab, and the Madras Government made
arrangements for my departure.

In the evening I was taken to the Railway station
along with some Police officers. I do not know how the
news leaked out but I found that the people of Madras
Presidency towns wherever the train stopped brought
fruits, flowers etc. etc.

When I reached Delhi I was put in a third class
compartment along with some Police men.

The following day I reached Lahore and was put in
the Judicial lock-up. The weather was very hot and
temperature recorded was 110. I was put in a solitary
cell and two military people in addition to the warders,
were watching me. Three or four days in the Judicial
lock-up and then I was taken by the Superintendent
of Police to the Lieutenant-Governor who told me to
withdraw all the articles in the papers and apologise to
the Government. I replied that I would be quite willing
to comply with his orders if any wrong or exaggerated
statements in my articles were pointed out to me. He
again told me that he was giving me two or three days
to consider the matter and then reply to it.

Next time when I went to see the Lieutenant-
Governor I told him that I had considered the matter
and that I was sorry that I could not withdraw any of
my statements. Sir Umar Hiyat Khan was also present
at that time and he told me that the British Government
was offering me a very big concession ("Had I been the
Governor I would have sent you to the gallows.") I
thanked him and told him that I was prepared to suffer
any punishment that might be meted out to me.

After a month or so I received orders from the po-
lice that my detention was under the Defence of India
Act. The case was started for publishing an article in
the *Independent* Allahabad. When the case came up
for hearing in the Martial law court, my advocate Dr.
Nand Lal pointed outthat the case could not
be heard by the Martial law court as the article
was published after the expiry of the Martial law. The

(Contd. on Page 26)

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NEW TRENDS IN EDUCATION IN PUNJAB

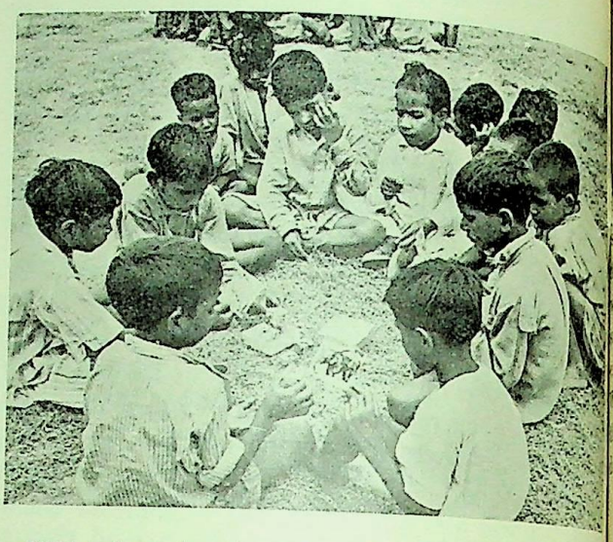
(*By Professor S.M. Dattatreya*)

The following table reveals at a glance the progress made by education in the Punjab since Independence. While there has been general improvement all along, one notices that progress has been especially rapid in the rural areas, where Basic Primary Schools have sprung up in recent years. In respect to technical and professional institutions alone, one observes that the pace needs further whipping up. The percentage of literacy on the basis of the 1951 census (age-group 0-5 included) is 16, which corresponds to the all-India figure. It should be a source of gratification to the Punjab that it keeps pace with the rest of India, in spite of the political earthquake, which uprooted so much of its orderly life in 1947.

Kinds of Institutions	*Total number.*	
	1947-48	1954-55
1. Basic Primary Schools ..	Nil	369
2. Primary Schools ..	3,819	8,890
3. High Schools ..	309	732
4. Technical and Professional Schools ..	34	49
5. Technical and Professional Colleges ..	9	15
6. Arts Colleges ..	29	55

What is most essential, however, is that not only should more people be educated, but also that those who are educated, are better educated. Our aim, no longer, is to produce just a flock of subordinate government servants, a group of pleaders and doctors, and a handful of engineers and dreamy philosophers. Hence, our whole system of education—besides, our very ideals and outlook—has to be re-cast and re-constructed, to accord with our present-day freer conditions and fuller requirements.

The Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) of the Government of India have pointed out in our



Children learn through playing with illustrated toy cards at a Social Welfare Project Centre near Karnal.

Secondary Education a number of defects, which are true, more or less, of the whole system of education.

Firstly, the instruction imparted in our schools is isolated from life. Secondly, it is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the total personality of the student. Thirdly, English has been given greater attention than the other subjects, psychologically and socially important or congenial. Fourthly, methods of teaching do not, generally, encourage in the students either independence of thought, or initiative in action. Fifthly, the size of classes has greatly increased, discipline has been undermined, and the average efficiency of the teacher deteriorated. Sixthly, the dead weight of the examination has tended to stereotype things and to place the stress on wrong or unimportant values in education. (Pages 21-22 of the Commission's Report).

Remedies

There are four essential types of education, and we have to provide increasingly for them all: (1) Elementary Education, (2) Education for Life, (3) Technical and Professional Education, and (4) University Education.

Of these, perhaps, the second type is the most important, as constituting the education of ordinary adolescents, 14 to 19 years of age. Prof. K. N. Dutt, a senior Officer of the Punjab Education Department,

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outlines in his thoughtful little book, "Better Education", how the campus is to be organised. Theoretical classwork and the practical learning of a trade will comprise the daily time-table. Trades will be learnt through the various activities, necessary for running an educational colony. There will be no 'servants' to serve the students personally. While the colony may not be completely self-supporting, it will provide most of its own essential requirements, the surplus products being sold to the public. American examples like those of Berea College and Warren Wilson's College, properly adapted, can well develop the potentialities of our Basic Education and help produce better citizens.

Basic Education is intended to serve not only as an 'education for life', but also an an 'education through life'. It has been unanimously agreed upon that there will be eight years of compulsory universal schooling, with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. In the statement issued by Shri Shriman Narayan and Shri Saiyidain in June 1955, it is clear that the concept and technique of Basic Education are now to guide and shape our education in the Elementary stage generally. Basic Education will no longer be exclusively for rural areas, but introduced equally in urban areas as well. The following will be its features :—

1. Productive, creative and useful social work for all boys and girls will be its very centre and core.
2. A basic craft will be effectively taught, and the sale proceeds of the products of the craftwork utilised to meet part of the expenses of the school.
3. Development of the child's total personality will be aimed at, including his productive efficiency.



An adult literacy class in a Community Project in the Punjab

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4. The basic craft selected will fit into the natural and social environment of the school.

5. Knowledge will be related to activity, practical experience and observation.

6. The study of books is not to be ignored.

7. Various types of social service to the local community are to be organised.

8. Students are to be trained in self-government.

A Basic-cum-Vocational Education scheme has been introduced, on an experimental basis, in a number of schools in the Punjab. This scheme resembles the one formulated for Madras by Shri C. R.

Military training has also been started in several schools in the Punjab as junior wing of the N.C.C.

In the post-Elementary stage there is an immediate need of setting up a network of progressive Public Schools, one in each district. They will not be replicas of our unnecessarily expensive "European" schools; nor will their object be to produce snobs, or dandies, or holiday-minded sportsmen. There is to be nothing classy about them. Admission of meritorious students will be encouraged, and poverty will be no bar. These residential schools will have superior staff, better library, well-equipped laboratories and workshops, ample facilities for play and recreaction. While the Universities will carry on research and rear leaders of thought, these Better Schools will serve to contribute to the general ranks of democratic leadership, help raise the efficiency of our public services and economic life, and give a healthier tone to our social morals and manners. Properly conceived and run, these schools can help produce a type of citizens, who will serve as the real bulwark of the nascent Indian Republic. The ordinary high schools, re-modelled, will continue to cater to the common ruck.

That India may play its role creditably at home and abroad, it is very necessary to have right educational ideals, and a well-overhauled system of public instruction to realise those ideals. In the last resort teachers count more than all the systems. And as for teachers, it is the ideals which tend to make them what they are. There can be no better ideal for our teachers than that of self-renunciation and social service.

Coming to our Educated citizens, they must not exclude from their purview any branch of human activity. As for their measure of knowledge, they should not be content to know "a good deal" of their chosen subject. They should know "all" there is to be known. They should not perform their particular task "fairly well". They should do it as well as it is possible to do it.

(Contd. from page 23)

Government advocate went to the Governor and the case was postponed for an hour or so. When the proceedings commenced the Government advocate admitted his mistake and I was discharged by the court. The Deputy Commissioner and the I.G. Police were also present. They told me that I was again under arrest and then sent me to the Judicial lock-up. There was long intervening period between this case and the fresh one, which was started on ththe basis of what appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The case was taken up by another court, but I took no part in the proceedings. So this drama ended in giving me a sentence of three years rigorous imprisonment. The proceedings of the case have been published by the Congress Inquiry Committee in a separate leaflet and I need not write anything about it.

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RESETTLING THE REFUGEES

ORPHANS OF PARTITION STORM FIND THEIR FEET

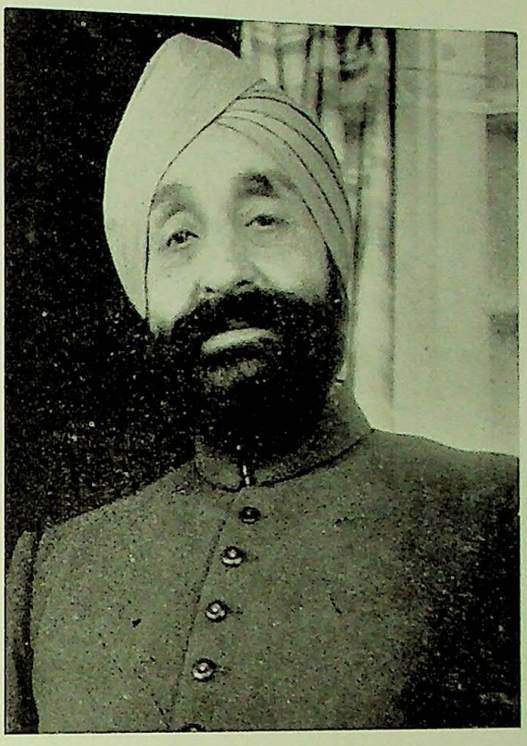
(By S. Ujjal Singh, ex-Minister of Finance, Punjab)

The Partition is one of the grimmest tragedies ever known to history, which overtook this country in August, 1947. It came like an avalanche upon an unsuspecting, unprepared populace and swept everything before it. A people living together for centuries in healthy tolerance and possessing all attributes of good neighbourliness were estranged overnight. The little sparks of hatred ignited at various places suddenly developed into devastating fires, human nature passed into hysteria and unprecedented orgy of loot, murder and arson followed thereby resulting in the mass movement of population between East Punjab and West Punjab.

Nearly five million Hindus and Sikhs were evacuated from Punjab (P), Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Sind within a few months from September to December, 1947. The immediate problem was to provide relief and succour to these bleeding millions. The vast rural population, which wended its weary way, in miles long caravans of bullock carts, was on crossing the border, diverted straight to the Muslim villages. The urban population was provided accommodation in the evacuee houses, but the number of such houses too inadequate to take the entire population, tented cities sprang up all over the Punjab, where rations, clothes, medical aid and other necessaries of life were provided free to the inmates. At one time, there were more than 7 lakh people residing in different camps in the State.

In the initial stages of the crisis, complete chaos and confusion prevailed. Our Provincial Government, barely on its legs had to face the most difficult problems which have ever confronted administrations. There were no facts and figures, no precedents and no occasion to plan and think. Despite these handicaps and pitfalls, a determined effort was made by Government to meet the challenge and this coupled with the 'will-to-live' of the brave Punjabis has accomplished the stupendous task, which at the outside looked rather impossible.

The immediate problem of resettling the landowners was solved by putting them temporarily on the



evacuee land left by the Muslims in this part of the Punjab. By the end of March, 1948, a total allotment of 21,96,466 acres was recorded and the number of families to whom allotment had been made was 2,00,233. In the meantime, the claims to land were invited from the displaced landholders in 1948. This was followed, in 1949, by the scheme of quasi-permanent allotment of land. The implementation of this scheme was seriously handicapped firstly because there was no record to verify the correctness of the land claims and secondly there was a big gap between the area of land abandoned in West Pakistan and the area available for allotment in East Punjab and Patiala and East Punjab States Union. Against 53 lakh ordinary acres of cultivated land left in West Pakistan only 38½ lakh acres were available in East Punjab & East Punjab States Union. While losses in the cultivated land were tremendous, the losses in irrigated area were heavier still. As compared with 43 lakh acres of irrigated land, of which 25·55 lakhs acres were perennially irrigated, abandoned in Pakistan, only 13 lakh acres of irrigated land out of which 4·33 lakhs were perennially irrigated was left by Muslims in East Punjab and the East Punjab States Union. This gap was covered by the ingenious scheme of graded cuts and by evolving a new unit of value based on the productivity of land called 'standard acre'. In terms of standard acres, the land left by us

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was 39½ lakhs and that left by Muslims only 24½ lakhs. Besides, there were about 20,000 standard acres belonging to Muslims but mortgaged with locals, which could not be allotted to displaced land owners without redemption. The gap was so big that even holdings below 10 acres could not escape the cut. By the middle of 1950, an area of 24,66,833 standard acres was allotted to displaced land owners on quasi-permanent basis.

Side by side the work relating to the allotment of houses in the evacuee villages was also taken in hand. There were about 3,38,721 evacuee houses in about 10,215 villages of which 2,32,944 were wholly or partially demolished. The houses fit for occupation except substantial houses i.e. houses of the value of Rs. 20,000 or above, have since been allotted to the land holders, Harijans, artisans, landless tenants and shopkeepers. The substantial houses will be allotted under the Compensation scheme.

Other important aspects of the rural rehabilitation were the development of garden colonies in the Punjab and leasing out of 53,829 acres of *banjar* and inferior evacuee land in bet and other areas. 26 garden colonies with a total area of 22,000 standard acres were set up in the State. The *banjar* and inferior area was given on lease for a period ranging between 10 to 20 years. This step proved to be of great relief to Harijans and landless tenants who had been settled on such lands. Special consideration was also shown to the military personnel and to widows who were allotted land in selected areas or evacuee villages specially reserved for them.

A further stage was reached in rehabilitation of rural displaced persons with the enactment of Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954, by Parliament. The Act provides for the conferment of proprietary rights on quasi-permanent allottees of evacuee land and rural houses. A large number of Managing Officers have been appointed who are going round the villages and are issuing 'sanads' to the allottees on the spot. This work was started in full swing with effect from the 1st September, 1 55, and so far 75 thousand allottees have been granted permanent rights. Much more work would have been accomplished had the floods, which over-took the Punjab State in October 1955, not interfered. Every attempt is however, being made to finish this work as early as possible.

Government did not content itself merely with allotment of land to displaced persons but to enable them to purchase agricultural implements, improved seeds, tractors, bullocks and to sink wells and pumping sets. A vast financial help was given in the shape of taccavi loans. A sum of Rs. 4,78,12,065 has so far been disbursed as rural loans among 4,20,000 families. To afford further relief to rural displaced persons, the verified claims regarding rural houses have also been placed at par with the claims regarding urban immovable property. This has removed a major grievance of the rural claimants.

The problem of resettling displaced urban class was even more stupendous and unusually complex. Besides the provision of housing accommodation which was Government's first worry, there were the problems of rehabilitating the displaced industrialists and business men and provision of gainful employment to the uprooted people to earn their livelihood.

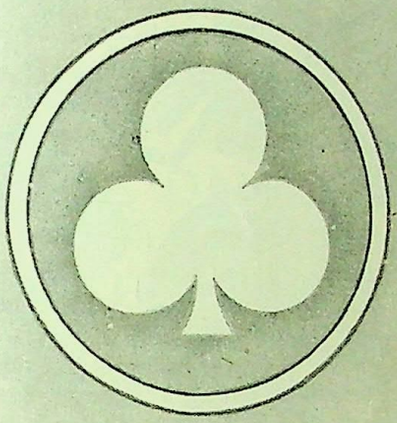
The major handicap in respect of accommodation was insufficient number and inferior quality of evacuee houses in this part of the Punjab. There were, in all, 1,36,397 evacuee houses and 8,658 sites available in various urban areas of the State. Of this number only 1,15,522 houses were in allotable condition and the same have since been allotted. The dilapidated houses and vacant sites will be sold under the Compensation Scheme.

In order to make up the shortage of housing accommodation, Government sponsored several housing schemes for various categories of displaced persons, the most important being New Townships and Cheap Housing Colonies Schemes. The New Townships scheme was intended to benefit the middle class and upper-middle class displaced persons. It envisaged the construction of houses and laying out of plots in 14 Model Towns created in the neighbourhood of the various towns in the Punjab. Under this scheme 3,929 houses were constructed, of which 2,859 have been sold. 5,226 plots were laid out of which 4,261 have been sold to date. The scheme was financed by obtaining loan from the Government of India and has cost Rs. 329 lakhs approximately. All essential amenities of life including schools buildings have been provided in the New Townships at Government expense. There is also a provision for Parks and Clubs. These Townships are a standing memorial to a great misfortune patiently endured and progress accomplished towards building a new and beautiful India.

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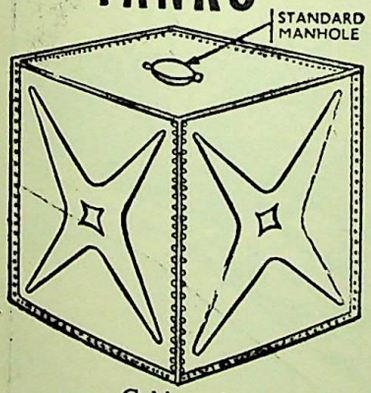
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BRAITHWAITE
PRESSED STEEL

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400 gallons capacity
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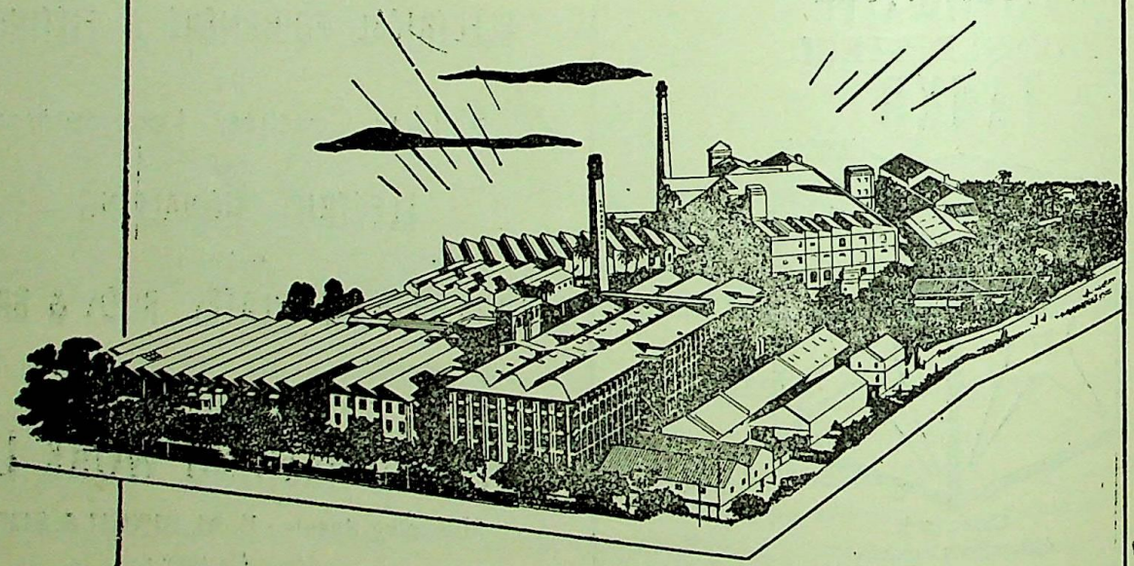
City Office :

1, Crooked Lane, CALCUTTA-1.

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In the Indian textile world the name **KOHINOOR** *has been associated with finest quality yarns, threads and fabrics for over half a century.*



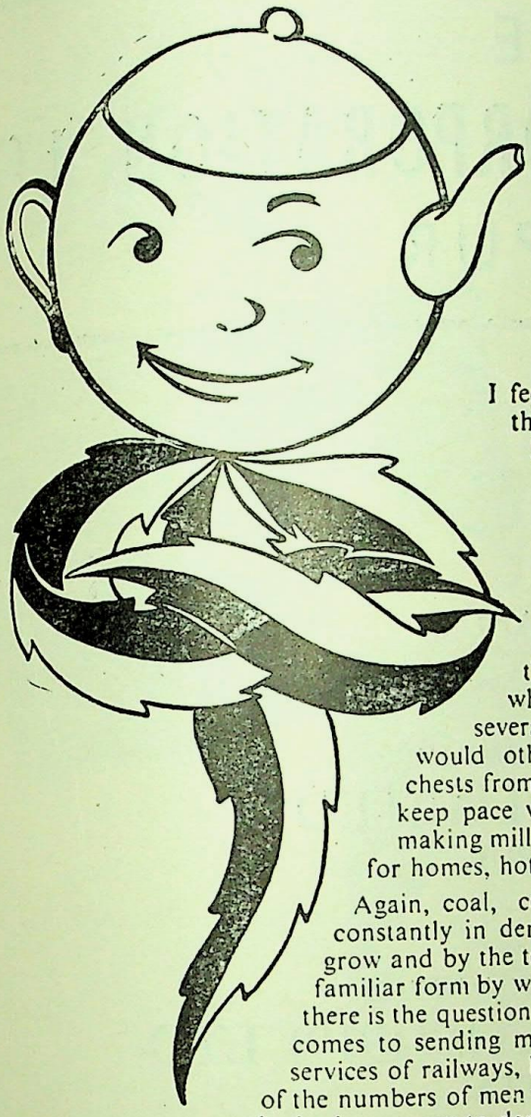
THE KOHINOOR MILLS CO., LTD.

Managing Agents: **KILLICK INDUSTRIES LTD.**

KILLICK BUILDING, HOME STREET, FORT, BOMBAY.

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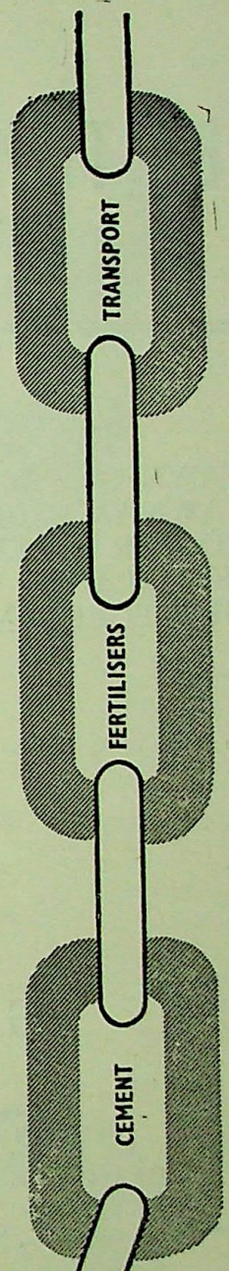
I am Tea...

I bind many industries together

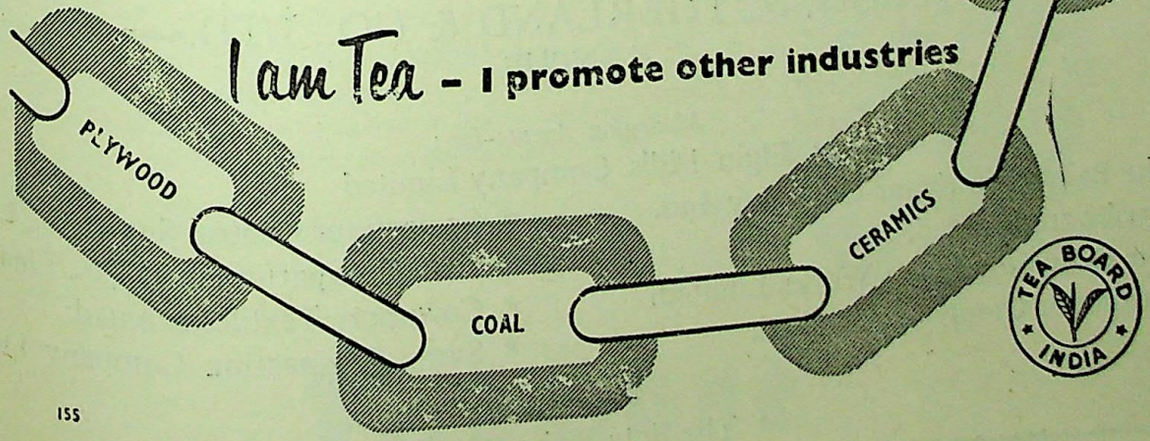
I feel proud that I am of service to the several industries allied to me. For instance, to pack my weight running into several millions of pounds, I need six million plywood chests every year. Practically this entire quantity is now being made from Indian material and by Indians, thereby giving employment to thousands of my countrymen—and what is even more important saving several lakhs of rupees every year which would otherwise be spent in buying tea chests from abroad. Ceramics, too, have to keep pace with my increasing popularity by making millions of tea pots, cups and saucers for homes, hotels, clubs, offices, etc.

Again, coal, cement, fertilisers, machinery are constantly in demand by the tea gardens where I grow and by the tea factories where I am given the familiar form by which I am daily recognised. Then, there is the question of providing transport. When it comes to sending me down to the ports, I need the services of railways, boats, airways and lorries. Think of the numbers of men who are employed in such services and who have come to depend on my prosperity.

So, I am the greatest ally of the several industries with whose fate I am inextricably linked.



I am Tea – I promote other industries



ISS

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THE BRITISH INDIA CORPORATION LTD.
KANPUR

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NORTH WEST TANNERY BRANCH	KANPUR
NEW EGERTON WOOLLEN MILLS BRANCH	DHARIWAL (PUNJAB)

ASSOCIATE COMPANY :

OBEETEE LIMITED
MIRZAPUR

SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES :

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BEGG, SUTHERLAND & CO., LTD.
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★ Purtabpor Companye Limited.
★ Samastipur Central Sugar Co., Ltd.
★ The Champarun Sugar Co., Limited.
★ Cawnpore Textiles Limited.
★ Saran Engineering Company Limited.

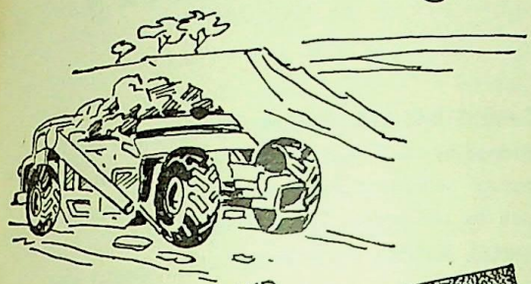
Secretaries of :

★ The Beta Picker Co., Ltd.

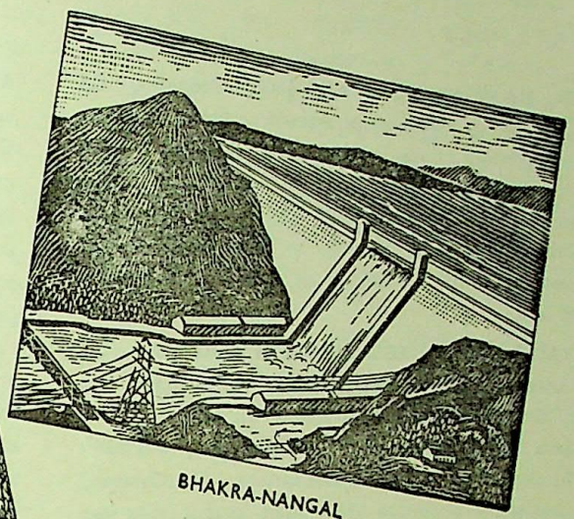
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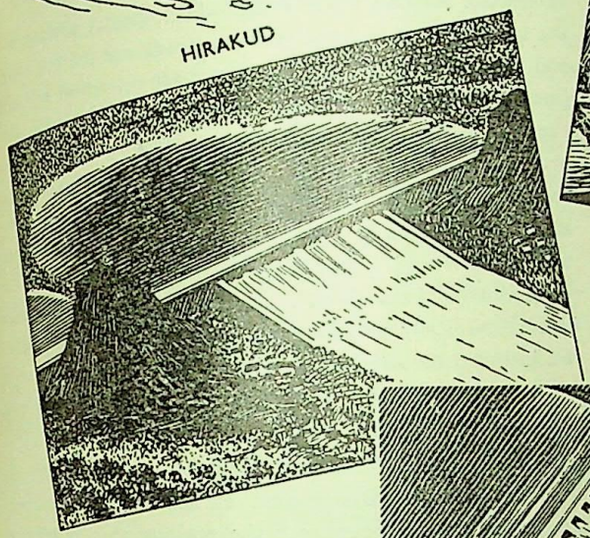
Progress in India

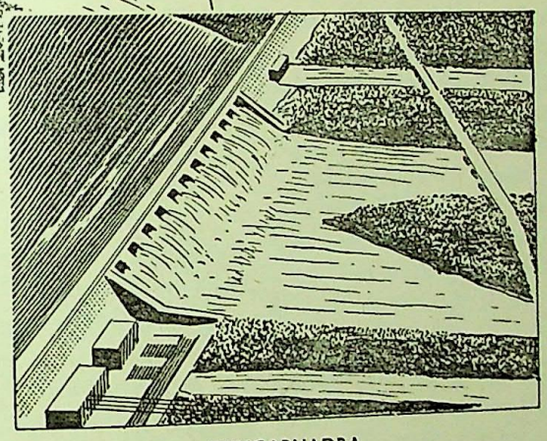


HIRAKUD



BHAKRA-NANGAL



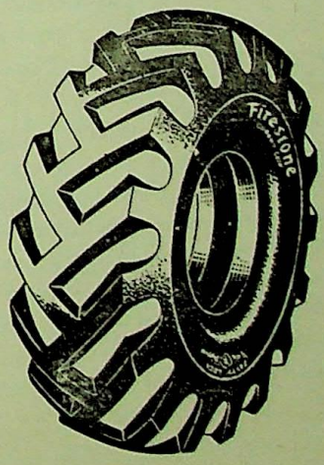


TUNGABHADRA

India's vast multi-purpose projects are an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan and huge earthmoving machines, requiring special types of tyres, are in operation at dam sites all over the country.

When the First Five Year Plan was launched, Firestone immediately realized the urgency of producing earthmover tyres in India and the first of these tyres ever to be built in this country, was manufactured by the Firestone Factory in Bombay, towards the end of 1953.

Today, the Firestone Bombay Plant is saving India substantial amounts of foreign exchange by meeting, in full, the country's requirements for these giant earthmover tyres.



Firestone

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Expansion in India's Industry

following the changing pattern of India's economy, I.C.I. (India) has set up a number of manufacturing units in the country, investing capital and technical resources. These units manufacture a wide range of products and offer services vital to Indian Industry. Given below is a brief history of the manufacturing units of I.C.I. (India)—important industries which are helping to advance India towards self-sufficiency.

THE ALKALI & CHEMICAL CORPORATION OF INDIA LTD.—I.C.I. (India) entered into the manufacturing field in India when it set up the ACCI Factory at Rishra, West Bengal, in 1947. More than half of the capital of this Company was subscribed by the Indian public and institutions. The Company in the beginning produced electrolytic caustic soda and liquid chlorine. The Hydrochloric Acid Plant was erected in 1948-49 and in 1951 a complete unit was installed for the manufacture of the well-known 'Gammexane' range of B.H.C. insecticides. Production was begun in 1951 of a wide range of painters' materials based on nitrocellulose and synthetic resins which include such famous brand names as 'Duco', 'Dulux', 'Necol', etc. The auxiliary products include primers, groundcoats, fillers, polishes and putties. The newest products to be manufactured at Rishra are pretreatment chemicals under the brand names 'Deoxidine', 'Granodine', 'Lithoform', etc. A feature of the paints plant is the modern technical service station which provides a unique service to customers.

'ALKATHENE' FILM MANUFACTURING UNIT AT TILJALA—Manufacture of 'Alkathene' brand polythene film was started at Tiljala in 1952. This plastic packaging material has proved very popular in India, since it is able to resist the varied and vigorous climatic conditions found in this country. It is widely used for packaging of Textiles, Tea, Tobacco, Foodstuffs and many other products.

INDIAN EXPLOSIVES LTD., GUMIA, BIHAR—This Company was established in 1954, and is a joint venture of I.C.I. and the Government of India with an authorised capital of Rs. 4 crores. This new venture aims to make India self-sufficient in the manufacture of industrial blasting explosives. The factory, now under construction, is located at Gumia, close to the Bengal and Bihar coalfields, so as to give the best possible service to the coal mining industry—the principal consumers of industrial explosives in India.

ATIC INDUSTRIES LTD., BULSAR—This is a new venture jointly sponsored by I.C.I. (India) Ltd. and Atul Products Ltd. The Company will manufacture vat dyes and intermediates needed by the Indian Textile Industries.

TECHNICAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT—I.C.I. (India) operates on the selling axiom that the sale of a product is the beginning and not the end of a transaction. All customers of I.C.I. (India), irrespective of size, are entitled to ask for and receive technical advice and assistance on how I.C.I. products can be used to the greatest advantage. In order to render technical service to customers, I.C.I. (India) maintains four technical laboratories. Here more than 135 trained and experienced personnel are engaged constantly in disseminating facts about I.C.I. products and methodically and scientifically attacking customers' technical problems. I.C.I. (India) considers this technical service organisation so vital to its customers that it maintains it at a cost of over Rs. 10 lakhs per year.

TECHNICAL TRAINING—Another important service that the Technical Service Department of I.C.I. (India) has been rendering to this country is the training that it provides free to customers' technical staff, covering courses in textiles, chemicals and dyestuffs, water treatment and more recently, in plastics, rubber, leather chemicals and on the advanced uses of I.C.I. special paints.

I.C.I. (India), through its several apprentice courses some of which are run in collaboration with State Governments and well-known textile institutions, is giving useful training in dyeing, printing and other textile processes at its laboratory in Bombay. Since these I.C.I. (India) apprentice courses were started, over 1,000 students have been trained and many of them now occupy important technical positions in textile mills in India. More are being trained every year.

PROMOTING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH—In 1945-46, I.C.I. (India) inaugurated a Research Fellowship Scheme to promote fundamental research in Physics, Chemistry and Botany. The scheme costs I.C.I. (India) a sum of Rs. 3,36,000/- over five years. The entire working of the scheme is entrusted to the Council of the National Institute of Sciences of India and all the leading Universities and Research institutions in the country collaborate closely with the Institute. Already 42 Research Fellows have carried out valuable work under the scheme.

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES (INDIA) LIMITED

ICI

ICG 494

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The other scheme of Cheap Housing Colonies benefited the working classes and low income groups. 3,184 eight-marla houses were constructed in 14 colonies in the Punjab at a total cost of Rs. 64,31,207. Of this number 2,788 have been sold and 269 leased out. Like the New Townships, these colonies too have been provided with all facilities essential for proper living. The water supply scheme alone in both the Model Towns and Cheap Housing Colonies has cost Government Rs. 43·73 lakhs.

For the lowest categories 5,395 four-marla cheap tenements have been built in different towns at an overall expenditure of Rs. 38 lakhs. Even the mud- huts numbering about 19,388, which had originally been constructed to substitute the worn out tents at the sites of the refugee camps, have been renovated and transferred to their occupants. Satisfactory sanitary and water supply arrangements have been made in Mud-hut Colonies. Good school buildings have been provided.

The purchasers of plots in New Townships besides being provided the facility of obtaining building material from the Public Works Department at controlled rates, were also sanctioned house building loans to enable them to construct the houses. Government have, in all, advanced Rs. 122 lakhs as house building loans. In spite of these elaborate schemes, the shortage of housing accommodation could not be overcome and in order to let maximum number of the displaced persons to build houses, another scheme of interest free house building loans against compensation has been inaugurated. During 1955-56 Rs. 30 lakhs have already been made available to the Deputy Commissioners concerned for the purpose. The demand for such loans is increasing day by day and the heavy rains and consequential floods in the first week of October, 1955, which caused extensive damage to a large number of evacuee houses have enhanced the demand further.

After housing accommodation the next important



Refugees from Sheikhupura (W. Punjab) resettled in a village near Karnal in the Punjab find roots again.

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step towards the speedy rehabilitation of the urban population was the provision of business premises where the displaced industrialists or business men could pursue their avocations of industry or other professional work. The first phase in their rehabilitation ended with the allotment of evacuee shops numbering about 18,577 (of which 17,142 were in tolerable condition) and of 941 industrial establishments. To meet the shortage of the business premises, Government have sponsored the Shopping Centres and Mandis Schemes. Both the schemes, when completed, will cost Rs. 22·78 lakhs.

The number of evacuee factories and industrial establishments in the Punjab was too inadequate to satisfy the requirements of the displaced industrialists. To meet the gap, Industrial Areas have been developed at Jullundur, Ludhiana, Sonepat, Panipat, Bahadurgarh and Jagadhri. The displaced industrialists who desired to build factories in these areas were advanced loans by the State Government and the Rehabilitation Finance Administration of the Government of India.

The question of finding gainful employment for the displaced persons was one of immense difficulty. The obvious reason was that the Hindus and Sikhs who had come over from Pakistan were mainly traders whereas the bulk of urban Muslim population of the Punjab consisted of technicians, artisans, craftsmen, mechanics and labourers. In order to fit the displaced persons into the economy of the State and to make up acute shortage in skilled and unskilled labour, a number of Work Centres and Vocational Training Centres were started, which are functioning successfully even now. The trainees admitted to these centres are paid a monthly stipend of Rs. 30 each.

Government also sanctioned small urban loans to the displaced business men to establish themselves in their avocations. Upto January 1955 a sum of Rs. 2,39,09,113 had been advanced to nearly 24,919 persons and 776 Co-operative Societies.

Another important feature of urban rehabilitation was the grant of financial assistance to displaced students who had suffered greatly due to the weakening of the financial position of their parents and guardians. Considering that their studies should not come to a premature termination, Government sponsored the aforesaid scheme, under which loans to students were sanctioned in the first few years after partition and later on the scheme was converted into that of stipends. This scheme is still continuing and an annual expenditure of Rs. 18 lakhs is being incurred on it. The educational loans have been remitted irrespective of the amount involved in the case of the displaced studeents whose parents and guardians do not possess verified claims. The activities of Government in the field of education did not remain confined to helping the students only. Constructive steps were taken towards the rehabilitation of the disrupted educational institutions. Till today Rs. 33 lakhs have been disbursed as grant-in-aid to various disrupted educational institutions and the non-disrupted institutions which are catering to the need of good number of displaced students.

The real victims of the storm were the destitute unattached widows, their dependents, orphaned children and the aged and infirm persons and their children, who, having lost their kith and kin, were left without any shelter or support in this world. Their maintenance was an important problem on which Punjab Government had also to focus their full attention. After segregating them from the general camps, they were lodged in four big-sized Women Homes, one Sewa Sadan and three Infirmaries. These institutions at present house about 10,000 persons, who have been given free accommodation, are paid cash doles for rations and clothing and are provided with facilities of free medical aid and free training in one or the other craft taught in the Training-cum-Production Centres attached to the each Home and Infirmary. Their children are provided free education upto the Matriculation standard ; they are also paid stipends for pursuing technical professional courses. Government also arranges for the marriages of the young girls of the inmates. The total expenditure incurred by Government on the maintenance of the aged and infirm persons and destitute widows and their dependents comes to Rs. 38 lakhs (round) every year which is reimbursed by the Government of India on a cent per cent basis.

With the implementation of the Compensation Scheme, the rehabilitation of displaced persons has entered its last phase. The displaced persons with verified claims have already put in their compensations by the 26th September, 1955, and I hope that Government of India could settle their claims as early as possible. The payment of compen-

(Contd. on page 41)

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PUNJAB RISES TO THE OCCASION AGAIN

(By D.C. Verma, Director of Information, Punjab)

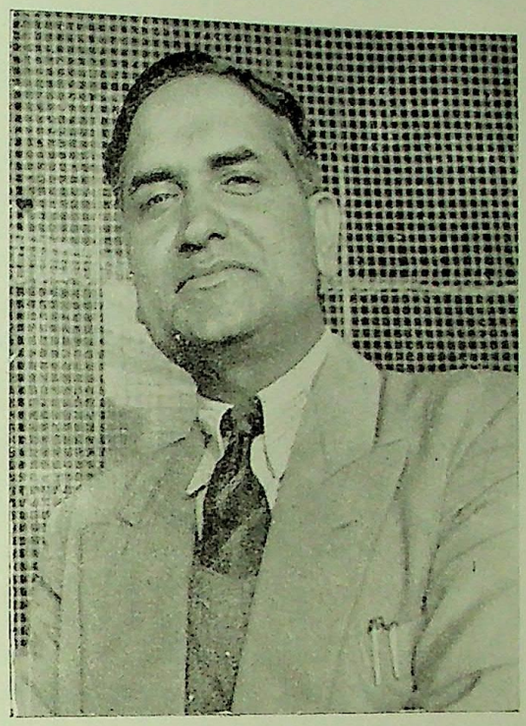
Floods in Punjab have caused extensive damage to houses and crops. Some human lives are feared to have been lost and the loss of cattle has been considerable.

There was heavy and almost continuous rainfall in the State from the evening of the 2nd October to the evening of the 5th October, 1955. In certain areas as much as 20" of rain fell during the period. The result was flooding of countryside and many towns to an extent not known in living memory. Railway lines were breached at many places, bridges were swept away and the roads were under heavy sheet of water. The rivers Ravi, Sutlej, Beas and the Jamuna were in spate and scores of nullahs and new channels washed away a number of villages and threatened many others. Telephone and telegraph communications were disrupted and all means of transport came to a standstill in a very large area of the State for a considerable period. But for the police wireless there was no other means for conveying messages to district headquarters.

The Punjab Vidhan Sabha was in session at the time of floods. On October 6 it was adjourned till 14th October to enable members of the House to study the situation in their constituencies and to render assistance and relief to the flood-affected people in the State.

The entire Governmental machinery was geared into action and necessary funds were placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners for rescue and relief work. The staff of the Police, Revenue, Panchayat, Health and other Departments were directed to assist the Deputy Commissioners in this respect. The work of consolidation of holdings was also suspended and the staff concerned switched on to relief work.

Help was rushed immediately to the people in distress. Air-dropping of food and clothes in the marooned areas was undertaken with the help of the



Indian Air Force who put one helicopter, six dakotas and two 'Devons' on the job. Air lifting of the marooned people was also effected wherever possible. The restoration of communications was taken in hand and evacuation of people from the flooded areas was effected. Relief camps were set up in different areas near the localities affected by floods ; schools, colleges and other institutions were utilized for shelter to the distressed. Three thousand tents were also provided for the purpose. Good work was done by the Red Cross and various private relief agencies for alleviation of human suffering. Certain philanthropic institutions from other States also extended their services for relief work.

An Emergency Committee for flood relief in the State was constituted on the 7th October, 1955, under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, Punjab. Among the members of the Committee were the State Ministers, the Financial Commissioner, Relief and Rehabilitation, the Chief Secretary, the Planning Secretary, the Secretary Health and Local Government and the Finance Secretary. The Committee has closely kept under view the situation arising out of floods and has adopted a number of measures for flood relief.

On 9th October, 1955 the Prime Minister, Shri

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Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by the Punjab Governor and the Chief Minister undertook an aerial survey of the flooded areas to gauge the extent of devastation. The Prime Minister donated a sum of Rs. one lakh out of the Prime Minister's Relief Fund for children in the flood-affected areas.

The Punjab Governor, Shri C. P. N. Singh, State Ministers and members of both the Houses of State Legislature undertook extensive tours of flood affected areas to study the situation. Shri Bhimsen Sachar Chief Minister used boats and other means of transport available to reach the marooned areas in Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jullundur and Gurdaspur districts to watch relief operations and to help and guide the workers. Shri Bhimsen Sachar also, in the course of his tour, gave adequate house building grants on the spot to the people in distress. S. Pratap Singh Kairon, L. Jagat Narain and other members of the Punjab Cabinet also went on similar tours. The floods were a national emergency to meet which all officials and non-officials rose like one man.

Extent of Damage

Eight districts, namely, Jullundur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur, Ambala and Karnal were affected by the floods.

The task of assessment of the losses is not yet over and the final picture is emerging gradually. It is, however, estimated that about 7,000 villages have been affected and 1,75,000 houses have been destroyed. Damage to the crops runs into crores of rupees. The Government will have to incur heavy expenditure on the repairs and re-building of bunds, drains, canals, bridges, retaining walls, dams, roads and other Government buildings. In addition to this Government will have to undergo a great loss on account of remissions and suspension of land revenue and abiana which will have to be given at least for half of the total area of the Punjab.

Relief Measures

The Punjab Government have announced relief to the flood-stricken people in the State to the tune of Rs. 10 crores. The relief is besides the gratuitous relief of Rs. 13 lakhs which the Government had announced earlier for providing food, shelter, clothing and medical relief to the flood victims. Two thousand and five hundred tons of wheat have been allocated for free distribution at the relief centres in the State.

Rs. five crores, out of the total amount of Rs. 10 crores, have been earmarked for distribution in the rural areas for repairs to or construction of houses damaged or wholly destroyed by floods. Government will grant a sum of Rs. 100 per house for collapsed 'kacha' houses and Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 for the damaged ones.

In the case of villages of which the abadis have been completely demolished or nearly completely demolished and no high ground is available for shifting the abadi, an additional sum of Rs. 25 per house subject to a maximum of Rs. 750 for one village will be given to the village Panchayat for raising the abadi site at least to the highest level of the water reached during the recent floods, subject to the condition that the majority of the villagers agree to raising the level to that height.

A sum of Rs. one crore has been earmarked for repairs of the damaged 'pucca' houses in urban areas irrespective of the property being evacuee or otherwise. An amount to the extent of Rs. 200 per house will be granted for this. This will be besides the money that the Rehabilitation Ministry, Government of India, has sanctioned for carrying out repairs to the damaged evacuee houses.

Rupees two crores have been made available for giving loans to sufferers under the Low Income Group Housing Scheme. This loan would be available to the people in rural and urban areas. No stamp duty or registration fee will be charged from the flood victims in this respect.

Another sum of Rs. 2 crores will be given as taccavi loans to the rural people for seed, fodder and bullocks. The Director of Agriculture has been instructed to make adequate provisions for supply of good seeds to the cultivators. The Government have also decided to impose a ban on the export of fodder from the State.

It has been decided to release 14,000 tons of foodgrains in the market to control price level. The Government will deal severely with the profiteers and black marketeers. It may start its own food depots if

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e prices of foodgrains go up. Efforts are being made to afford employment to the persons rendered destitute by the floods. It is felt that the construction of bunds, roads etc. will provide work to a good many flood victims.

A special quota of 230 wagons of cement has been secured for the flood-affected areas, besides an allocation of 10,000 tons of slack coal.

Medical Relief

All Civil Surgeons and District Medical Officers of Health have been instructed by the Director Health Services to organise small parties of medical personnel for rendering medical aid to those affected by the floods. Directions have been issued for burial of animal carcases, disinfection of wells and maintenance of sanitation in general. Preventive inoculation against smallpox, cholera and typhoid is being effected. Relief parties are concentrating on treatment of malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, indigestion and respiratory diseases. Bleaching powder has been supplied to District Medical Officers of Health in the affected districts. The Director General of Health Services, Government of India, was approached to release two lakh pounds of skimmed milk and the UNICEF requested to divert all available stocks of skimmed milk for the flooded areas. Cholera vaccine and anti-venom surum have been supplied in sufficient quantities to the affected districts.

Educational Institutions Closed Temporarily

As most of the school buildings at present have been occupied by the flood sufferers, who have been rendered homeless, the Government have decided to close the schools wherever necessary in the State for such period as may be essential. The staff has been directed to make themselves readily available for every kind of assistance in the flood relief measures devised by the district authorities in their respective areas.

The District Inspectors and Inspectoresses of Schools in Ambala and Jullundur divisions have been instructed to see that the school authorities do not strike off the names of the students affected by floods from rolls for non-payment of fees.

Chief Minister's Flood Relief Fund

In a calamity of such a vast magnitude Government help alone would not be sufficient to place the unfortunate flood victims back on their feet. There is need for help at all levels and help in the largest measure possible. The Flood Relief Fund opened by the Chief Minister, Punjab on October 7, 1955, has met enthusiastic response. Contributions have been pouring in from all over the country and the amount collected so far exceeds Rs. 4,00,000.

Brave Punjabis

The mettle of the Punjabis has been tested time and again. They have always come at the top from the worst disasters. The manner in which they weathered the Partition storm would bear testimony to it. To-day they are again faced with a grave situation calling for the best in one and all. Welded together by suffering in unbreakable ties of brotherhood they will tide over the flood and resume the threads of development activity snapped by forces of Nature. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed profound faith in the constructive energies of the Punjabis in these words :—

> "I am confident that the brave people of the Punjab will face the situation with courage and with cheer despite the distress that has been caused."

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DEFICIT HIMACHAL ACHIEVES
NEAR SELF-SUFFICIENCY

AGRARIAN REFORMS HELP "GROW MORE FOOD" DRIVE

(By Y. S. Parmar, Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh)



About nine years ago, Himachal Pradesh did not exist on the map of India, and feudal lords of 30 hill states ruled small fragments of this Pradesh. The income of most of these states was very meagre, and their rulers could not take up public welfare works. Even some of the rulers, who were in a position to accomplish such undertakings, did not pay adequate attention towards them.

During the eventful years of freedom, or colourful State, with feudal antecedents, has undergone a remarkable democratic transformation, and despite various handicaps in the shape of its special problems, it has registered progress which can be favourably compared to other States in India.

Formed as a centrally administered area by the integration of small fueudal territories under a Chief Commissioner in April, 1948, Himachal Pradesh was given a democratic set-up under a Lieutenant Governor in 1951, with an understanding that it would be made a full-fledged State at a later stage.

The popular Government taking over the reins of office inherited many problems, of which the most important were the development of communications in difficult hilly terrain ranging from 1,500 to 15,000 ft., enactment of economic and land reforms in areas ridden by feudalism for centuries, making deficit areas of the State self-sufficient in food, improving medical facilities in the remote villages in the interior of hills, educating the masses and their all-sided development, etc.

The problems were peculiar to the area in many ways. Situation of the State in hilly terrain with varying altitudes made communications difficult which were very essential for its development. Extreme poverty of the people, lack of education among them, shortage of cultivable land, peculiar methods of farming and production, absence of suitable data for building-up cottage and forest industries, etc. were the other hurdles in the way of planning for prosperity for our State.

Agrarian Reforms

After re-organizing administration to suit the new demands of democracy, the Government was faced with the problems created by feudalism in the State. Agriculture was, and is, the mainstay of more than 80 per cent of the population, but most of the cultivable land was under the control of big landlords. Any scheme of improvement, therefore, was to start from the land and agriculture. Agrarian reforms were introduced through legislation. The Himachal Pradesh Abolition of Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms Act, 1954, provides for the security of tenure to tenants against ejectment, vesting of proprietary rights in the tenants, maximum rent payable by a tenant for any land held by him and the abolition of big landed estates. The ceiling of land holdings has also been fixed.

Other agrarian reforms were introduced through the Himachal Pradesh Tenants (Rights and Restoration) Act, the Himachal Pradesh Land Reforms Act, the Himachal Pradesh Consolidation of Holdings (Pre-

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vention of Fragmentation) Act, the Himachal Pradesh Shoodan Yagna Act, the Punjab Tenancy (Himachal Pradesh Amendment) Act, the Himachal Pradesh Private Forests Act, the Himachal Pradesh Debt Reduction, Act, etc.

Agriculture

Connected with these reforms is the development of agriculture. The Agriculture Department, which formerly functioned as a branch of the Forest Department, was separately organised to increase the agricultural wealth of the State.

In 1951, the annual production of foodgrains in the State was about 42 lakh maunds, which was insufficient to meet the requirements of over 11 lakh population. With the increase in the cultivable land as a result of land reforms and on account of intensive cultivation undertaken by the people with the help of the Agriculture Department, the production of foodgrains in the State is gradually increasing and is expected to go up to about 56 lakh maunds, shortly, thereby making the State self-sufficient in food.

Seed potato is the chief cash crop of Himachal Pradesh. At present, the State produces 12 lakh maunds of seed potato which supplies 20 per cent of India's need of seed potato. The present total area of 22,000 acres under seed potato is gradually increasing and shortly we will be growing seed potato in 32,000 acres, thus supplying 33 per cent of the country's total demand of the seed.

Horticulture is considered more profitable for our area due to the shortage of land and the special climatic conditions in the State. The people are increasingly taking to orchard rearing. At present 50,000 maunds of apples are produced in the State. With the increase in facilities like the distribution of good variety of plants, expansion of nurseries and the horticulture research and guidance, the horticulture in the State has a big future.

Chini Tehsil, bordering on Tibet, is well-known for its dry fruits and grapes. But most of the produce is locally consumed or rots there as good communications have so far not been established in that area. With the completion of the Hindustan Tibet Road in 1956, the country will be assured of an abundant supply of dry fruits from this area.

orests

The State Forests in Himachal Pradesh cover about 3,400 square miles, *i.e.*, 34 per cent of the total area of the State. Besides playing a vital role in the economy of Himachal Pradesh, these forests are of great value to the nation as they form the catchment areas of important rivers.

The State Government has, therefore, paid adequate attention to the development of forests. The need has been felt to provide a proper proportion between the utilization of forests and soil conservation measures. We are taking up the propagation of plants of economic importance such as willows, poplar, cymbol, mulberry and medicinal herbs. Extension of bamboos, soft wood and Bhabar grass is also being undertaken. With the development of communications, the exploitation of forests is being extended to the hitherto inaccessible areas.

Irrigation

Our hilly terrain presents difficulties of providing adequate irrigation facilities. The Irrigation Department, which was started by the Government in 1951 only, has so far been able to bring about 17,000 acres of land under irrigation. In the Second Five-Year Plan, Rs. 1·5 crores have been earmarked for the development of irrigation facilities.

Communications

Realising that the provision of adequate means of communications was fundamental problem of a hill State like Himachal, top priority was given to the road construction programme. Prior to 1951, there were no through roads in Himachal Pradesh ; all that existed were several isolated road lengths constructed to poor specification by a few of the 300 princely States. An elaborate programme was, therefore, chalked out under the First Five-Year Plan for the construction of 1,350 miles of selected roads, and Rs. 1·5 crores were earmarked for them. The allotment has since been increased to over Rs. 2 crores.

So far about 700 miles of motorable roads have been constructed which serve as important communication links between the towns of the State. The target of road construction is to be increased to about 4,000 miles in the Second Five-Year Plan, in which Rs. 5 crores

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have been earmarked for road development. Every big village in the State is proposed to be linked by means of a motorable road.

Industries & Electric Power

Cottage industries provide a subsidiary source of income to about 70 per cent of State population. Besides undertaking the establishment of production-cum-training industrial centres, it is proposed to provide cheap electric energy in the interior of the State for sound industrial development. The electrification programme has been divided into two parts : (a) local Hydel generation is proposed in the case of higher valleys remote from district headquarters ; and (b) the lower belts of Himachal Pradesh near the Punjab territory will get electricity from Nangal and Uhal River Feeders. Numerous hill streams fed by glaciers will be gradually harnessed for power production. With the implementation of electrification schemes, every town in the State will be electrified.

Education

There has been a big increase in the number of educational institutions in the State since the popular Government took over. There are now over 800 schools throughout the State as against 369 in 1951. More than 55,000 children attend these schools. In addition to these, there are over 60 adult Education Centres, 3 Colleges, 4 Teachers' Training Schools and 3 Oriental Study institutions. Basic Schools have also been started in the Community Development Blocks. Primary education has been made compulsory. Literacy, which was only 5 per cent before 1951, has gone up to about 11 per cent now.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, we have an ambitious programme for the expansion of educational facilities in the State. Education in the primary stage has to be given a basic bias with the opening of 100 new basic primary schools, and with the conversion of 200 existing primary schools into basic schools. Higher secondary schools are to be converted into multi-purpose schools, opening-up of Junior Polytechnic institutions is also envisaged in the Plan.

Medical Relief

Owing to the limited resources of the State coupled with inherent difficulties of mountainous regions, the medical and public health facilities were very meagre in 1951. The number of hospitals and dispensaries was small and buildings dilapidated, ill-designed and ill-adapted for the purpose. The staff was not experienced and in many cases not even properly qualified. In the whole of the State, there were only 42 doctors and 3 nurses. At present, there are 29 hospitals, over 40 allopathic dispensaries, 60 ayurvedic dispensaries, 4 V.D. clinics and 10 maternity and child welfare centres. In 1954, about 20 lakh patients were treated in these hospitals and dispensaries. Public Health and Medical facilities are to be almost doubled during the next Plan period.

Panchayats & Co-operatives

To associate the people with managing democratically their own affairs, Himachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act was passed. Gram Panchayats have since been established in all Patwar circles. Nayaya Panchayats, Tehsil Panchayats and District Panchayats are being established.

Co-operatives have a great scope in Himachal. Already we have 700 co-operatives, out of which 419 are multi-purpose co-operatives. The memberships of the co-operatives is about 43,000 and the working capital has risen in the recent years from Rs. 10 lakhs to over Rs. one crore. Panchayats and co-operatives have been assigned an important place in the Second Five-Year Plan.

With all these measures, Himachal Pradesh is heading rapidly towards a new era of socialism. The people who were extremely poor, backward and illiterate only a few years ago, are facing the future with confidence and hope. They are uited in their march towards progress and have a faith in their destiny. They are gradually coming into their own. The history of every year after the merger of erstwhile states and the formation of Himachal Pradesh, is a great step towards progress, which though not very spectacular, can compare favourably with the pace of development in other States, keeping in view our special problems and meagre resources.

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BIGGEST MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECT

BHAKRA DAM SYMBOL OF INDIA'S PROGRESS

(By Lahiri Singh, ex-Minister of Irrigation)

The Bhakra Dam is the largest multi-purpose Project under construction in the world today. This Dam costing about Rs. 64 crores will be a straight gravity structure, rising 680 feet above the lowest foundations and spanning the gorge with its 1,700 feet length at the top. At the base it will have a width of 1,300 feet including the spillway apron. These figures may not convey to the mind the massiveness of this highest structure in Asia, and the second highest Dam in the world. In height, it will be about three times that of Qutab Minar. In volume, it can easily enclose within its gigantic dimensions a 60-storey building with 1,00,000 rooms.

In the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru: "The Bhakra Dam Project has earned a name for India in the world outside. Such a difficult and huge Project had not been undertaken by any other country and they, therefore, were happy and proud of that Project which people from other countries visited with a feeling of praise for the people of India for their determination to build their country."

The potential wealth of the flood waters of the Sutlej at present runs waste to sea. The construction of a Dam at Bhakra will harness this asset, impounding 74,00,000 acre feet of water. Out of this 57,30,000 acre feet will be available for irrigation and generation of power every year. The stored supplies will irrigate 10 million acres of arid land and generate 3,50,000 k.w. of firm power. This will usher in an era of plenty and prosperity in the States of Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan, providing added means of employment to millions of our countrymen and improving economic conditions of the common man.

The construction of Bhakra Dam is fraught with huge and complex problems. In the words of Mr. Nehru: "Its construction is something tremendous, something stupendous and something which shakes you up when you see it. It is the symbol of India's progress."

The whole work at Bhakra is being done departmentally. Every one of the men employed at Bhakra is recruited, trained and paid by the Government and no profit goes to any private individual. Incidentally, this has provided a unique opportunity for our Engineers to gain valuable experience in the technique of high dam construction.

Extensive preliminary works of diverse nature had to be undertaken before construction operations could be brought into being at Bhakra itself. Access had to be provided to the site for men and material. Living accommodation had to be created for the Engineers, staff and workmen and arrangements made for electric supply, filtered and chlorinated water and sanitation.

Prior to the taking up of this project, the nearest railway terminus was Rupar, 46 miles away from the Dam site. The Indian Railways carried out the construction of the railway line from Rupar to Nangal Township—the construction camp for the Project, constructed specially for the purpose to cater for a population of nearly 15,000. The Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, carried out the construction of the last link from Nangal to the Dam site, a distance of 8 miles. At the same time, road facilities were extended from Rupar to Nangal and from Nangal to the dam site. A branch of this road crosses the river Sutlej at a point about 2 miles downstream of the dam site, at Olinda, where a rail-cum-road bridge has been constructed across the river for access to the cement unloading platform and to the power plant on the right side of the Dam.

The construction of a dam involving the magnitude of work such as that of Bhakra Dam, necessitated that the construction operation be mechanised as far as possible. Workshops to cater for the mechanical needs of the Project have been constructed at Nangal, Bhakra and Neilla and are the nerve-centres of activities and provide adequate and readily available facilities for repair, fabrication, manufacture and supply of the various types of mechanical assistance required at the Dam. The workshop at Nangal Township is the main nucleus for meeting this demand. This workshop is

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equipped with modern machines for farbrication of steel structures required for the construction of the Dam at a rate of 200 tons per month and even more. About 7,000 tons of steel have been already fabricated. All structures that can possibly be fabricated locally, are being fabricated at Nangal and only those parts whose fabrication is not possible in India, are being imported. Several additional big Shops have been set up namely Machine Shop, Foundry Shop, Smithy Shop, Tyre Retreading Shop, Fitting and Mill-wright Shop, Oxygen and Acetylene Plants. As the construction activities spread out, in the interest of efficiency, several workshops have been set up for repairs and overhaul of shovels, tractors and trucks and other field machinery at R.L. 1400—the main operational base for the construction of Bhakra Dam downstream of the Dam site. These include a reinforcing steel shop, warehouse, automotive shop, acetylene generator, carbide storage, welding shop, electric repair shop and the construction-plant design office. Another subsidiary workshop is at Neilla, which includes carpentry shop and storage for fuel oil and lubricants. Two steam plants with a capacity of 6100 k.w. and two 500 k.w. Diesel sets have been erected at Nangal and a Diesel Power House at Bhakra was also constructed to feed all the construction area at Bhakra. Power is also being supplied from Ganguwal Power House on Nangal Hydel Channel.

Diversion Tunnels.

Before carrying out the construction operations, it was necessary to dry up the river in the area where the Dam was to be founded. The gorge at Bhakra is narrow and V-shaped and requires the diversion of the entire river from its present course into some other channel. For this purpose, two huge diversion tunnels each 50 ft. in diameter and half a mile long, one on each side, for carrying the river water, were required to be constructed. These are among the largest tunnels ever constructed in the world. The poor quality of rock, encountered during the tunnelling operations at Bhakra, rendered the work extremely hazardous and difficult. The construction of these tunnels took five long years and involved an expenditure of Rs. 3·69 crores.

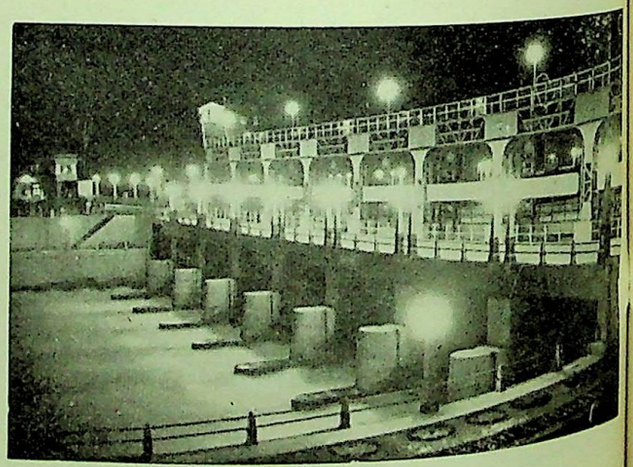
Besides the diversion tunnels, a number of tunnels such as highway, railway concrete conveying, grouting and drainage, penstock and storm wat drain tunnels of a length of about two miles have be constructed.

The second essential prelude to the dam concreti operations after construction of the diversion tunn was the construction of two rolled fill dams for e closing the operation area in the bed of the river. T coffer dams, one upstream and the other downstrea of the foundation area, had to be constructed and aft dewatering the enclosed area, foundation excavati had to be brought underway.

The upstream and downstream coffer dams a 215 ft. and 132 ft. high respectively. The upstrea coffer dam is the highest rolled fill dam built in Ind These coffer dams involving handling of 9,30,000 cub yards of clay, gravel and rock, have been complete within a record period of 8 months at a cost of abo Rs. 44 lakhs.

The foundations of the dam are being laid on firm bed-rock for which a huge quantity of excavation ha to be done. At places it was necessary to excava to a depth of 150 feet below the water level of the river.

The excavation in the Bhakra gorge area cannot be carried out by pick-axe and spade. Instead, th rock has to be blasted by explosives before it can b removed. At peak, about 10,000 cu. yds. of rock wer excavated daily and transported to dump sites one an a half miles away. Shovels worked either by ele tricity or diesel power have been employed for exc vating rock and loading it into special trucks. Th



A scene from Bhakra Dam

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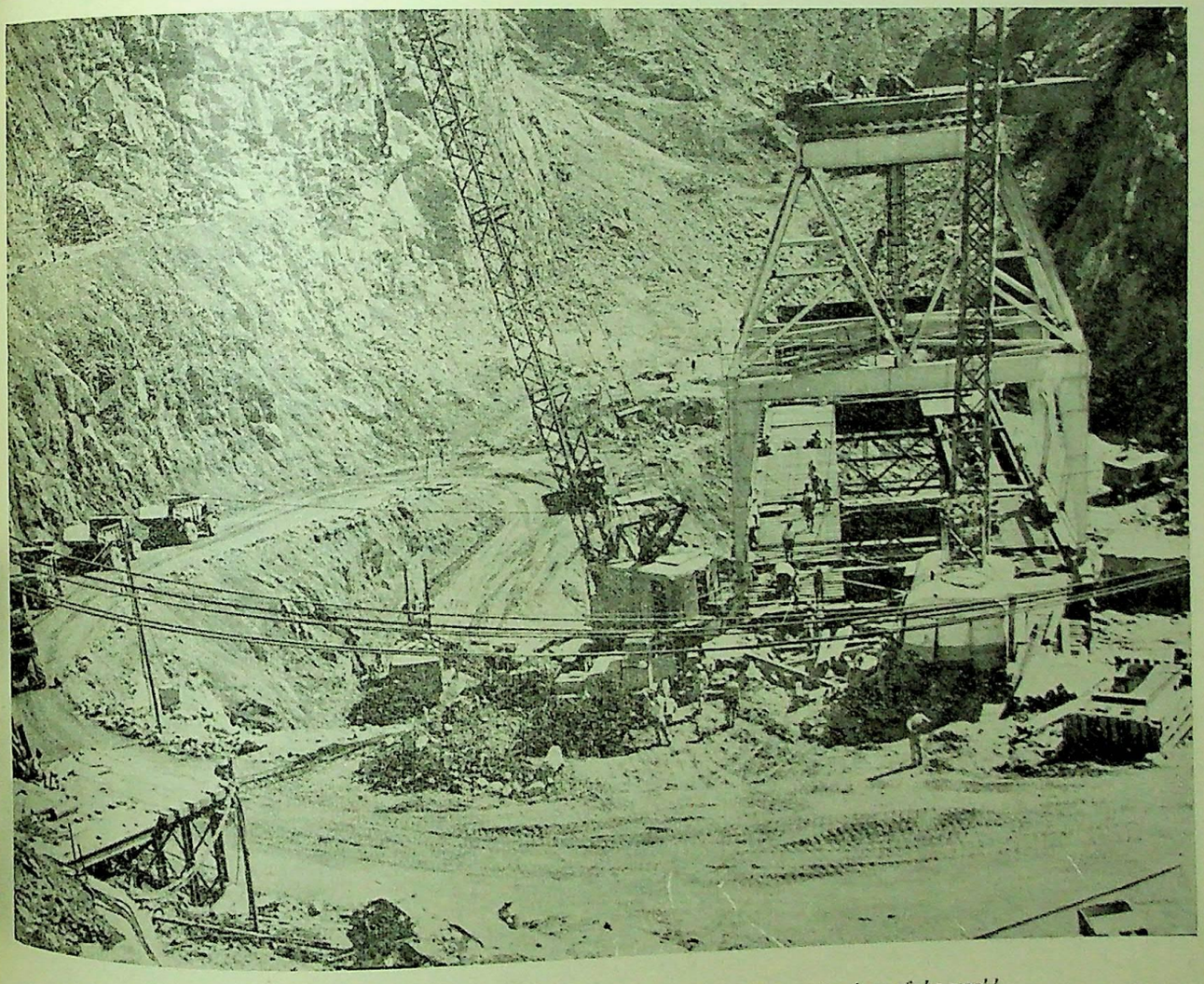
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biggest shovel has a bucket of 5 cubic yards capacity and can lift huge stones weighing more than 150 pounds at a time. Eleven shovels have been working day and night for the excavation operations at the dam site. The total quantity of excavation for the foundation of the dam and other subsidiary works carried out to date is 72,56,000 cu. yds.

The abutments on either side of the gorge are extremely steep. Hundreds of workmen are daily required to carry on scaling of loose material by hand tools. The process is very laborious, arduous and full of risk. The men have sometimes to do the job perched on steep precipices as high as 500 ft. above the ground, slung by ropes tied to their safety belts. All possible precautions are taken for their safety to ward off accidents.

Great care is being taken to render the rocks as strong and compact as possible by injecting cement into the rock through deep holes drilled into it. This process of grouting is being resorted to very extensively.

Concreting is the final and the most outstanding constructional operation at Bhakra. The Dam will involve use of nearly 5 million cubic yards of concrete which is estimated to cost about Rs. 18 crores. It is evident that the preparation and putting in of such huge quantities of concrete and at the desired quick speed could not have been achieved without employing the highly developed techniques of engineering science. Consequently an up-to-date concrete manufacturing plant which is the first of its kind in Asia has been set up at a cost of about 5 crores of rupees. This consists



BHAKRA DAM : From this pit will rise the highest straight gravity dam of the world.

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of a 4-mile long belt conveyor line on which mixed aggregate *i.e.*, sand and stones will be transported from the quarry to the dam site at the rate of 750 tons per hour, that is almost a train load every hour. At the aggregate classification plant, stones again are separated into different sizes and sand is classified into different grades. The belt conveyor then carries the stones into the cooling plant in order to bring down their temperature. Next comes the Batching and Mixing Plant where the various constituents of concrete such as sand, stones, cement and water are automatically weighed and mixed to be carried away by rail cars waiting down below. Huge cranes which over-shadow the rail cars, lift the concrete buckets and lower them into the position required. Concrete will be poured for nearly 3½ years.

The construction of the huge powerhouse at Bhakra is also going ahead satisfactorily. For the present only 5 units each of 90,000 k.w. are being installed on the left side, there being provision for future development of 4 units each of 90,000 k.w. on the right side.

Labour Welfare

In free democratic India, the worker has come to occupy a pivotal position in the social structure of the country. A happy and contented labourer is always an asset but it is more so when he happens to be the architect of a project like Bhakra Nangal which is the symbol of the Nation's progress.

At Bhakra Dam where about 8,000 skilled and unskilled labourers are working day and night, every effort is made to provide reasonable amenities to them. They are an essential and inseparable part of the vast construction organisation, and are imbued with an *esprit-de-corps* to realise the goal.



NANGAL DAM : Here Nangal Hydel Channel takes off from Sutlej. This Canal turns the turbines in Gangowal Power House and irrigates areas of Hissar district.

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Pucca residential quarters are provided free of rent to the workmen. In cases where rent-free accommodation cannot be provided, they are given house-rent allowance. All workers are provided with free rail or road transport to and back from the work.

All the workmen's colonies are provided with filtered and piped water supply, electric lighting, sanitary and drainage facilities. Community baths and latrines have also been provided.

A Recreation Centre equipped with indoor games, radio and newspapers has been set up at Nangal for the benefit of the labour. A Children's park with outdoor games has been provided in the labour colony.

A modern and fully equipped 70-bed hospital caters for the medical needs of the employees at Nangal Township. Besides, two dispensaries, one in the Bhakra Labour Colony and the other at Bhakra Dam site have been set up. Several First-Aid Posts have been established at important points near the sites of work. Three motor ambulances are available for service all the 24 hours. Free diet is provided to injured workmen who are admitted in the hospital as indoor patients.

A Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, under the charge of a whole-time Lady Health Visitor, caters for the ante-natal and post-natal care in the labour colony at Nangal.

A high school for boys and girls, a middle school for girls and a primary school for boys have been set up at Nangal Township for imparting education to the children. Fee concessions are allowed to sons and wards of low-paid workers in these schools.

A safety organisation has been set up to educate the workers in safety methods in execution of various works so as to reduce the incidence of accidents. All accident cases are promptly attended to at the Nangal hospital, and compensation is given where due. Men working at hazardous jobs are given extra wages.

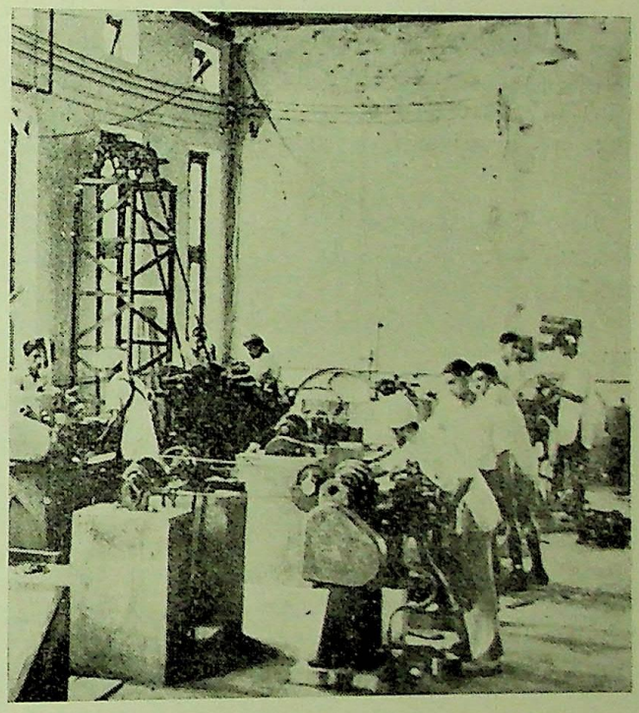
It is a happy augury for the successful execution of Bhakra Dam that the labour employed on the Project is contented and well satisfied.

The Dam is scheduled to be completed in 1959. Water will, however, start collecting in the reservoir in 1958 after the Dam has been constructed more than half its height.

(Contd. from page 30)

sation will go a long way in finally putting the displaced persons on their feet and enabling them to regain their financial security which is so essential for a happy flourishing community.

The colossal task of rehabilitation has now reached a stage which can be called final. The resettlement of nearly five million persons in the economic and social structure of the State within a short span of 7 or 8 years is an achievement any Government may



A view of the Workshop in the vocational training institute at the Nilokheri township.

be proud of. No doubt, effort of the administration was mighty and praiseworthy, but the credit for this singular success goes, in a large measure, to the brave and uprooted persons without whose 'will-to-live', it would have been impossible to forge ahead. Orphans of the storm eight years ago, these brave men and women have emerged as masters of the situation. With the co-ordinated and sustained help of Government they have, to a great extent, regained their lost moorings, found comfort in their new environments and are looking forward to a much more prosperous and happier life in this great land of ours.

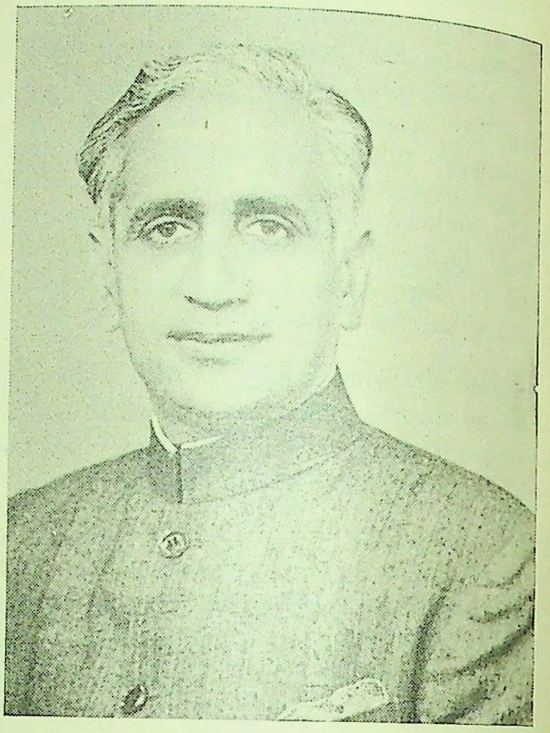
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TEETHING TROUBLES BRAVELY FACED

ORDER EMERGES OUT OF CHAOS IN PEPSU

(Ry Brish Bhan, Chief Minister, Pepsu)



The State of Patiala and East Punjab States Union was born on July 15, 1948 as a result of the integration of eight covenanting states namely, Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Malerkotla, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Nalagarh and Kalsia. Its territory is spread over from Simla in the north to Rajasthan desert in the South. It has an area of 10,000 sq. miles and a population of 35 lakh souls.

Since its birth it has been through a long period of flux and uncertainty, a succession of transformations, and has emerged from early chaos to its position of tangible progress in the present and of confidence in the future.

It was a big task to bring a semblance of order and uniformity into the motley administrative traditions of the individual convenanting States and to integrate their personnel and regulations. But this was achieved. And the State managed also to overcome the threat to law and order which had made Pepsu's name almost a byword for anarchy before the promulgation of President's rule in 1953 and the subsequent establishment of the present stable and popularly elected Congress Government.

Pepsu today stands on the eve of another big administrative change, with the prospect of its forming a part of a greater Unit in North-West India. At this juncture we in Pepsu can look back with a great measure of satisfaction at the fact that during the last seven or eight years we have successfully faced our teething troubles and have brought this previously backward region without any experience of democratic functioning to a level of efficiency and popular enlightenment, where we can participate in the new Unit on equal terms.

In fact Pepsu has in the last 2 or 3 years been more than progressive. It has acquired a fine reputation by the rapid growth of its industries, the outstanding rate of people's participation in its development-project activities, and the overfulfilment of many of its Five-Year Plan targets.

Community Development

Pepsu was required to cover $\frac{1}{4}$th of its rural area with the Community Development and N.E.S. Blocks. But with one Community Project, three Community Development Blocks and 16 N.E.S. Blocks working, it has already covered more than $\frac{1}{3}$rd of the area and about 16 lakhs of the population out of 6,369 villages and 35 lakhs population in the State, thus exceeding the target by over 50 per cent.

With the opening of 33 more N.E.S. Blocks it hopes to cover the entire area of the State by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period.

On an average the people's contribution towards development works under N.E.S. Schemes has been Rs. 2,400 per thousand of the population. Upto the end of March 1955 people contributed Rs. 59,24,527 in terms of land, labour and material. The C.P.A. report places Pepsu in this respect at No. 4 in the country.

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Agriculture

Agriculture is the backbone of Pepsu's economy and the most outstanding progress under the Five-Year Plan in Pepsu has been made in this field. This is evident from the fact that the production targets for the various foodgrains and important crops were achieved much ahead of schedule. The total production of foodgrains went up from 6·7 lakh tons in 1950-51 to 10·7 lakh tons in 1953-54 against the plan target of 8·45 lakh tons.

Production of cotton and sugarcane rose from 1·7 lakh bales and 73,000 tons respectively in 1950-51 to 2·65 lakh bales and 117,000 tons in 1954-55.

The various other agricultural targets fixed under the plan were reclamation of one lakh acres, sinking of 8,100 percolation wells and 156 tube wells, installation of 1,235 pumping sets, repair of 2,133 old wells, supply of one lakh maunds of pure wheat seed, and capture of 2,000 head of wild cattle, besides carrying out of regular campaigns against crop pests. All these targets have been nearly achieved at the time of writing.

Land Reclamation

Pepsu today is one of the few States in India where land Reclamation operations are in full swing on a gigantic scale. The magnitude of the work would be gauged from the fact that out of the total outlay of Rs. 315·0 lakhs for various schemes of Agriculture under the First



Pepsu has made remarkable progress in Land Reclamation Work.

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Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 100 lakhs was earmarked for land reclamation scheme alone covering an area of one lakh acres.

The approval of the scheme by the Government of India was received late in 1953. Now 5,000 acres per month are being reclaimed as against 800 during the previous year. According to latest report 30,000 acres have been completely reclaimed and additional jungle clearance accounts for 8,000 acres.

Agrarian Reforms

Ever since the formation of the State, the problem of introducing land reforms has been engaging the attention of the Government. Committees were formed from time to time to study the problem in detail and to submit recommendations. After thorough consideration of all the aspects, three Acts were ultimately passed in 1953, besides the Pepsu Agricultural Tenants (Temporary Protection and Disability Act, 1954).

It is expected that within the next few years, Pepsu will be among the pioneer States of India to present a picture of agrarian economy having no intermediaries between the tiller and the Government and a new order where ownership will coincide with the cultivation almost completely.

By the implementation of Pepsu Abolition of Ala Malkyat Rights Act, the rights of "Ala Malkayat" in area measuring 36,023 acres have been totally abolished and the class of superior landlords has been completely eliminated.

The other class of landlords having occupancy tenants under them, who were keeping a total area of 333,314 acres, has also been practically eliminated under the provisions of the Pepsu Occupancy Tenants (Vesting of Proprietary Rights) Act, 1953. The previous occupancy tenants in this case have now become complete owners of the lands held by them without any intermediary of any type between them and the State.

At the moment there is no other class of tenants except the tenants-at-will, who are holding total area of approximately 220,000 acres. The security of tenure has been assured to these tenants under the Pepsu Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1953. Maximum rent has been fixed in their case and they have been protected against enhancement of existing rent by landlords. Provision has further been made for enabling the tenants to acquire proprietary rights on payment of prescribed compensation (which is not heavy) in easy instalments.

Consolidation of Holdings

Consolidation work was started on uniform pattern in the State in 1951-52 under the first Five-Year Plan. The fixed targets could not at first be achieved due to lack of experienced personnel.

A revised plan has now been prepared according to which the entire area of the State has been proposed to be brought under operations. The work in the entire State is expected to be completed by the year 1960-61.

The total area of the State is 63,70,330 acres out of which 50,62,500 acres are proposed to be taken up for consolidation. The remaining area is hilly and unsuited for consolidation operations.

Upto the end of August, 1955 about 12,45,982 acres had been consolidated. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan it is estimated that 87,351 acres more will be covered, bringing the total to 13,33,333 acres.

Resettlement of Tenants

Land reform measures in the State have dislodged some tenants and are likely to displace some more under the provisions of the Pepsu Tenancy legislation. The Act, however, provides for the acquisition of *banjar* lands for resettlement of the ejected tenants. Government has drawn up a comprehensive draft plan to meet the situation.

There are 45,733 acres of State (*Nazool*) lands. These lands will be allotted to the ejected Harijan tenants or Harijan owners of less than 5 acres of land.

Some progress has already been made in obtaining Bhudan. So far over 2,500 acres have been donated. It is intended to bring about legislation to legalise the distribution of such land to the landless.

About 1,625 acres of first class land has been obtained from the Forest Department.

Irrigation and Power

Pepsu is a partner to the extent of 22·42 p.c. in the Bhakra Nangal irrigation and Power project which will

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igate 13½ lakh acres in Pepsu. Besides, the State has own minor projects like Bein River Project and Dadri igation Project.

The earth work in connection with "Bhakra Nangal oject" is almost complete with an accelerated tempo construction which is evident from the fact that where- only Rs. 63·5 lakhs were spent during the year 1952-53 1953-54, the expenditure went upto Rs. 121 lakhs 1954-55 and is expected to be of the order of Rs. 128 khs in 1955-56.

The Narnaul, Earthen Dam, the Bein River Project the Dadri Irrigation Projects are already complete a cost of about Rs. 73 lakhs ; they will irrigate over lakh acres.

A new experiment was made in the construction of dri channels by entrusting the work to the villagers mselves, instead of getting it done through contrac- s. The village labourers were paid in cash in the pre- ce of the Deputy Commissioner.

This is a great step forward taken by the present nistry in associating the masses with departmental ivities and inspiring enthusiasm and zeal among them building their own country. The channels are now iving water. The total discharge of these channels 250 cusecs.

309 tubewells were allotted to this State for the uri Community Project area. All of them have n drilled out of which 105 have so far been ener- ed. The rest are scheduled to be energised by the end Plan period.

Another lot of 160 tubewells were allotted to the te out of the 1953-54 T.C.M. Project for the Ka- thala, Phagwara and Rajpura areas, out of which have been drilled while drilling of another set of 130 der the Grow More Food Scheme is contemplated. us in all 599 tubewells will be drilled by the First e-Year Plan period which will bring an area of 4·7 h acres under command and annual irrigation due to ich will be about 3·7 lakh acres.

It was planned earlier to complete the work of elec- fication by 1961. The actural progress was not even to this slow programme. In order to induce rapid velopment in Pepsu, the entire work has been con- trated in three years *i.e.*, 1954-55, 1955-56 and 1956-

So far 23 towns of Pepsu have received electricity from Bhakra Nangal Project. They are: Patiala, Rajpura, Gobindgarh, Doraha, Sirhind, Fatehgarh Sahib, Bassi, Pinjore, Ahmedgarh, Dhuri, Nabha, Kapurthala, Phagwara, Sultanpur, Sheikhpura, Pajian, Hamira, Bhunerheri, Sanaur, Sangrur, Malerkotla, Payal, Kotkapura. Besides Kasauli, Bhatinda and Kandaghat are electrified from thermal generating plants. Sunam, Dadri, Jind, Samana, Dhanaula, Barnala, Bhawanigarh and Nidampur are scheduled to be energised by the end of March 1956.

With the opening of Ganguwal Power House reduced tariff of electricity has been introduced—thereby giving great relief to the public and a fillip to large and small scale industries. The conditions of supply have also been very much relaxed in as much as no fee is levied on the sale of applications and agreement forms; one rupee stamp is no longer required, services upto 150 feet length are given free and for services of longer length only nominal rents are charged. Previously, however, entire cost of service line had to be borne by the respective consumers.

The State which was once electricity starved will have it in abundance bringing not only prosperity but also will have impact on the social and cultural life of the people.

Public Works

On the formation of the present Ministry (in February 1954) it was found that the progress of works connected with the Five-Year Plan was very slow. Even the small budget allotments made during the previous years were only partly spent and large amounts were surrendered.

1954-55 was the first year, when not only the full grant of Rs. 4,85,85,900 has been utilised for execution of works, but this amount has been surpassed and works worth Rs. 37,46,089 in excess of the original grant have been executed *i.e.*, against the original grant of Rs. 4,85,95,900 the modified grant of Rs. 5,23,31,989.

Expenditure on works this year is 8½ times of that in 1951-52, 6¼ times of that in 1952-53 and about 2-7 times of that in 1953-54. Also this is over 1½ times the combined expenditure for the previous three years.

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This is commendable effort and with the momentum gained, it will be possible for the P.W.D. to carry out works about Rs. 8·20 crores during the year 1955-56 as included in the preliminary grant.

Roads

The road problem was highly complex at the time of formation of Peps Union. Many District headquarters did not have a road link with the capital of the State.

The First Five-Year Plan covers the construction or improvement of 321·07 miles of roads out of which 271·07 miles will be of the surfaced category and 50 miles of the rural surface type. The above mileage included the reconstruction and improvement of 81·62 miles of roads of different categories. On the completion of the First Five-Year Plan the total mileage of roads of all categories will be 1052·19, out of which the mileage of surfaced roads will be 830·27.

Industrial Development

Industrial development in the past had been much handicapped for want of a clear-cut and helpful industrial policy to be pursued by the Government. In order to encourage the establishment and expansion of industries in the State, the present Government formulated and enunciated a policy which proved to be clarion call to industrialists to establish new enterprises in Pepsu. Under this policy, the Government agreed to grant special facilities such as land at 4½% per annum, with option to purchase it within seven years ; loans upto 50% of the cost of machinery at 4½% per annum ; and loans towards working capital against adequate security.

This policy met with a very encouraging response. A veritable race for industrialisation of the State soon started. A number of factories have come into being already and more are to follow. In fact, Pepsu is undergoing the thrilling experience of transforming its Agricultural economy into an industrial one. Above two crores of rupees have already been mobilised as capital investment in various industries.

Over 25,000 workers are now employed in the 245 registered factories in Pepsu. About 150,000 earn their living in cottage industries and crafts. The Second Five-Year Plan is designed to reduce pressure on agricultural employment resources by providing alternative or subsidiary works to those now tied to the land. It is hoped to provide direct employment in Industry for an additional 25,000 workers and indirect, whole or part-time employment to another 150,000.

Education

The average per capita expenditure on education in Pepsu has risen to Rs. 4/9/10 as against an all-India average of Rs. 3/14/-, with the rapid expansion of educational facilities throughout the State following the new policy laid down in 1954 by the present Government. As a result the percentage of literacy at the end of March 1955 was 18·9 as against 8 before the implementation of the Five-Year Plan programme was started.

To achieve this objective the budget provision was increased from Rs. 1,17,20,500 in 1954-55 to Rs. 1,61,23,800 in 1955-56. This is besides the provision of Rs. 2,61,000 for N.C.C. and Rs. 17,08,000 for civil works in P.W.D. budget. The budget in 1953-54 was Rs. 1,00,16,000.

According to this programme 672 new primary schools were opened during the year 1954-55, bringing the total number of primary schools to 2,552. This number meets fairly adequately the present needs of the State and affords opportunity to every child anxious to receive schooling.

The First Five-Year plan has secured extension and universalisation of Primary education. The Second Five-Year Plan, which is now being finalised, will be characterised by extension and consolidation of Secondary education. So far, the State has 175 High Schools of which 23 are exclusively for girls, while the others are boys' schools to which girls can be admitted by special permission.

The arrangements for the completion of Engineering College building are being finalised at a top speed. The staff is already being recruited and it is hoped that the classes will start in 1956. There is also a proposal to have an Agricultural College at the State Capital.

The plans for a Teachers Training College at Patiala have been finalised. This college will provide for the training of B.T., J.V. and S.V. classes, Basic teachers, Musical and Physical culture classes. The project will cost Rs. 25 lakhs. The building is under construction

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Similarly the construction of a Central Public Library building is expected to be complete by December 1955. The library was to start working by January 1956. Apart from the Central Public Library there will be District and Circulating libraries in all the districts. The whole projects will cost Rs. 9,53,838.

Public Health

The New Rajindra Hospital, Patiala with its 500 beds is contributing much to the health of the State and with the opening of the Medical College new avenues have been opened for further expansion of Medical facilities.

The College started functioning in November 1953. About Rs. 23 lakhs have been spent under the First Five-Year Plan on building, equipment and staff of the College. Fifty fresh students are admitted annually but the Second Plan provides for expansion to train 120 more during the Plan period, by raising the admissions to 80 per year from 1957-58.

Over Rs. 50 lakhs have been spent on New Rajindra Hospital which was opened by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, on February 12, 1954.

The new works during the year 1955-56 under the First Five-Yeaa Plan included the construction os full-fledged district hospital at Bhatinda. T,B, Clinics at Bhatinda and Nabha and the Gobindgarh Hospital. Out of the total budget provision of Rs. 55·38 lakh for the Medical Develodment Schemes under the First Five-Year Plan for 1955-56, a sum of Rs. 33·28 lakhs was meant for such constructions-

The various Public Health Schemes envisaged under the First Five-Year Plan had an allotment of Rs. 55 lakhs. Out of this Rs. 17,37,331 was for opening of 25 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and training of 25 persons as Lady Health Visitors and 50 persons as Midwives.

A 50 bed Ayurvedic Hospital and an Ayurvedic College have been established at Patiala. Rs. 9·02 lakhs were provided in the 1955-56 budget for the completion of their buildings and for constructing a Hostel for the Ayurvedic College.

Local-Self Government

With the passing of the Pepsu Small Towns Act, 1954, the nominated element has been completely eliminated from Small Town Committees and provision has been made for the constitution of these committees on a wholly elective basis. By an amendment, it has been provided that seats will be reserved on the Committees for the Scheduled Castes according to their population in any particular town.

Conspicuous progress has been made by the Local Bodies in the domain of development works.

Figures of the value of works and the subsidies and loans sanctioned by the Government in 1954-55, as compared to corresponding figures for the previous year, provide a striking contrast. Briefly the Committees submitted proposals for Development works costing nearly Rs. 18 lakhs in 1953-54 while in the year under review they submitted proposals for nearly Rs. 47 lakhs. As against the subsidy of Rs. 4,84,774 granted in 1954-55 the subsidy granted in 1953-54 was Rs. 2,97,000 only. Loans amounting to Rs. 84,000 only were advanced to local bodies during 1953-54, whereas during the year under review the amount advanced was Rs. 5,80,000.

Panchayats

There are now 1,705 Nagar Panchayats and 378 Panchayati Adalats in the State.

More than forty-six thousand cases have been settled through the Conciliation Boards of various Nagar Panchayats.

The Panchayati Adalats have also shown good progress in disposing of Civil, Criminal and Revenue cases.

Every Sabha is assigned 1/10th of the land revenue collected in the Sabha areas every year. Rs. 6,26,000 were distributed in 1953-54 in this connection, and in 1954-55 also Rs. 7,15,641 were distributed to the Nagar Panchayats.

Co-operatives

As many as 1,180 Co-operative Societies were constituted upto the end of March 1955, as against the target of 700 Societies for the whole Plan period, the number of those constituted during 1954-55 being 504.

Backward Classes

That the Backward Classes in Pepsu are receiving particular attention from the Pepsu Government is

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shown by the fact that the last year's budget had provision of Rs. 7,75,500 for their special benefit. Out of this Rs. 4,42,000 was for stipends to Backward Classes students, Rs. 7,23,000 for Technical Education, and Rs. 30,600 for the welfare of ex-Criminal Tribes.

A scheme had been prepared in consultation with the Government of India for the rehabilitation of nomadic people among the Ex-Criminal Tribes of Pepsu, whose number is estimated to be about ten thousand. The State Government is to give sites for establishing their colonies free of charge and the Central Government is to give grant-in-aid for the construction of their houses.

Formerly 60 per cent of the *Nazool* lands have been given to members of the Backward Castes on lease for three years. The remaining 40 per cent was ordered in 1954-55 to be given to members of the Backward Classes.

Soon after the establishment of the present popular Government in this State, the Government constituted a Backward Classes Welfare Board consisting of one M.P. and six M.L.As with Deputy Minister (Home) as its Chairman to consider measures of uplift for the Backward Classes and advise the Government on connected matters.

Rehabilitation

The work of rehabilitation in rural areas has been almost completed. The Pepsu evacuees left behind 423,538 standard acres of land. Out of this 417,912 standard acres have been allotted to 116,506 families. About 39,665 houses in rural areas have been made available to the allottees. The work of settling 3,367 non-Punjabi families and 634 families of unsatisfied Punjabi claimants is nearing completion. The stage has been set for conferment of proprietary rights on quasi-permanent land-allottees and the necessary staff is being appointed for the purpose.

A scheme was planned to build 770 quarters at Government expense on evacuee Kholas at Patiala, Nabha and Sangrur, out of which 680 quarters have been completed at the time of writing.

As sum of about Rs. 1·25 crores has so far been advanced to 40,000 displaced persons for various purposes. Out of Rs. 4 lakhs standing against non-claimants up to Rs. 300 have been remitted. A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs has been allotted to Kashmir families, out of which 2·30 lakhs have been advanced. A sum of Rs. 7·36 lakhs has been recovered from the loanees.

Labour

The labour policy of the Pepsu Government is in line with that of the Central Government. The Department of labour aims at ameliorating the condition of the industrial workers by implementing the existing labour enactments, provisions of residential accommodation etc.

30 quarters constructed in the Factory area, Patiala, for the industrial workers under the first Five-Year Plan in the year 1952-53 have been let out to industrial workers. It was proposed to construct 22 more quarters during the year 1955-56 for which a provision of Rs. 70,000 had been sanctioned.

Under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme of the Government of India, proposals have been made for the construction of 240 quarters at Phagwara (100), Gobindgarh (100) and Rajpura (40).

Colonization of Ex-Servicemen

Government have sanctioned establishing of three land colonies of ex-servicemen in Pepsu. The ceiling expenditure for the three colonies is Rs. 12,50,000.

The colonies will be designed on Model lines with adequate provision for home-steads, common land, community institutions like Panchayat Ghar, Primary school, Market, etc., It will be developed according to a phased programme.

Targets Under the Second Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan of Pepsu is an integral part of the National Plan and with certain variations due to local conditions incorporates the same objectives.

The plan which envisages a total outlay of over Rs. 38 crores, more than three times the total ceiling for the First Five-Year Plan, is a bold and realistic attempt to achieve what has been set forth as its aim. The State being primarily an agricultural tract, the main emphasis has been laid on raising the income of the people by increasing yield through improvement in the methods of cultivations, diversification of agriculture and provision of subsidiary means of employment. Great

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mphasis in this connection has been laid on develop-
ent of Horticulture, fruit preservation, bee-keeping,
egetable improvement, etc., in agriculture, on animal
usbandry including poultry, dairy farming, breeding of
edigree cattle and sheep on the development of small
ale and cottage industrial units such as shoe-making,
ather tanning, durrie making, khadi, handloom, soap
aking, Ban and Niwar making, sericulture etc., on
e schemes of industrial development. The develop-
ent would be increasingly based on Co-operative
ethod of organisation and finance.

Agricultural and Rural Development

The total expenditure on agricultural and rural deve-
pment is estimated at about Rs. 10 crores. This in-
ides agriculture, animal husbandry, consolidation of
ldings, forests and fisheries and Community Projects.
lthough agriculture has been given comparatively
sser importance in the Second Five-Year Plan, more
nds than in the First Five-Year Plan have been ear-
arked for agricultural development in the Plan.

The following targets of additional production have
en allotted in Pepsu's Second Five-Year Plan :—

	Additional Production at the end of 1960-61.	*Percentage increase over 1955-56.*
Foodgrains	2,50,000 tons	21
Cotton	85,000 tons	32
Oil Seeds	1,000 tons	3·5
Sugarcane	3,000 tons Gur	37
	5,000 tons Sugar	33·3
Fruits	5,000 acres	66·6

The above programme of increasing agricultural
oduction is largely dependent on the provision of
igation facilities, supply of good seeds, reclamation
40,000 acres of culturable waste land, supply of
edit and technical advice, etc. Besides, the repair
700 old wells, 3,000 percolation wells, 800 pumping
ts and 60 tube-wells till constructed under minor
igation works will provide irrigation facilities to 3·20
kh acres of land. Another noteworthy feature of the
an is the initiation of the Farmer's Refresher courses
hich will provide training for at least two farmers from
ach village of the State, in modern agricultural tech-
ques. It is also proposed to set up a Degree College, Basic Agricultural School, and Horticulture Training Class.

The Scheme under animal husbandry (to cost Rs. 85 lakhs) include the schemes for two years Diploma in Animal Husbandry, training of 100 Veterinary Compounders and starting of ten Artificial Insemination Centres, construction of buildings for 100 Veterinary Hospitals, free distribution of pedigree bulls and grant of subsidies for improvement of poultry and sheep.

Consolidation

Under the Consolidation Holdings Scheme fragmentary holdings spread over an area of 47·29 lakh acres will be consolidated, besides an area of 13·33 lakh acres which is expected to be consolidated by the end of the first Five-Year Plan.

Conservation of soil in Sewaliks, afforestation of catchment area of Bhakra Dam and Asni and Giri rivulets, desert control measures in Mahendragarh District, plantation along canals and railway lines and lac cultivation are a few important schemes envisaged for the development of forests in the State. It is also proposed to have one nursery for supply of sapplings to raise timber and fuel plantation for unit of 100 villages. These schemes will cost Rs. 78 lakhs.

The schemes for Co-operative Department envisage a total expenditure of Rs. 90 lakhs and provide for the organisation of nearly 1,500 societies during the Second Five-Year Plan and the opening of a training institute at a cost of Rs. 1·25 lakhs. For meeting long term credit needs of the cultivators it is proposed to start a Land Mortgage Bank. It is also proposed to set up 225 industrial co-operatives in the State.

Industries

The problem in industrial development has been tackled at two levels—State and District. Under the State Plan, it is proposed to establish three Industrial Colonies, 11 Co-operative Industrial undertakings, a fancy leather factory at Malerkotla and a Sole Leather factory at Patiala. Besides, it is contemplated to raise three (Patiala, Rajpura and Phagwara) factory areas to the status of regular industrial estates and to establish an industrial estate at Bhatinda. The development of small scale industries will mainly be concentrated in these estates. It has also been proposed to open an

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institute of Textile Technology for imparting training to the handloom weaver of scientific methods of production.

The schemes will provide direct employment to about ten thousand persons and indirect benefit to 50,000 persons. 1,500 mechanised cottage industry units producing items like laces, eyelets, metal, watch strap, pen nibs, clips, needles, hinges, cycle locks, buckles, hasps and staples, cleats, tie bolts, hair clips etc., will be set up in the rural areas. The State will invest Rs. 2 crores in these schemes.

Irrigation and Power

Under irrigation and power it is proposed to construct 260 tubewells and electrify 18 towns and 300 villages in the State. Besides, the Bhakra Nangal Project, of which Pepsu is also a partner, is expected to bring a large area of land under perennial irrigation and provide cheap electric power to 22 towns and 400 villages, the cost of the Five-Year Programme of Irrigation and Power being Rs. 15·6 crores, not including Bhakra works.

Roads

The road development programme envisages construction of 537·5 miles of new roads. The more important road links provided in the Plan at the time of writing are Sunam Bhikhi-Mansa-Talwandi Sabo (50 miles), Barnala Bhadaur Bajekhana (36 miles) Bhatinda Dabwali (20 miles), Jind Uklana-Narwana-Kaithal (30 miles), Patuwas-Dadri-Bhiwani (16 miles), Patiala-Sirhind (13 miles), Jeep tracks in hills (45 miles), Bhatinda-Mukatsar (15 miles), Sultanpur-Fattudhinga Kapurthala (14 miles) Dadri-Loharu (25 miles). Narnaul Nangal Chowdhiri (11 miles), Mahendragarh-Kanina Lukhi (18 miles), etc.

Social Services

The total expenditure under this group which includes, Education, Medical and Health, Welfare of Backward Classes, Labour, Social Welfare Scheme and Sports is estimated at about Rs. 9 crores.

The Plan under Education aims at expansion and improvement of educational facilities at all levels and to give to the State apparatus for universal Primary Education. At the end of the Plan period the state would have the provision for the schooling of all children of age group 6-14. 1,800 four, year institutions will be converted into five year institutions and about 400 traditional primary schools will be converted into basic schools. Under Secondary education the aim is to give a Middle School to every village with a population of 2,000 or above and a High School for boys and Middle School for girls to every village with a population of 3,000 or above while the towns with population of 5,000 or above will have a High School for boys and a High School for girls. With the instruction of crafts in schools, education will be given a technical bias. To place the teaching of Science on sounder footing and to promote research and technical education, a College of science and an Engineering College and a Polytechnic have been provided. Under University Education the utility and range of work of the existing colleges will be enlarged by making provision for the teaching of music and fine arts in colleges where the number of students exceeds 70.

Health

In the various schemes for Medical and Public Health special attention has been paid to extend medical facilities in the rural areas. An Eye Mobile Clinic for rural area will also be opened. Other important schemes on the Medical side at State level include the establishment of a Dental College and a Mental Hospital at Patiala, training of 250 Nurses, completion and expansion of the New Rajindra Hospital and the Government Medical College, extension of Harding Sanatorium Dharampore by 100 beds and provision of Radium Treatment at Patiala. Medical schemes under the Second Plan will cost Rs. 157·75 lakhs, Public Health Schemes Rs. 126·45 lakhs and Ayurvedic Schemes Rs. 30 lakhs for the full Plan period.

At district level, it is proposed to start touring dispensaries in all the districts and Dental Mobile Camp Clinics at Nabha and Sangrur, besides the establishment of over a dozen new civil hospitals and clinics inthe rural areas. On the preventive side, it is proposed to afford protection to two million people against Malaria under the National Survey Malaria Control Scheme. It is planned to open 25 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres in the rural areas as well as 12 Rural JHealth Centres, in addition to 25 Maternity and 7 Rural Health Centres provided in the First Five-Year Plan. Comprehensive schemes have also been drawn up for family

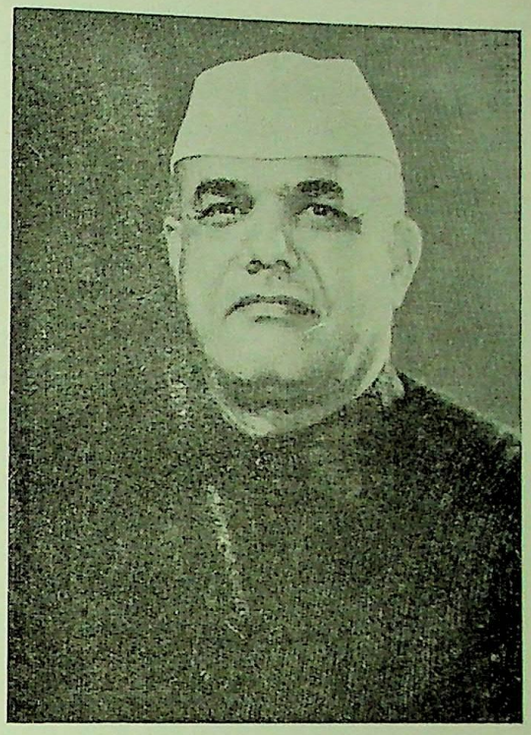
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JALLIANWALA BAGH

(By Prof. Abdul Majid Khan)



About the Rowlatt bills Mahatma Gandhi pertinently pointed out that they were "the unmistakable symptom of the deep-seated disease in the governing body". The Rowlatt bills were the negation of all Civil Liberties, which are the inherent right of every human being. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian nation protested vigorously against those bills and on 6th April, 1919 peaceful *hartal* was observed throughout the country. The British bureaucracy did not like it. The most reactionary province in those days was the Punjab, in a way, as it was under the iron heel of Sir Michael O' Dwyer.

Dr. Kitchlew, an advocate and Dr. Satyapal, a Medical practitioner, who were mainly responsible for the peaceful observance of *hartal* on 6th April, 1919, were organizing the Congress in Amritsar. The District Magistrate of Amritsar sent for both the Congress leaders to his house on 10th April, 1919 and they were spirited away to some unknown place. The report soon spread in the city and crowds of people gathered together and wanted to meet the District Magistrate, simply to ask for the whereabouts of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. They were prevented by the Military pickets. The crowd was then fired upon and two persons were killed.

It is worthwhile to remember that on the invitation of Dr. Satyapal and Swami Shradhananda, Gandhiji started for Delhi and the Punjab on 8th April, 1919. He was asked not to enter Delhi or the Punjab. On his refusal to obey the order, he was arrested and turned back from a wayside station, Palwal (Gurgaon District) by a special train to Bombay. Naturally, the Punjabis became indignant at the turn of events.

The point to be stressed here is that though *de facto* Martial Law was in force at Amritsar since 10th April, 1919, it was formally proclaimed in Lahore and Amritsar on 15th April, 1919, and shortly after in three other districts. On 13th April, 1919, which was the Hindu New Year's Day, a large meeting was advertised and held in the Jallianwalla Bagh, which is an open ground in the midst of the city, enclosed with walls, that form the boundaries of the houses overlooking it. It has a bottle-neck which is the only entrance to it and so narrow that a carriage cannot pass through it. When twenty thousand people—men, women and children, gathered at the Jallianwalla Bagh, on 13th April, 1919, General Dyer entered the place at the head of a force composed of 100 Indian and 50 British soldiers, while one Hans Raj was making his speech and gave orders forthwith to fire. General Dyer told the Hunter Commission that he ordered the people to disperse and then fired, but he also admitted during cross-examination that he fired within two or three minutes of the order. Anyhow, it was obvious that it was impossible for twenty thousand persons to disperse in two or three minutes through that narrow outlet. General Dyer fired 1600 rounds and the firing stopped only when the ammunition ran short. The casualties were, even according to Government's version, about 400 dead, while the wounded were estimated at between a thousand and two. It is said that the firing was done by the Indian troops, behind whom were placed the British soldiers—all on an elevated platform in the Bagh. The most tragic part of it was that the dead and the wounded were left to suffer the whole night without any medical aid and without any water

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to drink. The contention of General Dyer was that "the city (of Amritsar) having passed under the Military, he had tomtomed in the morning that no gatherings would be permitted and the people openly defied him; he wanted to teach them a lesson so that they might not laugh at him. He would have fired and fired longer, he said, if he had the required ammunition. He had "fired 1600 rounds because his ammunition had run out." As a matter of fact, he said, "he had taken an armoured car, but found that the passage to the Bagh would not admit it and so he left it behind."

Barbarous and inhuman punishments were meted out to the inhabitants of Amritsar, during the regime of General Dyer. For instance, the Water supply and the Electric supply of Amritsar were cut off. Public flogging was common. But the "Crawling order" surpassed all his achievements. A missionary lady doctor—Miss Sherwood had beed attacked, while she was cycling in a lane by the people, so every one passing through that lane was ordered to crawl with belly to the ground. And those who lived in that street had to obey this order, despite the fact that Miss Sherwood was protected in that very lane by decent citizens. The incident became an object of merriment and joking at the hands of Quarter-Master-General, Hudson, in the Imperial Legislative Council.

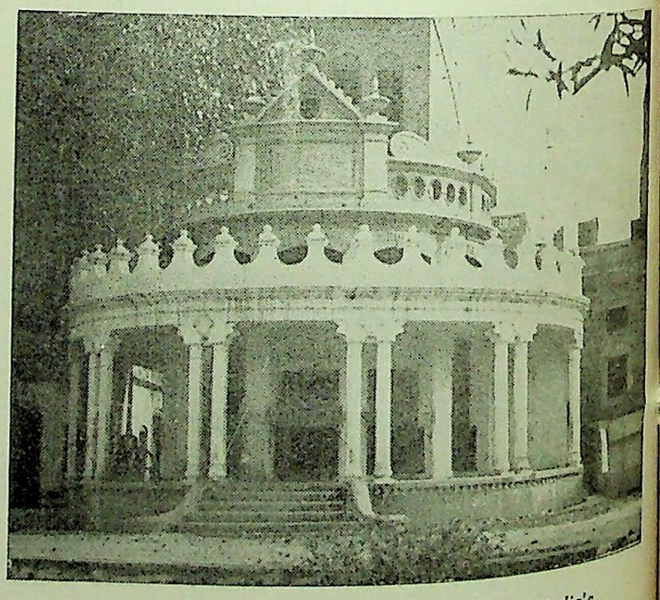
The issue of third class tickets on the railway was prohibited which involved a general suspension of travelling by the Indian public. More than two persons were prohibited from marching on side-walks or pavements. Bicycles, "other than those owned by Europeans" were commandeered. People who had closed their shops were forced to open them, under severe penalties. Prices of commodities were fixed by Military Officers and even carts were commandeered. A Public platform for whipping was erected near the fort and a number of triangles for flogging were set up in various parts of the city of Amritsar.

It is to the odium of the British rule that General Dyer's merciless action of shooting innocent people was approved by Sir Michael O Dwyer in a telegram, sent to him with Sir Michael's consent, "Your Action correct —Lieutenant Governor approves."

34th Session of Indian National Congress.

Amidst scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm, the 34th Session of the Indian National Congress commenced at 2-30 p.m. on Saturday, the 27th of December, 1919, in the Aitchison Park, opposite the Railway lines. The pandal was absolutely over-crowded hours before the session began and overflow meetings had to be held outside. From an early hour in the morning huge crowds were collected outside the pandal. At one end of the circle was the platform for the President and the leaders of the Congress and the ground was sloped up higher and higher towards the boundaries. Portraits of their Majesties the King and the Queen were hung up at both ends of the pandal. Pandit Motilal Nehru, presided over the deliberations of the Congress Session that year.

In the course of his exceedingly illuminating address Pandit Motilal remarked, "Some words of Mahatma Gandhi have been distorted to mean that the Satyagraha movement was the cause of disturbances in India. Fellow delegates, I say most emphatically that this was not so. Neither Satyagraha nor the *hartal* was the cause except in so far as they greatly displeased the authorities and made them provoke the people. There was no disobedience of laws in the Punjab; Satyagraha flourished more in other parts of the country and yet there was no disturbance there. *The hartals of the 6th April*, 1919, *did not cause any breach of the peace.* It was only after two popular leaders (Doctor Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal) had been suddenly deported and Mahatma Gandhi, the most revered Indian of today,



The Martyrs' Well at Jallianwala Bagh, where India's freedom movement received a fillip.

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had been arrested, that the passion of the populace broke loose in certain parts of the country. That would have been so even without Satyagraha or *hartal*. The disturbances were the result of the action of the authorities. They knew full well in the Punjab at least that the consequences of their provocative action would lead to trouble."

Satyagraha—A New Force.

About Satyagraha Pandit Motilal observed "To fight this disease (deep-seated disease in the governing body) Mahatma Gandhi started the great Satyagraha movement. A new force was introduced into our politics, a force with the most tremendous potentialities. India's masses were suddenly awakened and the message of Satyagraha entered the humblest home. Some of us did not entirely agree with the wording of the Satyagraha pledge. But few, I imagine, can disagree with the essentials of the doctrine. These, as I conceive them, are truth, fearlessness and non-violence. And as a corollary, I would add that it is the right of every man to refuse to obey any law, which goes against his conscience and to which he cannot with due regard to truth submit, and to suffer the consequences of such disobedience. This is specially so, where the laws are passed against the will of the people. I would here refer you to what an eminent American has said. Mr. Hadley, President of the Yak University says, "You can compel ignorant people to accept a statute, you can force bad men to obey it, when they do not want to; but if a statute or a judicial decision passes the line of those duties which good and intelligent men as a body accept and impose upon themselves, it is at once nullified. The process of nullifying law has sometimes been called passive resistance."

Continuing his historic presidential speech, Pandit Motilal Nehru prophetically remarked, "We shall not be free or deserve freedom unless we have these qualities (truth, fearlessness and non-violence) in ample measure. Unless we adhere to truth and discard fear we cannot get rid of the slave psychology, the outcome of generations of repression, which had been our sad inheritance. And violence cannot avail us. That is the special weapon of the West and we cannot hope to win freedom by armed force. But even if we could do so, it would be a barren victory, a victory which would degrade and coarsen us and make us less fit to enjoy the freedom we had so won. We would develop the same vices against which we are contending now and in our turn would start the game of repression."

Martyr's Memorial.

At the Amritsar Congress Session of 1919, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra moved :—

(a) This Congress offers its respectful condolences to the relatives of those persons, whether English or Indian, who were killed and sympathy to those wounded or incapacitated during April disturbances.

(b) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the nation and be registered in the names of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru as trustees and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those killed or wounded on the 13th day of April, 1919, during the massacre by General Dyer and in order to give effect to the intention of the Congress, the following are appointed as Committee: The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Shradhanand, Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Harkishan Lal, with power to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of trust prepared and to collect subscriptions for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the trust.

While proposing the resolution, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra said, "The men who were killed on 13th April, 1919 are still alive in spirit and are guarding us round the pandal and helping us in our cause. To show respect to those honourable dead, we have decided to buy Jallianwalla Bagh, in order to build a memorial there. The work of acquirement has already taken a real shape and we would very soon begin to start the memorial."

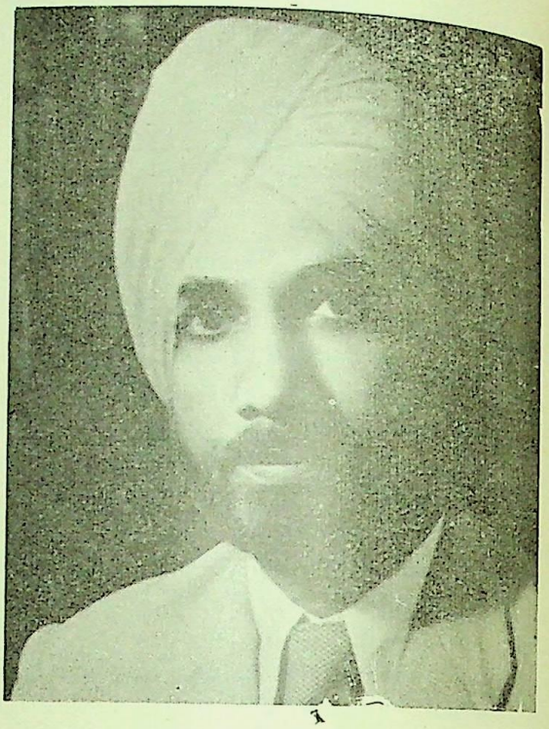
A thousand pities that during the last 35 years, we have not been able to construct a suitable memorial in Jallianwalla Bagh.

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THE PUNJAB FOLKLORE

(*By Kartar Singh Duggal*)



If you must go on duty, Oh rider on the blue horse !
Carry me in your haver-sack
And wherever the night fall, oh rider on the blue horse !
Pull me out and take me in your arms.

This is the strain of a large variety of songs sung by the people of the Punjab. The Punjabis had always trouble in store for them. They had to fight many a battle—their own battles and battles for their neighbours. And this has made the Punjabi woman bold. She is fearless enough to wish to accompany her lover on his perilous expeditions.

The life of a young Punjabi girl is usually a long tale of longings. Every Punjabi girl must dream of the soldier-lover. This spells separation, and endless waiting. Every morning dawns with a hope; every night lingers with a message. Seasons come and go. But the spring has its own inescapable charm.

The vine is in blossom ! the vine is in blossom !
Parrots are nibbling away the blossom.
The vine is in blossom !
The vine is in fruit ! the vine is in fruit !
But he who should eat it, is far, far away.
The vine is in fruit !
I go and ask the priest, I go and ask the priest
With a trayful of pearls,
I go and ask the priest.
Open the 'patri' oh priest, pray open the 'patri'.
When will my jewel return ?
Pray open the "patri'.
The priest opens the 'patri', the prist opens the 'patri'.
In the month of Sawan will your jewel return.
The priest opens the 'patri'.
False is your 'patri' oh priest ! false is your 'patri'
It is the month of Sawan and my jewel hasn't come.
False is your 'patri' oh priest !
The vine is in blossom ! The vine is in blossom !

For people who have to run the risk of their lives everyday and whose entire career becomes an endless struggle with perils, it is not unnatural to grow superstitious or fatalistic. But the Punjabis have not succumbed to any such practices. The Punjabi woman is not needlessly afraid. If her lover has not returned in the month of Sawan as predicted by the priest, she will tell him that his 'patri' is false and his reading incorrect. She is not worried about her faith, her beliefs.

This is perhaps the reason why for a student of Indian folklore Bengal and Assam are noted for magic and witchcraft, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh for superstitious practices and beliefs, the South and the Maharashtra for folk tales and ballads, and the Panjab for folk-songs. The long drawn out songs tell the story of the young Panjabi maiden trying to find an expression for her love, her longings and her aspirations. The songs of the farmer working in the fields are different. He is strong, hefty and stout-hearted. Like bubbles his emotions rise from the depths of his heart and burst no sooner than they reach the surface in the form of short 'tappas'. 'Maheya' songs and

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'Tappa' are particularly favourite with the menfolk. They are usually a couplet or a verse, complete in themselves though capable of forming a link in a series.

Poetry comes like an inborn gift to the Panjabi child. May be it is the soil, may be it is the salubrious waters of the land, may be it is the neighbourhood of the high mountains, it is the Panjabi youth's unique experience to feel an intoxication, a virile rhythm of life which finds expression in stylised pattern of language sung and repeated as folk songs. In the streets of the Panjab the children sing as they play, in the courtyards the womenfolk sing as they work, out in the fields the men sing as they plough, and reap, and harvest the crop.

Folksongs are autobiography of a people. In the folksongs of Panjab there is hardly any mention of the sea, there are few stories about boats and boatmen. They sing of battles and brave warriors and tell the tales of drums, and horses and guns. There are stories of spotted scarfs, silken skirts and swelling turbans. Panjab folk songs describe festivals, fairs and fearless competitors in wrestling-bouts and horse races. And there are praises of the former, the large-hearted, and of the rains which are usually kind and of crops which never let the people down. A Panjabi maiden wishes to live fuller life. She must have kohl for the eye. She must have silken ribbons in her hair. She must have scented 'ubatna'* for her figure. And if something happens that is contrary to her wishes she refuses to touch 'ubatna'.

I have not used 'ubatna'
Father, what a match you have chosen !
Short stature is not to my liking.
Standing on the roof as I see,
He looks like a stone rolling towards me,
I have not used 'ubatna'.
Father, what a match you have chosen !
Tall, thin and slender.
His head is on one charpoy
And his legs on the other.
I have not used 'ubatna'
Father, what a match you have chosen !
He is the least like me.
I may bake eight I may bake ten
Not a crumb is left for me.
I have not used 'ubatna'.

Another theme which recurs in Panjab folksongs repeatedly in the exhilrating abandon of love with which Panjabi youth give themselves to each other. This drama is enacted in the fields, amidst the rich crops, in the thick of jungles with rustling trees as witness, on the banks of a river with the singling waters in the background and in 'trinjan'** under untold pretexts. This drama is played with the swing soaring high in the sky, with the cattle going astray uncontrolled, on the way to the temple for prayers and back. The protagonists of this play are active when sitting on terrace in the evening, when watching the sky laden with stars at night, when drawing water from the well at odd hours.



Bhangra Dance of the Panjab

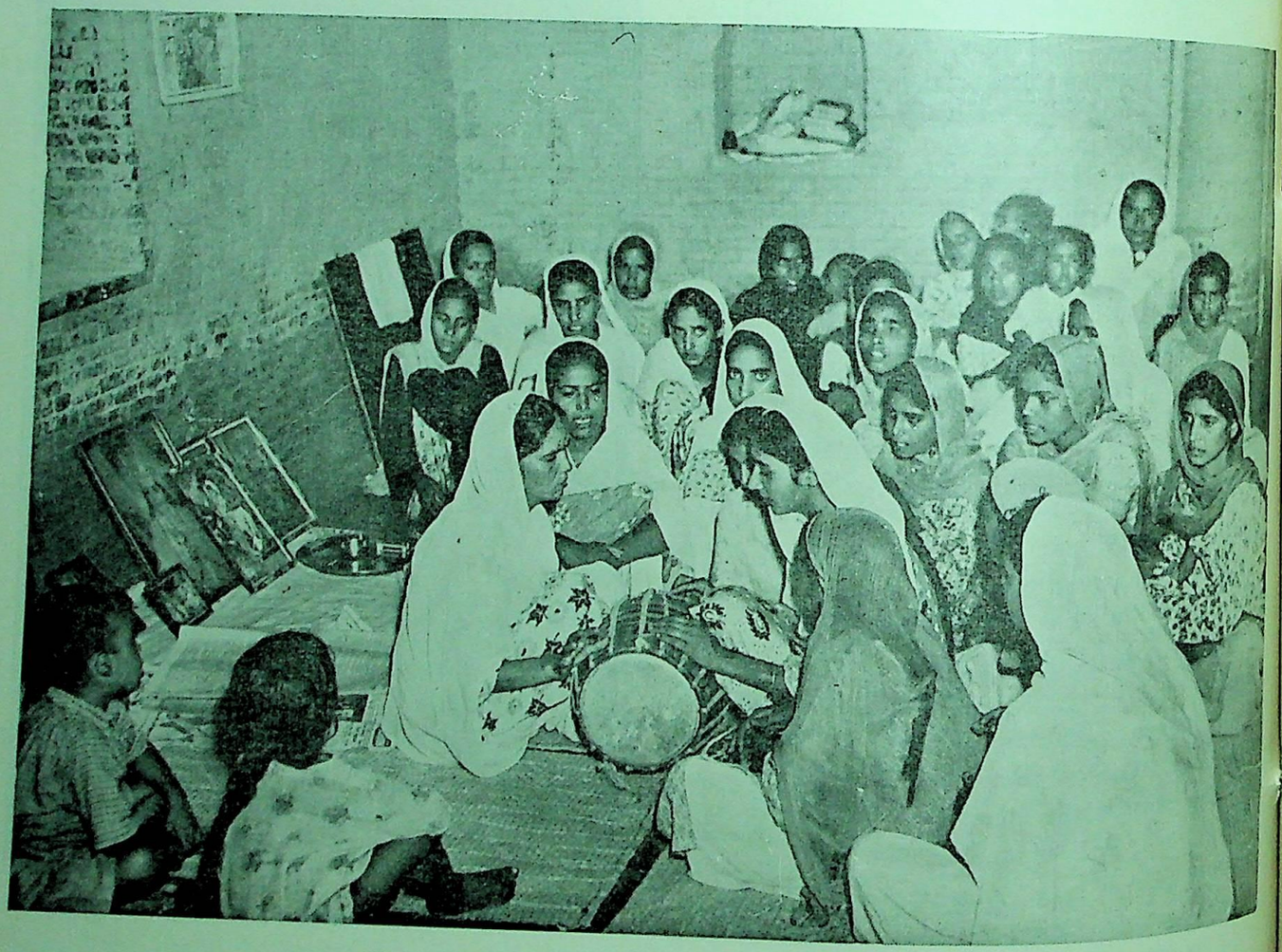
* *An indigenous preparation for the body which makes it soft and fragrant.*
** *An Assembly of women collected to spin, weave, embrider, gossip and play.*

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A typical theme of Panjab folksongs is a sister's love for her brother. The Panjabi equivalent for brother is 'veer' - which means 'the brave'. Saheban fell in love with Mirza, the renowned marksman and left her home with her lover. They were chased. Seeing among the pursuers her own brothers, Saheban caught hold of her lover's quiver and flung it on the tree. Saheban was killed, her lover was minced to pieces, but she had done her duty of filial love. A Panjabi sister sings the praises of her brother, in the play songs of her childhood, and in the love laden songs of her youth. Her brother is the only hope ; when married, it is the brother who can relieve her from the callous treatment of the mother-in-law. The brother's horse is the best, the brother's house is the tallest, the brother's crops are the richest, the brother wears a white turban, the brother is offered a chair in the court. And when this lion of a brother is married the sister's joy knows no bounds.

As you ride the marriage horse, a twain of brothers ride with you.
Ride oh darling of the mother
Your sister is offering alms.
As you splice the beri tree
Your mother distributes sweets.
Ride oh darling of the mother !
As you circle the fiery ring
I stand by you and sing.
Ride oh darling of the mother !
As you sit in the basket,
Your father gives away silver coins,
Ride oh darling of the mother !
As you bring the bride,
Your sister is wrapped in joy,



Singing Panjabi folk songs with the accompaniment of "DHOLAK"

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Ride oh darling of the mother !

Couplets are thus linked to the chain and the song lengthens out.

Most of the folksongs of the Panjab are loose-knit. There is always room for addition of fresh verses and more attractive thoughts. With the passage of time the more beautiful stanzas remain and the less beautiful one discarded and forgotten. There is just a slender link connecting these verses with each other. And this brings most of the folksongs up-to-date so that they reflect the changing times with surprising authenticity.

That men with wives win battles,
Where is it written oh Ferrangi, tell me.

* * *

Don't you go to Burma
Your bad luck will also go with you.

* * *

Nine daughters shall I bear
To set at nought
Your earnings in the Chinese War.

* * *

In the regime of the Ferrangi
Nickel coins have become current.

* * *

My lover is a Singh Sabhite
He would not let me fast.

* * *

Enjoining upon us to wear Khaddar
Himself Gandhi has gone to jail

The Panjabi people express their wants, their needs, their hopes, their aspirations and their loves in beautiful folksongs. They provide a sort of catharsis for them and then they busy themselves with hard work, their timeless struggle with the land and their ever increasing demand in the army. The folksongs of the Panjabi are an invaluable treasure of our country's heritage. This perhaps explains why the Panjab folksongs have provided a background for the music of our film industry now for several years ; and one can hear the echoes of the folk tunes of the Panjab hummed in every corner of the country.

Being on the only open frontier of India, the Panjab has for centuries witnessed the entry and passage of many a people who left their impact on its culture in the formative stages of our history. The folklore of the Panjab is, therefore, rich and varied. So much so that almost every district in it has its own peculiar superstitions, beliefs, practices, folktales etc.

The partition of the Panjab and the subsequent exchange of population gave a rude shock to the pattern of the life of its people. Muslims on the Indian side of the Panjab were uprooted and forced to leave their hearths. Hindus and Sikhs on the Pakistan side of the Panjab were hounded out of their homes. For a long time the people were unsettled. But when they decided to rehabilitate themselves the entire map of the Panjab came to be rewritten. The Panjabis had to grow more food, they had to assemble more bridges, build new schools, construct Panchayat houses, harness rivers and produce power. The people were again up and doing and this new contact with the modern means of production changed the entire outlook of the people. A renewed confidence and a vital freshness came into the life of the Panjab. But even when driving a bulldozer in Bhakra or playing a tractor in Sonepat whenever a Panjabi sneezes or yawns he must utter the name of God mechanically. Sometimes it is loud and sometimes



A Bard hunting the Punjab village folks

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almost lost in an undertone, though the belief that when one yawns or sneezes evil spirits leave one's body is now completely forgotten.

The Sun, according to the Panjabi folklore, drives a chariot with eight horses. At one time in Multan he had to discend to the earth to roast fish for Shams Tabrez. Since then, it is believed, Multan is hot. There are several theories about the spots in the Moon. The Gautam-Ahalya sequence does not bear repetition but this will perhaps be of interest that a place named Gondar in Karnal district of the Panjab is said to be the scene where this drama was enacted. The Moon is known as "Oshadhipati" in Panjab folklore. It is believed that a number of ailments are cured by witnessing the reflection of the Moon in oil or ghee. During the rainy season when a river is in flood its fury is believed to subside if a coconut and a rupee is cast in it. The offer must, however, be made by a respectable old man. The earth is Mother. While milking a newly bought cow or buffalo the first few streams of milk are poured on the ground. Some even throw a part of the medicine on the earth before taking it. A dying man is removed to the ground so that he may feel the last touch of the Mother Earth. There is a great deal of folklore about the wells in the Panjab. Some wells are held to be auspicious. After circumambulating such a well seven times if a childless woman bathes in the water of the well she is believed to bear a child. Peeping into seven different wells cures melancholia. The Himalayas are considered sacred. Gazing at Himachal is at places believed to be as holy as a bath in the Ganges. In Mandi, stones are said to rain on a particular hill on the 3rd of September every year and nobody dares to go that side. If one can knot one's hair while a star is shooting, one's wishes will be fulfilled. During heavy rains and storms, evil spirits are supposed to be abroad. That is why old trees are uprooted and high minarets are damaged. But if 'Pheru', a disciple of Sakhi Sarwar, is remembered during the storm no harm will be done. A number of superstitious practices are current in the Panjab to bring about rains in the dry season. Sweets are distributed at the graves and *samadhis* of the well known saints. Water buckets are thrown on old men and women, the belief being that the more they shout the heavier the rains. Similarly earthen pots filled with rubbish are broken in their courtyards to provoke them to abuse. All cooked food is considered polluted after a solar or lunar eclipse and is distributed to the low-castes. All earthen-ware in the house is discarded and broken but not the metal pots and utensils '*Sandhoor*' marks are put on the head and horns of the pregnant cows and buffaloes. The pregnant women have to take great care about the pose in which they sit during an eclipse. There is no folklore in the Panjab pertaining to the sea. The Panjabis have little to do with any ocean.

Everywhere in the world people have indulged in superstitious practices consciously or unconsciously at every stage of civilization. Sometimes superstitions are not mere meaningless practices but have a scientific truth underlying them. In the villages of the Panjab if the curds are sour, the milk pots are worshipped with burning incense. This helps in disinfecting the pots. Children suffering from mirasmus are taken to *yogis* and *faqirs* who would inscribe something on a copper coin and enjoin upon the devotee to tie it round the neck of the suffering child. It has been now discovered that more than the '*mantras*', it is the effect of copper on the skin that helps cure the patient.

While eating together if one has finished earlier it is considered bad manners to get up. This modern etiquette has roots in the belief that the shadow of the one who has finished eating should not fall on those who are eating. And if one gets up like this it cannot be avoided.

There is a lot of folklore in the Panjab connected with shadow and reflection. It is believed that when the shadow is longest one's spiritual faculties are most effective. That is, perhaps, why prayers are held in the morning and at evening. The Muslims believe tha the Prophet had no shadow. The Hindus also distinguish between the earthly and the godly by the presence or absence of the shadow. A shadow is considered to be as potent as the person whose shadow it is. Injuring a shadow is believed to injure the person throwing the shadow. When a dead body is on the funeral pyre no shadow is allowed to fall on it. The children are not allowed to play with a shadow. A widow's shadow may not fall on a bride especially immediately after the bride has taken her bath. A pregnant woman's shadow blinds the snake. The Hindus usually don't have windows, ventilators and skylights in the temples. This is to protect the images from the shadows of the evil spirits. The shadow of a dog or of a person

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suffering from an infection should not fall on eatables. The place where an enemy's shadow falls is dug and buried with lemon, bone-pieces, nail clippings and rice. The enemy is supposed to suffer from severe stomach-ache and even die if the buried material is not discovered, dug and destroyed.

Jaundice is believed to be cured if the patient sees the reflection of the Sun or the Moon in a pot full of oil or ghee. Meeting a barber on the way is considered a bad omen but seeing one's own reflection in the barber's looking glass is supposed to undo the evil effect. Children suffering from sore eyes are not permitted to look into a mirror. The superstition is that whosoever would look into the looking glass later would also suffer from sore eyes. Similarly if a woman who has gone astray anoints her face with oil and looks into a mirror in which a good woman has looked into she regains her lost virtue. A person bitten by a dog suffering from rabies may not go near water for if he sees his reflection in the water his disease will aggravate.

There is an interesting fund of folktales in the Panjab with vivid glimpses of the people's life from times immemorial. These tales tell us about their customs and their traditions and their beliefs. They vary from the theories about the origin of man to humorous and witty anecdotes typical of the uninhibited new Panjabi peasant.

Political considerations led to the division of the Panjab in 1947. The land of the Panjab was split in two parts. Its population was exchanged. Its waters were divided. Its assets were shared. But one thing which escaped division by the staunchest communalists is the folklore of the people of the Panjab. Even today visits to the graves of Muslim saints in the Indian part of the Panjab are believed to heal the sufferings of the Hindu and the Sikh. And in the Pakistan part of the Panjab, Muslim women sing folksongs in which a Panjabi maiden wishes for a bridegroom as beautiful as Krishna.

Why stand you under the Sandal-wood tree my daughter ?

I am standing for you, oh father.

Where is my match ?

What match O my daughter ?

One like the Moon in the stars

And Krishna among the lunars, Oh father.

(Contd. from page 50)

planning, B.C.G. Vaccination, Medical examination of school children, establishment of a public health laboratory and improvement of village water supply.

Backward Classes and Labour

The expenditure on the schemes for the uplift of backward classes provided in the Second Five-Year Plan stands at Rs. 54 lakhs and the expenditure is evenly distributed among the various districts of the State. The various schemes include provision for providing educational facilities to students of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, technical education, and schemes for sinking of wells, housing and removal of untouchability. It is proposed to impart technical education to 1,000 Scheduled Caste students and to construct 300 wells for providing drinking water facilities to the Harijans by the end of the Plan period. A sum of Rs. 5½ lakhs has also been set apart for grant of loans to Backward Classes youths for technical training and for the rehabilitation of ex-criminal and nomadic tribes.

For ameliorating the condition of the industrial workers it is proposed to establish Labour Welfare Centres at important industrial towns like Phagwara, Rajpura and Gobindgarh. With a view to meet the shortage of skilled workers provision has been made for the expansion of training facilities in the Industrial Training Institute, Patiala.

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ROMANTIC FOLKLORE OF PUNJAB

(*By Gurnam Singh Tir*)

The Punjab is a land of lovers. This land has produced not only the moths of spiritual and physical love but has also given birth to the lovers of sword. Love has entered the very marrow of bones of the sons and daughters of this soil. The young women of this land here have often been over-heard saying with a sense of pride, "We shall live with honour and grace, however brief be the span of our life." The young men here feel proud in remarking, "I would never have heaved a sigh if I were speared to death, let me die my death and not worry you the least."

Why are the sons and daughters of this land such sincere worshippers of the Cupid ? Let us listen to Prof. Puran Singh whose reply is :

Here is a land of liberty
Flooded by love and emotion
Mountains melting here in love,
Here is a nameless Godly joy.
The Poet addresses the lovers :
"Come brother Ranjha ;
Come sister Heer ;
Our heart is hollow
Without you."

The Punjab has got perhaps the largest number of folk tales of human romance in the whole of India. An event might have occurred in any part of the world but if it centres round two souls drenched equally in love, the Punjabi poet and the Punjabi masses adopt and own such tale as if it were a part of their own heritage.

Although there are several stories of romance popular in the Punjab, some of them are so closely interlinked with the folk-ways here that they seem to be the events of the glorious past of this very land. The tales like those of Sheerin Farihad, Sassi Punnu, Lela Majnu, Yusaf Zulekhan and Shah Behram did not take place in the Punjab but the Punjabi bards have steeped these legends of romance with Punjabi colour and presented them in Punjabi language in such a way that every Punjabi feels these great dramas of love were staged on this land of the Five Rivers.

Many an event of the Punjab owes its background to love and passion. Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Mahiwal and Puran Bhakta are some of the romantic tales that have gone deep into the hearts of the people in addition to those relating to Dulla Bhatti, Jagga Daku and Jiowna Maur etc. The legend of Heer and Ranjha tops the list of all those treasured legends of romances. Its fame can be chiefly attributed to the fact that it was sung into immortality by the great poets like Waris Shah and Damodar.

The beauty of Heer, her sincerety in love, her unyielding personality, Ranjha's becoming a herdsman under the goading of Heer's love and his turning a Yogi after Heer's marriage with Saida are some of the incidents which cannot but inspire the emotions of all Punjabis. Damodar attempts to capture the beauty of Heer and Ranjha when he says :

The one the sun, the other the full moon
With effulgence of sublimity :
The world has seen Cuples and lovers
But not a pair bound so much in love.

When the Qazi is bent upon forcibly coupling Heer and Saida into marriage, Heer says :

Look here Qazi, I am unwilling
What are you playing about ?
I have an attachment with Ranjha
Since the world saw the dawn of creation.

Syed Waris Shah has stringed pearls of love, longing, literature and life in his great narration in verse :

Who has been made to sleep on my bed ?
He has not shown any respect to me.
Do not condemn the woman, says Heer. Woman burns herself to death at the pyre.

It became the towns cry in Jhang that Heer was entangled in love with the herdsman, her servant.

No company is full of splendour and joy,
No spring would send a breeze so sweet,
If you have no brothers in the world.

* * *

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I swear it by my father, O Ranjha,
I pledge myself to thee by my mother.
No crumb will satisfy my hunger.
If I do not become one with you.

* * *

I shall not break my vow
Even if I grasp to death infernally.

* * *

I shall not betray Ranjha,
Even if my great grandfathers come to dissuade me.

* * *

My long cherished desires could not
bud forth,
Things turned out as ordained
by the Almighty.

* * *

I am a lover of Heer, bless me with her,
You are all powerful by the grace of God.
The lover is he who sticks to love
And never feels defeated.

* * *

The brave embrace their death for love,
They drown their men, they kill generations;
O my brother's wife
Only those would run away from
Love who are born of the mean and
the moneyless.

* * *

Next to Heer and Ranjha in popularity is the legend of Mirza and Sahiban. Like Heer, Sahiban was also a beautiful daughter of agriculturists known as Syals. Mirza was the son of her father's sister. They grew up together, with hand in hand, from infancy to youth. Love had, therefore, percolated into their hearts. But fate never wanted them to be happy. Mirza eloped with Sahiban. The heirs and relations of Sahiban over-took Mirza under the shade of a Jand tree, where he was sleeping in tired-ness and they lynched him to death. The best versified narration of Mirza Sahiban is the one by Peelu. The lines of elegy by this celebrated poet are till today the romantic tears of many a singer in the Punjab.

Fate catches you unawares,
Love catches your unresistibility,
Things are easier said than done.

* * *

The angels are afraid of Bakki, my steed,
God is afraid of myself,
Men are trampled by love,
Trees groan under snow,
The thief knows no sleep,
And the lover, no appetite.

* * *

You have behaved very sadly, hear O Sahiban,
You pegged my bundle of arrows to the *Janā*.

* * *

I had three hundred darts with me
I would have rained them on the Syals.

* * *

I will put to death the so called brave,
I will heap their bodies on one another,
Please let me have a siesta,
And do not awaken me.

The poets have honoured the Chenab (Jhanan) as the River of Love. The famous, true lovers lived and died beside its flanks. Heer and Ranjha, Roda and Jalali, Mirza and Sahiban, Sohni and Mahinwal, were all the nurslings of the waters of this river. This is why Qadir has stated.

The waters of Chenab are the waters of love,
They are full of charm, magic and enthrawlment.
Love can be had of Chenab,
If some one seeks to have it.

Amongst the modern poets of Punjabi, Mohan Singh expresses his desire :

Immense my mortal remains in this Chenab
The Ganges is the river of priests,
And is unaware of my passion.

Sohini was dazzling belle of a potter's family, led by the mysterious call of love. Mirza Izat Beg, a prince, left Bokhara and was caught up in the coils of love when he halted at Gujrat, and saw Sohini. Bidding goodbye to princedom and palaces, he chose to tender the buffaloes of Sohini's father, and came to be known as Mahinwal. He stationed himself on the banks of the Chenab. He took pleasure in catching fish for Sohini. One day, as luck would have it, he could not come by a catch and he lacerated a piece of flesh from his own thigh. Sohini used to meet her sweet heart by crossing the river at mid-night with the support of a pitcher. A heartless woman one day replaced the pakka pitcher

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with a mud one. But who could distinguish between the earthen and the kiln-treated pot when one was drenched in passionate love. Defying violent winds and waves and goaded by the flame of love, Sohini threw herself into the current, the earthen pot under her arms. But the mud-built pitcher soon vanished in water, leaving Sohini at the mercy of the gushing stream. She was, a few minutes later, drowned in the Chenab. The screaming calls of Sohini drew Mahinwal from the other side of the river. He also jumped into the water and never returned to the world from his search for his beloved. The calm and ghastly silence of the dark night was rent by elegiac notes of the poet, Qadir.

With her arms raised, with her eyes in tears,
There stood a woman crying in separation ;
"I will not be stead fast
In my love if I retrace my steps."
"Go, ye waves, tell Mahinwal the hermit,
Sohini, his Sohini, has been swept
away by the stream."

Another poet Sadda Ram has vividly drawn the picture enthrawling innocence of Sohini. Sohini's mother accuses her of having fallen into love. Sohini pretends she is ignorant of the very meanings of love. Guilessly she addresses her mother :

Why, O Mother, you talk of love,
It is foreign to my mind and feelings,
I know nothing of where it lies,
Search the thing here or there,
You seem to have forgotten the place,
Where you kept the thing.

Portraying her beauty, the poet says, that Sohini was clad in colourful costume—her lilac scarf hanging athwart and lockets of gold decorating her bosom.

Rani Sundran feels impelled to feast her eyes in Puran Bhakta. She begs of Guru Gorakh Nath to give Puran to her. Puran wants to attain salvation and Yoga. The beseeching cries of Sundran break the meditation of an ascetic like Gorakh Nath. He gives Puran into her charge. Puran leaves her after rejecting her love for his love with the Master. Unable to bear the pangs of rejection and separation, the royal lady makes a fatal plunge from the palace.

The pen of poet Kalidas shrieks to describe the incident :

Finding her entreaties futile before the Yogi,
Sundran kills herself by leaping from the palace,
She held estates, palaces and the people.
She was reduced to nothingness in a moment.
How useless it is to beg for a thing.
When you are to get what is pre-ordained ?
The last word on her lips was "Puran"
And she was crying in vain, in vain.

The famous author of "Sassi Punnu" and "Sherin Fariad," was Hashim, the poet laureate of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In a unique attempt to analyse and establish the relation between the beauty and love, he says :

You are maddened by your beauty
And I am driven crazy by my Reason,
The more I understand Beauty,
The more I writhe in pain.

He prays to winds and clouds to act as romantic messengers of the one stricken by love :

Blow ye benevolent wind,
Reach the Takhat Hazara,
Whisper it into my Ranjha's ears,
"Why have you neglected your flame,"
Rain, O down pour full of bliss,
You have turned deserts into green,
Rippling fields,
Rain O kind clouds,
Rain to-morrow,
So that my lover may not leave for countries abroad.

These popular tales of romance, throbbing with passion and inspiration to budding lovers of the Punjab, are till today the most treasured prices of folk lore and life in the land of the Punjab will lose all its glory, grandeur, colour, charm and live-ability the moment the galaxy of romance and chivalry disappears from amongst the people here.

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DAWN OF NEW INDUSTRIES IN PEPSU

A better balanced economy, giving as much importance to industry as to agriculture and providing for the co-ordination and mutual co-operation of the private and public sectors, is the goal of industrial policy in Pepsu's Second Five-Year Plan. Considerable success has accrued as a result of the formulation and implementation by the State Government in 1954 of a new Policy for the encouragement of Industries.

Under this policy, the State Government announced grant of the following facilities :—

(1) Land at 4½% rent per annum with option to purchase the same within 7 years ;

(2) Building at 5½% rent per annum with option to purchase the same within 7 years ;

(3) Loan upto 50% of the cost of machinery at 4½% per annum.

The effectiveness of the policy announced by the State Government would be amply borne out by the results achieved during a short span of about 15 months. The following narrative of the achievements will itself speak of the success :—

1. Establishment of two sugar factories at Hamira and Dhuri.

On the shifting of Mahalaxmi Sugar Mills from Hamira to Iqbalpur, it was feared that the interest of the cane growers and the general economic standard of the region would be adversely affected. The Government, therefore, immediately entered into an agreement for the installation of a new sugar mill at Hamira. Construction of the buildings and installation of the machinery has been completed in a short time of about 6 months and the factory went into production in December, 1955. The crushing capacity of the mill is 1,000 tons of sugar-cane per day. It will provide gainful employment to about 500 persons.

A survey of the cane growing area of the State showed that there immediately existed a scope for the establishment of a third sugar factory at Dhuri in District Sangrur. No time was lost in entering into an agreement with one of the leading house of industrialists in India for the establishment of a sugar factory there. The State Government have financially collaborated with the party in the establishment of the factory and agreed to invest Rs. 10 lacs in the shape of debentures. The crushing capacity of the mill would be 1,500 tons of sugar cane per day. It will provide gainful employment to 1,000 persons. The factory will start production on January 23, 1956.

2. Electric fans and Appliances Factory

This factory has been established at Patiala. It produces electric fans, electric motors, chokes, moon light lamps etc., and provides employment to 48 workers.

3. Fire Products Factory.

This factory is being set up at Patiala with an investment of Rs. 10 lacs in the beginning. The State Government has a controlling interest in this concern. The building of the factory is nearing completion. Most modern and latest type of wire drawing plant has been received at site from Hungry. The factory, when goes into production in about March, 1956, will produce 85,000 lbs of copper, electroplatic wire and enamelling wire per month. It will provide employment to 150 skilled and 100 unskilled workers when it works to its full capacity.

4. Piston Ring factory at Bahadurgarh (Patiala).

M/S Escorts Agents India Ltd., are establishing a Piston Ring Factory at a distance of about 4 miles from Patiala in collaboration with the reputed German firm, M/S Goetze India Ltd. The authorised capital of the company will be Rs. 50 lacs. According to the agreement with the firm, the State Government will provide financial assistance to the concern to the tune of Rs. 16 lacs. The installed yearly capacity of the factory will be Piston rings 36 lacs, sleaves 20,000, Pistons 3 lacs working two shifts of 8 hours each per day. The factory is expected to go into production by middle of 1956, and will provide employment to 150 persons.

5. Textile Machinery manufacturing factory

Another factory will be set up at Patiala by a well-known house of industrialists of Bombay in financial

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collaboration with the State Government. The total capital investment on the factory will be Rs. 35 lacs. It will provide employment to 875 skilled workers, and will produce about 50,000 ball and roller bearings and 15 textile machinery frames per day.

In addition to the above factories, which are being established under the Industrial policy launched by the State Government two more factories are being set up at Rajpura under more or less a similar policy of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India.

6. Cycle Factory.

At Rajpura a cycle factory has been established by M/S Roadmaster Industries of India Ltd., with an authorised capital investment of Rs. 30 lacs. They will produce 50,400 cycles per annum and give employment to 250 persons. Factory buildings are almost ready, some of the machines have already reached the site and production of some of the cycle components has been started. The assembling of the cycles is expected to commence in March, 1956.

A bone factory has already been established at Rajpura with an authorised capital of Rs. 5 lacs. Production by this factory will be 1,000 tons bone meal per mensum. It will provide employment to 50 persons.

In the field of cottage and small scale industries also a sound foundation has been laid during the first Plan period. The existing cottage and small scale industries of the State are cycle and sewing machine parts, leather tanning, blacksmithy, carpentry, handloom weaving and khadi. Most of the units engaged in these industries have been welded into co-operative societies . They have been provided with common facility service centres in order to improve the quality of their products. They have also been financed for arranging the purchase of the raw materials and sale of finished products.

As a result of the implementation of this programme 15 cycle parts units engaged in the Industry at Malerkotla have been grouped into 4 co-operative societies which in turn have their own co-operative union. This union has established a Central Workshop for enamelling, electroplating and assembling of the cycle part components into complete bicycles and arranges for their marketing.

The units engaged in the sewing machine parts industry at Bassi Pathanan have constituted themselves into a limited company and a loan of Rs. 3,41,000 is being advanced to them for the establishment of a central workshop, for finishing and assembling the sewing machine parts into a complete sewing machine and arranging for its sale.

A common facility service centre for the heat treatment of the sewing machine parts has been established at Bassi Pathanan on Government account. This centre will render requisite service at a nominal charge equivalent to the cost of chemicals and raw materials used in the process of heat treatment.

A Quality Control and Marketing Organisation has been set up at Malerkotla mainly for the benefit of sewing machine parts and the cycle parts industry. This organisation will render service to the units and guide them to improve their quality. The goods so produced will be quality-marked with Government seal to improve their marketing prospects.

Common facility service has also been extended to the small scale tanning industry. The tanning units at Malerkotla and Kot Kapura have been organised into the co-operative societies and they have been provided with a modern tanning centre on Government account. The tanners will be encouraged to bring raw hides to this centre being processed through modern tanning methods under the expert supervision of the technical staff provided by the Government. The technical guidance will be free and they will be charged only for the chemicals and raw materials used in the process of taning. The main idea behind these tanning centres is to enable the indigenous tanners to learn the modern technique of tanning and at the same time earn some additional income by improving the quality of the products. It is envisaged that ultimately these centres will become the joint property of the co-operative societies of the tanners.

To enable the indigenous tanners to jointly own and run a modern tannery a co-operative society has been formed at Patiala. This co-operative society, in addition to their own share capital, is being advanced a loan of Rs. 1,89,000 for the establishment of the tannery.

There are estimated to be 7,500 fly shuttle handlooms, and 15,000 pit looms in the State. The most important centres of handloom industry are Malerkotla, Bassi Pathanan and Dera Bassi. Consequently, in order to

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promote the industry in these areas, three Handloom Development Centres have been established in the towns mentioned above. Two of the centres have been provided with dye houses for dyeing the yarn of the weavers at 'no profit no loss' basis. These centres also impart training to the weavers in the improved technique of weaving and demonstrate and guide them in producing marketable designs. The Development centre at Malerkotla is also equipped with a designing section for evolving and the introduction of new designs. There are 28 co-operative societies of the weavers constituted in the Malerkotla area. Out of these 16 co-operative societies have formed a co-operative union of their own. This Co-operative union has been advanced a loan of Rs. 30,000 for arranging the marketing of their products. Three sales depots for the marketing of their products have been established at Narnaul, Bhatinda, and Bassi Pathanan. These depots allow a rebate of 1½ annas per rupee on the sale of handloom cloth.

Khadi provides subsidiary income to a large number of families both in the rural as well as urban areas. There are estimated to be 15,000 pit looms in the State, which keep weavers and other families of the low income group employed partially. Seven khadi centres have been established in the State at Patiala, Rajpura, Malerkotla, Sangrur, Phagwara, Bassi Pathanan and Kandaghat. These centres arrange for the roduction of both the commercial as well as self-sufficient khadi. The scheme is being implemented in collaboration with Kasturba Sewa Mandir, Rajpura at a total investment of Rs. 3,57,000. A further sum of Rs. 2.33,000 is being invested for the development of this industry in the near future.

The programme for the development of cottage and small-scale industries has been further accelerated by providing financial assistance under the State Aid to Industries Act. A provision about Rs. 10 lacs was earmarked during the first plan period on this account. The financial assistance so rendered has resulted in the establishment of 28 small scale concerns and the balancing and extension of 82 existing units. The Industries which have been promoted or assisted with this aid are : Button manufacturing, centrifugal pumps, sewing machine parts, candle making, Radio aerial, chaff cutting machines, wheat separating and fodder machine, cycle spare parts, block making, Casein, electric fans and motors, Carbon blocks and Brushes, Poultry farming, handloom, shoe making, leather tanning, food preservation and fountain pen making etc.

An elaborate training programme both in vocational as well as technical trades was undertaken during the first plan period. This includes :—

(1) The establishment of three Industrial Schools for Women at Nabha, Patiala and Narnaul ;

(2) Three handloom development centres at Bassi Pathanan, Malerkotla and Dera Bassi ;

(3) Tanning centres at Kotkapura and Malerkotla.

The industrial schools for women impart training in crafts like tailoring, hand and machine embroidery, *silma tilla* and leather craft etc. The Handloom Development Centres impart training both to the unskilled workers and to the new hands in the technique of handloom weaving. Similarly the tanning centres impart training to the indigenous tanners in the modern system of tanning.

In order to create Industrial bias amongst children of a school-going age, training in arts and crafts has been introduced in five high schools for boys at Patiala, Sangrur, Faridkot, Mansa and Narnaul. Three Industrial training institutes have also been established at Phagwara, Nabha and Patiala in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour, Government of India. These institututes have a total seating capacity of 300 persons and impart training in technical trades like Carpentry, Blacksmithy, Sheet metal works, general mechanism, Technicians, Machinists.

In addition to the above, the State Government are running two work centres at Patiala and Samana for the displaced persons. These centres impart training in Carpentry, Blacksmithy, handloom weaving, soap and oil, Printing and sheet metal. The number of seats in these work centres is 200. Another Training cum Work Centre is being run by Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India at Rajpura with a seating capacity of 300 persons.

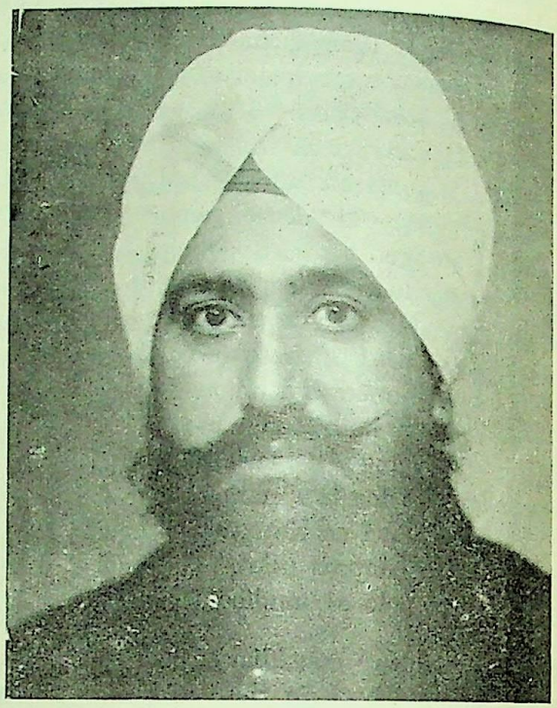
The marketing of cottage and small scale industries products is being arranged through Arts and Crafts Emporium, Patiala, two Regional Sales Emporia at Malerkotla and Phagwara, three handloom cloth sales depots at Narnaul, Bassi Pathanan and Bhatinda and seven sales depots for khadi at Patiala, Rajpura, Phagwara, Sangrur, Bhatinda, Kandaghat and Bassi.

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STATISTICAL STUDY OF PEPSU

(*By S. Harcharan Singh, Revenue Minister*)



A running record of Statistics provides a ready store of information and helps in the assessment of development in proper perspective. Compilation of certain important facts is all the more valua blefor a newly-created State like Pepsu for which information can be worked out only by reference to official records beyond the reach of a common man. With this end in view an attempt has been made to present a unified picture of the agricultural pattern and other allied subjects and their improvement since 1950-51.

Geographically Pepsu is divided into four isolated blocks. The main block comprises of the erstwhile States of Nabha, Jind, Malerkotla, Faridkot and parts of Patiala State, surrounded on all sides by the Punjab territory. The erstwhile Kapurthala State which lies between Sutlej and Bias rivers forms a separate block having two detached units *e.g.*, Kapurthala and Phagwara tahsils. The third block comprises of Kandaghat Sub-Division which includes hilly tract of Patiala State strengthened by erstwhile Nalagarh State and hilly areas of Kasauli, Sabathu and Sanawar which previously formed parts of Ambala District of the Punjab. The fourth block, now named as Mahendragarh District, is an isolated unit situated on the border of Rajasthan State and surrounded by Rohtak and Gurgaon districts of the Punjab. This comprises of some outlying parts of erstwhile States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind.

At its formation in 1948, the State was divided into eight districts but owing to reorganisation and delimitation of districts and tahsils in 1953, the State is now divided into five districts, namely, Bhatinda, Kapurthala, Mahendragarh, Patiala and Sangrur and is further subdivided into 19 tahsils comprising of 6,427 villages.

According to 1951 Census the State has got an area of 10,078 square miles with a population of 34,93,685. The density of population in the State is 347 persons per square mile : highest (467) in Kapurthala district and lowest (291) in Bhatinda district. The urban population of Pepsu is 19% of the total population. The highest concentration of urban population (25%) is in Patiala district and lowest (9%) in Mahendragarh district.

The average total annual rainfall in the State is 24″ which is spread over various seasons as follows :—

1. Monsoon period	...	79%
2. Post-monsoon period	...	4%
3. Winter period	...	10%
4. Hot weather period	...	7%

A note-worthy characteristic of rainfall distribution in the State is that the extent of annual rainfall goes on decreasing from North-East to South-West, varying on an average from 53·35″ in Kandaghat Sub-Division to 15·77′ in Mahendragarh district.

The total land classified in 1954-55 is as follows :—

S. No.	Class	Area in 000 acres	% to the total
1.	Forests	47	0·7
2.	Barren and unculturable land	8	0·1

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3.	Land put to non-agricultural uses.	447	7·0
4.	Permanent pastures	123	1·9
5.	Miscellaneous tree crops	59	0·9
6.	Culturable waste	551	8·7
7.	Current fallows	461	7·3
8.	Net area sown	4675	73·4
	Total	6371	100·0

Comparison of these figures with those returned during 1950-51, reveals that the net area sown *i.e.*, area under actual cultivation, has increased by 4·3% or 274 thousand acres which goes a long way toward establishing the real benefit of the schemes relating to extensive cultivation undertaken by the State Government in the First Five-Year Plan. This increase has been shared by the decline in the area under barren and unculturable lands, culturable waste lands and current fallows.

Total land under actual cultivation during 1954-55 is about five million acres and the total population of the State according to 1951 Census is 3 millions showing that on an average 747 persons depend upon one thousand acres of land under plough ; the highest (1323) being in Kapurthala district and the lowest (516) in Bhatinda district.

The Irrigation Statistics collected through the revenue agency revealed that the irrigated area in the State has increased by 33% during the quinquennium. The total irrigated area of 2·4 million acres during 1954-55 is shared by various sources as follows :—

Canals	...	68%
Wells	...	31%
Other sources	...	1%

From the analysis of the data collected during the Census of Land Holdings and Cultivation, 1954, it is found that there are in all 6,29,239 holdings in Pepsu, involving agriculture land of 51,62,899 acres which is 31% of the total geographical area. The average size of the holding in the State is 9·5 acres ; lowest (7·4 acres) in Kapurthala district and highest (10·7 acres) in Bhatinda district. Broad classification of the distribution and size of holdings is exhibited in the following table :—

Grade of holding (acres)	Total No. of holdings.		Area comprised in holdings.	
	No.	% of the total.	Acres	% of the total
Less than 10	4,74,333	75·4	15,62,759·6	30·3
10 to 20	96,550	15·4	13,59,475·8	26·3
20 to 30	30,931	4·9	7,50,166·3	14·5
30 to 40	12,807	2·0	4,39,965·0	8·5
40 to 50	5,943	1·0	2,64,316·4	5·1
50 to 60	3,118	0·5	1,71,109·1	3·3
60 to 75	2,460	0·4	1,65,502·7	3·2
75 to 100	1,532	0·2	1,31,698·0	2·6
100 to 150	915	0·1	1,07,282·7	2·1
150 and above	650	0·1	2,10,623·7	4·1
Total	6,29,239	100·0	51,62,899·3	100·0

In order to estimate the extent of area under personal cultivation and area given out on lease by land owners, data collected in the course of the Census for Holdings of 10 acres and above was examined. Out of the total agricultural land comprised in such holdings, totalling 1,54,906 in number, 28,69,196 acres are under personal cultivation of land owners, while the remaining 7,30,944 acres have been leased out by them to others for cultivation. These figures indicate that 80% of the area comprising in holdings of ten acres and above is personally cultivated by the owners and the remaining 20% by their tenants on payment of rent.

The main Rabi crops grown in the State are Wheat, Gram, Barley and Rape and Mustard. Principal Kharif crops are Bajra, Maize, Cotton, Jowar, Rice and Sugarcane. Out of the major crops Gram, Wheat, Bajra, Maize, Barley, Cotton and Sugarcane are important from all-India point of view. The individual importance of these crops during 1954-55 can be assessed from the table given below :—

Crop	Acreage		Production.	
	000 acres	% to all India total	000 tons	% to all India total.
Gram	1725	8·0	358	7·0
Wheat	1015	3·7	408	4·8
Bajra	750	2·7	83	2·3
Maize	186	2·0	99	3·4
Barley	158	1·9	40	1·5
Cotton	428	2·3	228 (thousand bales of lint)	5·3
Sugarcane	70	1·8	117 (thousand tons of gur).	2·1

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The total cropped area of Pepsu is about 5·9 million acres showing an increase of 12% over that returned during 1950-51. The individual study of trends in crop acreages under principal crops shows an increase of 5% in cereals, shared mostly by the increase in cultivation of rice, wheat, maize and barley. The area under pulses including gram is increased by about 35%. Of the major cash crops oil-seeds and cotton acreages have increased by 40% and 62% respectively. Corresponding enhancement in crop production at the end of the quiquennium can be assessed from the following figures :—

Crop'	Increase in production. thousand tons.	%
Cereals	183	39
Gram	96	37
Oilseeds	18 8	86
Cotton	114 (thousand bales of lint)	100
Sugarcane	41 (thousand tons of Gur)	54

The total population of livestock in Pepsu according to Livestock Census of 1951 is 3·1 millions of which 2·3 millions constitute the bovine population. The remaining 0·8 million is the total number of sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, mules, pigs and camels etc. The total number of poultry including fowls and ducks is 246 thousands. The details of livestock population and agricultural implements are summarised below :—

Livestock		(*Thousand numbers*)
Cattle	...	1,464
Sheep	...	205
Goats	...	482
Buffaloes	...	825
Horses	...	20
Donkeys	...	36
Camels	...	74
Others	...	17
Total Livestock	...	3,123
Poultry		
Hens	...	247
Cocks	...	32
Chickens	...	142
Ducks	...	4
Total Poultry	...	247

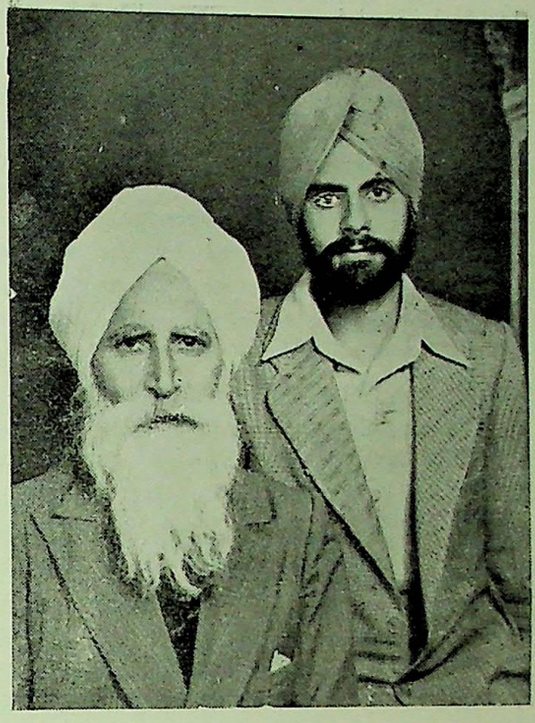
Agricultural Implements.			(*Thousaud number*)
Ploughs			
(i) Wooden	...	...	283
(ii) Iron	...	...	15
Carts	...	...	111
			(*hundred numbers*)
Sugarcane crushers	...	...	47
Oil engines	...	...	4
Tractors	...	...	3

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PUNJABI LITERATURE

(By Prof. Mohan Singh and Surjit Singh Gill)



Panjabi is one of the Sanskrit languages. Its essential basic structure is Sanskrit, with the difference that it has been made by the inevitable historic process analytic, while Sanskrit was synthetic. Some forms of Panjabi still retain synthetic elements. The basic vocabulary of Panjabi is Sanskrit and in this it is much nearer to Sanskrit than any other modern language of North India. Panjabi has no doubt split conjoint sounds, dropped harsh sounds, doubled end-letters, added the end-U and made further words—especially verbs and nouns from Sanskrit words Panjabized. But Panjabi has not dipthongized basic Sanskrit words as Hindi has done, for instance, words relating to human body, human relations, cereals, dress, birds, beasts, etc. The treasury of basic words has been enriched by Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, English words which have been duly Panjabized like Sanskrit words, to suit a mongrel population, and further words have been formed from them. Panjabi is most akin to Sindhi, Gujerati and Rajasthani and farthest away from Braj, Purbi, Avadhi. It is Panjabi prose and poetry which gave birth to Khari Boli and to Hindustani or basic Urdu. To write Panjabi in Devanagri script, to subject it to the influence of literary Hindi is to disavow the historic process, to put the clock a thousand years back, to deprive the people of their right to change, extend, contract words, meanings, grammatic and syntactical order according to the phonetic and syntactical genius of a mongrel population with a distinct individuality of its own. It is the right of every geographical unity and every ethnically synthetic group to continue to develop its language by the application of the universal desires of economy of effort, facility of utterance, speed, and independent creative and formulative and reformative ability. Into the formation and crystallization of Panjabi language have gone comparatively the Aryan phonetic genius and the Semitic way of speech for over a thousand years. To talk disparagingly of the rustic or religious or mongrel character of Panjabi language and literature and to overemphasize contemptuously the differences in the spoken speeches of different Panjabi areas is criminally to ignore the laws of speech-growth, speech-diversification, speech stratification, universal in their working, and to belittle the geographical impediments and the historical influences which have kept apart areas, classes, populations, levels, written and spoken word, literary-language and spoken speech apart. The modern trends of uniformization and the modern educational and transport facilities for standardization should not be allowed to suppress language and script individualities and to eliminate the separate linguistic and literary contributions of smaller areas, smaller dialects, smaller groups, smaller as well as less advanced, more conservative. The strength of Panjabi language and literature lies in the vast contribution made and still, being actively made by the sturdy peasantry, the heroic army, the adventurous trading class, and the most catholic ascetic fraternity of the Panjabi. These are the real masters, moulders, expanders, enrichers of a language and not the politicians, seasonal versifiers, and hide-bound literary critics. The Panjabis are a living, hicking population with a distinct individuality ; and the Panjabi is a living, expanding, nobly-descended, and lyrico-spiritually

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moulded language of an area which still claims to be a meeting place of religions, races, systems of thought and action. From the left bank of the Indus to the right bank of the Jumna, from Poonch to Jaisalmer there is one language and that is Panjabi, differences of accent and of some grammatical features notwithstanding.

As one looks deeply into the achievements of Panjabi Literature, one finds it inspired by the worship of Beauty, Heroism, Spiritualism and the most vigorous aptitude for adventure, of our energetic, simple and pure-hearted people. Being at the frontier of India, the Panjabis had always to face continued invasions from abroad and the most ferocious and ravenous plunderings by the invaders. This day-to-day struggle for existence and security invested the common man with a heroic spirit, a broad outlook on life, healthy patriotism, and the fear of the Lord-God. The saint-soldiers of the Panjab cherish the pure romantic colours and the toxic fragrance of a firm character. Our literature with its music and clear-cut philosophy of life, its rhythm, its imaginative atmosphere, its love of folklore and universal ethical conduct is the final efflorescence of sublime beauty and divine love.

The Age of Kanpate Jogis (850-1450 A.D.)

Panjab, as already pointed out, has been the footpad of every invader, that is why the people of this land have always thriven more on the romantic-lyric, the heroic and the spiritual. But whenever the foreign invaders tried to settle down to impose their culture and ethics on the indigenous people the Panjabis took to rebellion and developed the gospel of revolution. This was exactly the problem before the Nath Jogis who, like Oneida perfectionists led a secluded and highly disciplined life ; these martinets rose against the existing hedonism, avarice, meanness, exploitation and hypocricy. The Hindu Rajas indulged in vanity and riotous luxuries. As a reaction came up Gorakh Nath, Charpat Nath, Chaurangi Nath, the lyricist Masud, and the great popular religious preacher Farid.

Gorakh Nath belongs to the 10th century A.D. With his *Hatha Yoga* teachings, through his long and wide travels in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Nepal, Assam, Bengal, Central India, he not only rescued many from the evil and hedonistic ways of life, but also left a permanent mark on Panjabi Literature. Like Dante, who did not employ classical Latin but Italian, the language of the common people, wherever the great Nath went, he sang in the native dialects. Charpat Nath and other disciples followed the footsteps of their *Guru* as the Buddhist monks did in their use of Pali after the Buddha. Gorakh sang thus :

He dies truly who vanquishes death.
He controls sex who retains his childhood in youth.
Says Gorakh, I built up my body
By partaking of only a small quantity
Of *Sātvika* food.
As thou controllest thy sex,
As thou listenest to inner divine music,
Thou shalt see the Light Divine.
To enter the status of *Nirvana*
Thy body-consciousness thou hast to transcend.
That which moves to and fro
Before thy gaze,
Into that, says Gorakh, must thou sink thyself.

Charpat Nath who afterwards became the *Guru* or spiritual preceptor of King Sahila Varma, the founder of Chamba State in the 10th century, writes in a new stanzaic form, mercilessly criticising contemporary society and the false *gurus*.

He is a true Guru
Who possesses mercy (*Dayā*)
Who has killed his sex-hunger,
Who has annihilated all desirings,
Who abides firm in his *Dharma*,
Who is contented,
Who speaks the truth,
Who serves others,
Who seeks nothing for himself,
Who does not let his mind go astray
Who ever seeks essential knowledge, *jñaña* and *vijñaña*.

Such a *Guru* will, indeed, lead us to the other shore.

Farid (1173-1205 A.D.) was responsible for the conversion of millions of Hindus to Islam. He was a poet of the first order, and sang both in Panjabi and Persian. His Multani *slokas* show a secular character bending slightly towards the Muslim ascetic cult. He has

*"An Introduction to Panjabi Literature" Dr. Mohan Singh. Most of the material for this article is taken from this excellent book.

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ployed the Hindu spiritual vocabulary with quite a
d outlook to emphasize and elaborate the minutae
spiritual love. His verses are as fresh to-day as they
re in his own time.

They are lovers true
Who love with their whole heart ;
Who say one thing and harbour another
In their hearts, shall be rejected
As unripe ones.
To love God
Is to be dyed in His hues.
Who forget the name of the Lord
Are, indeed an intolerable burden to this earth.
They are *Darveshes*
Whom He Himself draws to His door,
O All, Nourisher, Unknowable, Unfathomable,
Unlimited art Thou.

Several *vars* were written in this period, narrating
bal and communal warfare. This heroic poetry is
nliarly representative of Panjabi culture and
id. Amir Khusro's *var*, describing a battle between
ghlaq Shah and Nasir-ud-Din Khusro Khan, is of
cial note, which shows that even Persian poets were
racted to our language. Chand's *Pirthwiraj*
so is basically Panjabi with Rajasthani superstruc-
e. He has made use of Panjab folk-metres and
veral East Panjabi words.

The treasures of Panjab folklore are inexhaustible ;
e music of Panjabi folklore is vaster and sweeter and
re varied than the classical metres and rhyme-schemes.
here is a beautiful blend of music and artistry. The
rst energetic hero fighting for freedom, the sisters'
ngings for their far off brothers, the wives' prayers
d meditations for their lovers and husbands abroad,
e free vent of their feelings by the daughter-in-law
ainst her mother-in-law and a general satire on the
isting social order are the main themes of Panjab
k-songs.

The Age of Nanak (1450-1708 A.D.)

The age of Nanak is the golden period of our litera-
re. Herein we find the highest and sublimest flights
imagination, inexhaustible wells of deep feelings,
ghest philosophical thoughts in true poetic style and
agery, supreme intuition, apprehension of truth in
its brightest colours, all fused with an immeasurable love for the people, for the country, for the Lord. This sublime poetry challenges comparison with the poetry of Euripides, Goethe, Dante and Milton.

Guru Nanak (1469-1538), the founder of Sikhism, is the greatest poet of this age. The Gurus, Angad Dev, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjun and Gobind Singh are of no less significance. Nanak travelled far and wide to know his people and his country ; he went even to Ceylon, Assam, and Arabia. He gave a new light and love to the masses and with his fiery gospel against superstition, pessimism, hatred, cruelty and hypocrisy, he aroused a new consciousness in the downtrodden and the suffering. He was the first poet of the Panjab who set up as his ideal the general uplift of the masses. He was full of life himself; and so he succeeded in revivify ing his followers. He preached in the sweet mixed, vigorous speech of the people, using folk-metres, folk similies and metaphors. He also gave us the *Gurmukhi* script, a great advance on *Devanagari* in harmony with the new speech habits of a mixed population. He was the first Indian patriot, to rebuke God for sending the invaders in the person of Babar and his most merciless hordes. He urged the people to show toleration, unity and courage. His teaching anticipates Voltaire who said : "The cowardice of the honest people ensures the success of the scoundrels".

On the spiritual side he had a perfect and precise message to give : Live a true, simple and complete life, serving your brethren and praying to the Supreme Lord for His Grace and Bounty. Studying Nanak, one thinks of Bacon's definition that poetry "has something divine in it, because it raises the mind and carries it into sublimity by conforming the shows of things to the desires of the soul, instead of subjecting the soul to external things as reason and history do."

Guru Nanak Dev :

In the Mosque of love,
Spread the carpet of faith,
Enjoy only your rightful earnings,
Follow the holy script.
Make restraint and modesty thy circumcision,
Moderation thy fast,
Right action thy pilgrimage to Kaba,
Make truth thy spiritual guide,

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Good works thy creed,
Thus become a Muslim ;
Repeat His Name on thy rosary,
He will exalt thee.
It is Thy light
That illumines everything.
It is by the grace of the Guru
That the secret light is found.
What is pleasing to Thee
Is the best of the evening service.
Day and night my heart thirsts like the humble-bee
To touch the dust of Thy lotus feet.
And may thirsty Nanak
Like the *Chatrik* drink the nectar
Of Thy grace
And devote every breath to Thee.*

Guru Arjun (1563-1606 A.D.) composed in verse Sukhmani, the longest medieval Indian mystic poem. It has 24 stanzas, each consisting of 80 lines, and preceded by a *sloka* of two lines, totalling up to 2,306 lines of verse in a language which is a beautiful blend of Panjabi and Desi words, and Apabhramsized Sanskrit works, in the short *Chaupai* metre, and in the Ashtapadi stanzaic arrangement. The metaphors employed are typically characteristic of Indian mystic and poetic tradition.

Another poet of this age is the Sufi poet Hussain, the weaver, the most popular of the Sufis, who attracted the attention of Jahangir. Dara Shikoh in his *Hassant-al-Arifin* devotes several pages to his life and poetic excellence. Here is a *Kafi* from him :

Let us live near our love,
Let us patiently, silently bear
Every snub, reprimand and accusation.
If the sword be raised to cut off our head,
Let us sigh not.
Right in our inner courtyard there grows
The sandal-wood tree,
Let us forwardly rub our body against it.
Unpermitted.
Death is the original capital,
Life, only the profit earned on it ;
Why then let the fear of death eat away our hearts ?
Hussain, the Beggar at the Lord's door,
Says : Let us accept most gratefully
Whatsoever the Lord gives.

* Nanak : Raja Sir Daljit Singh.

Later Moghul Period

The years (1708 to 1780) were virtually the ye
of political, social and ethical decadence. And
we got in this period our finest romantic poetry a
first-class biographical and expository and narrati
prose, like *Hir* by Varis and *Prem Sumarag*, a pro
Utopia or the Ideal State according to Guru Gobi
Singh. *Hir* is an artistic achievement. It is the Panj
Jat's Bible. True art can only be created in act
dangerous times as was the fifth century Athens, wh
produced *Aeschylus* and *Pheidias*, creators of the m
sublime art that the world has known.

Varis's encyclopaedic knowledge, succinct generali
tions, delightful pictures, biting satires and wit, a
sympathetic approach to every problem and charact
are some of his excellences. His predecessors in t
poetic treatment of the story of *Hir* were Damo
Ahmad, Gurdas and Muqbil.

Varis :

Our soul is the tragic heroine Hir ;
Our body is the lover Ranjha.
Any spiritual preceptor is the Jogi Balnath.
The five helpful saints are our five senses,
Who support us in our adventures dread.
Truth is the Qazi,
Our deeds, good and bad, are the two boat-wom
Who lust for us.**

It will greatly interest contemporary India t
know what kind of a free, secular state was envisag
by the Panjabi political Builders and Thinkers of th
17th century.

The Guru spoke thus :

"Do not accept graft, nor appropriate what is
to another. Always work for, earn by actual labour, y
bread.

"Fix land-revenue recoverable from each *pargan*
not a pie more than the fixed sum should be permitte
to be collected.

"Every persuasion should be resorted to for dev
ing areas productive and populated.

"The ruler should so organize and administer th
not one *bisva* of arable land remains uncultivated.

** An Introduction to Panjabi Literature Dr. Mohan Singh

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"Full justice must be done. Regular salary payments should be made.

"Education should be imparted through Gurmukhi in all accounts, state or private, should be kept in Gurmukhi.

"The pain and pleasure, the heaven and hell, that fall to the lot of man, are the fruit of a sense of free individual effort.

"The sense of free, independent individuality is born of the sense of oneness, of which malady *Sahaj Yoga* is the only cure....When *Sahaja* enters, anxiety and fear quit. With the quittance of anxiety and fear, the True Name (*Nama*) shines resplendent."

The other writers of this age are Krishan Lal, who translated the *Mahabharata* with its 1,00,000 *slokas* utilizing all the current metres ; Gulab Singh (b.1732 A.D.) who wrote Vedantic interpretative poetry—*Adhyatam Ramain, Mokh Panth, Prabodh Chandar Natak* etc. ; Agra who poetized the martyrdom of Haqiqat Rai of Sialkot; and Najabat, who wrote about the terrific cataclysm called the invasion of Nadir Shah.

The Age of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1840)

Maharaja Ranjit Singh got translated under his own patronage the Tulsi Ramayana and some portions of *Akbar-Nama, Adl-i-Akbari* to get himself acquainted with Hindu thought and with Moghul administration.

Hasham (b. 1752 A.D.) and Ahmad Yar (b. 1768 A.D.) paid tributes to the Maharaja in beautiful long poems in sweet rhythmical poetry. It was the Maharaja's glory and heroic life that inspired one Qadir Yar to sing in moving and thrilling, past-reviving verse the stories of King Rasalu and Puran. Qadar Yar's *Puran* is an achievement of a very high order. *Hir* of Varis is a romantic tragedy, while Puran by Qadir is the saga of renunciation.

The very great scholar-poet Santokh Singh also belongs to this period. With his vast knowledge of Sanskrit he gave us new interpretations of Vedanta in his Adhatma Ramayana, and a complete history of the Sikhs in verse in his voluminous *Guru Nanak Prakash* and *Guru Pratap Surya*. He also did a verse rendering of *Amar Kosh*.

Other historical poets were Shah Muhammed, Sukha Singh and Pir Mohd.

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PUNJAB–ITS LAND AND THE PEOPLE

AND HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

(By Amar Nath Vidyalankar, M.P.)

The 'Punjab' is the name given to the fertile lands watered by the five perennial rivers. Strictly speeking this is the geographical term denoting the country laying between the valleys of Jhelum and Sutlej ; the intermediate rivers are, Chenab, Ravi and Beas. The waters of the five rivers flowing from the North-east to the South-west combine together into the Panchnao, to be ultimately delivered into the *Sindhu* or the Indus.

Sapt Sindhava : The first Aryan settlers knew this part of India as the land of Seven rivers-*Sapt Sindhava*, adding to the five above-mentioned rivers the Indus and the *Saraswati* ; (present Ghaggar and Narkanda). It was here in the *Sapta Sindhavas*, where the earliest civilizations and cultures of India flourished, and where the ancient Vedic culture of Indo-Aryans found its cradle. In the opinion of some historians, *Sapta Sindhava* itself was the original home of the Indo-Aryan races, from where they had later spread out towards the East, South and the West.

Boundaries : The huge mountain rampart which guards the Northern frontiers of Indian sub-continent, thrusts out in the North-west a great bastion whose outer walls are the Hindukush and the Muztag-Korakoram ranges. Behind the latter, with the general trend from South-East to North-west are the great valley of the Indus, to the point near Gilgit, where it turns sharply to the South, and a succession of mountain chains and glens making up the Himalayan tract, through which the five rivers of the Punjab and the Jamna find their way to the plains. From here the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan ranges, called Siwaliks, continue to extend towards the east along the Himalayas, providing not only a powerful defence against human invasions, but also serving, so to say, like an ardent sentinel, who arrests the further Northward progress of the Rain Gods in order to get their valuable gift completely empted here for the benefit of the Indo-Gangetic plains. To the south of these mountain ranges, plains of *Sapta Sindhava* extend up to the western banks of the Jamuna.

But these territorial compartments marked by the hand of nature do not always coincide with the traditional or existing political divisions of the country. From early periods these parts of the Indian sub-continent, being the North-western gateway of India, have suffered incessant political and adminisrtative vicissitudes, and the brave and virile races of the Punjabis had always to bear the first fury of each foreign invasion. This rightly gave this land the name 'The Sword Arm' of India.

As a consequence of India's partitioning fresh boundaries were drawn in order to divide the Indian side of the Punjab from Pakistan. Here the frontier line runs almost along the eastern banks of the Ravi, except where it deflects towards the east in order to separate Lahore areas from India. The eastern boundaries run along the western bank of Jamuna, that separates the Punjab from the Uttar Pradesh. In the South, Punjab frontiers impinge on the Northern boundaries of the Rajasthan.

Area and Population : After the partitioning of the territory the remnants of the early *Spat Sindhavas* had been divided into three administrative divisions or States. Below are given the areas and population figures of these states :

Name of the State	*Area in sq. Miles*	*Population*
Punjab	37,428	1,26,38,611
Pepsu	10,099	34,68,631
Himachel Pradesh	10,600	9,89,437

Ethnological Composition : People of the Punjab, whatever their caste or social status, belonged, with few exceptions to a single racial type, which is called Indo-Aryan. There are a few settlers on the West of Jamuna, who might be grouped as Aryo-Dravidians. In the Hill areas Mongol influence has been markable. However, this kind of distinction has lost all value in the modern times, when the boundaries of caste and race are being rapidly surmounted, and people of all races and classes are inspired with the sentiments of equality and national unity. In the Punjab, this is

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especially so, because during the past ages hoards of foreign visitors and invaders had continued to come to settle in this land, and almost all of them had been racially absorbed. Of course all these people and races had left their traces of blood, language and culture, and this kind of continued blending kept the Punjabis physically, mentally and culturally a progressive and virile race.

Post-Partition Migrations : As a consequence of the large scale post-portition migrations, today every fifth Punjabi in the whole population is a displaced person. There are in all 24,30,215 displaced persons in the Punjab, whose district-wise percentage in comparison to the total population of the District, is as follows :—

Jullundur 26·3 per cent, Ludhiana 21, Hoshiarpur 14·0, Ferozepore 27·0, Kangra 2, Amritsar 24, Gurdaspur 36, Ambala 20, Karnal 23, Hissar 12, Rohtak 11, Gurgaon 8, Simla 30·9 per cent. Due to the partition the whole population was upset, by the grievous wounds the people had suffered.

The introduction of a new element from the Western areas of the Punjab into the population of the eastern districts has had deep social cultural and linguistic influences on the local population, and a new blended culture, and language is fast being developed, as a common Punjabi language and culture. The traces of this new trend are clearly marked boeh in the cities and villages.

Land and Cultivation : The total land area of the Punjab is 2,30,07,653 acres, of which 7,69,244 acres are under the forests, 61.66,418 acres are not available for cultivation and 1,60,71,991 acres of land is actually under cultivation. This land in relation to the population therefore gives 0·9 acres cultivated area per capita. But in order to provide food for one human being 2·5 acres cultivated area is required. This means we are short of land resources in relation to our food supply. Still in the recent years the Punjab has exerted to its utmost and could successfully convert itself from a deficit to a surplus State in the matter of foodgrains. Numerous schemes of reclamation of uncultivable lands and the expansion of irrigation are under way and at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan 80 lakh acres out of a cultivable area of 160 lakh acres would be brought under irrigation. Bhakra Nangal Project alone promises irrigated cultivation to about 65 lakh acres.

Natural Wealth and Development : Punjab is neither very rich nor poor in the forest resources, but it is rather poor in the mineral wealth. In fact mineral resources need still a lot of systematic and scientific exploration. Main occupation of the people is still agriculture, in which Punjab is rich and fortunate enough. Still the administration has undertaken huge schemes to be worked out during the next few years for developing various industries. With the generation of large bulks of extremely cheap electric energy, it would be possible to develop many more industries in the rural as well as urban areas, which will ultimately balance over economy.

The detailed descriptions of these schemes and of the achievements of various targets have been given elsewhere in the pages of this volume, and we need not repeat them all here.

Historical and Cultural Background. The recent archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh, at Harappa in the Montgomery District of West Pakistan and very recently at Ropur in the Ambala District of the Punjab, have revealed signs of a most ancient phase of human civilisation that flourished in this region. The earliest Rigvedic hymns convey to us the fragmented stories of the great struggles that the early Aryans waged against their physical and human enemies in order to make this land of Seven rivers, a peaceful abode of a fine and highly sensitive civilisation and culture of the great Indian seers and Philosophers. The geographical area eventually occupied by the various Aryan Tribes is clearly indicated by the mention of certain rivers which permit of easy identification. The most important among these are the *Kubha* (Kabul), the *Suvastu* (Swat), the *Krumu* (Kurram), the *Gomati* (Gomal), the *Sindhu* (Indus), the *Vitasta* (Jehlum), the *Asikni* (Chenab), the *Parushni* (Ravi), the *Vipasha* (Beas), the *Satadru* (Satluj), the *Saraswati* and the *Jamuna*, etc.

The principal Vedic Tribes *Panchjanah* had many kingdoms, and Republics that were founded on the banks of the rivers. Before the Vedic Aryans had advanced to the Gangetic plains, the major portions of their Vedic literature and principal *Upnishads* had been compiled.

The great founders of the various schools of Vedic Seers such as *Bhrigu*, *Bharadwaj*, *Vashishta* and

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Dirghtamas had their *Ashrams* on the banks of these very rivers. The *Kshatriyas* or the warrior castes of the Punjab were renowned in these days for their spiritual attainments and superior philosophic discoveries, and seekers of the Truth from all over India and even from without visited the Punjab scholars and seers in order to obtain true knowledge. *Uddalak Aruni*, himself a great seer came all the way from the Madhya Desh to Ashwapati, the king of *Kekeyas* (Shahpur, Jehlum, Gujrat in Pakistan), to learn the lessons of divine knowledge. King *Ashwapati* described to his visitors with the rightly deserved pride that "in his whole kingdom there was neither a thief, nor a gambler or a drunkard, there was no debauchery, and there was none who was illiterate." Near about the present site of the districts of Grudaspur and Amritsar there was the Republic of the *Kath* Khshatriyas, who were the authors of the *Kathopanishad*. The tradition tells us that it was at Taxshila where the *Rishi Veshampayan* for the first time recited *Mahabharat* to the King *Janmejaya*. The author of Mahabharat and compiler of the Gita *Ved Vyas* actually lived in his forest abode, near the Kurukshetra.

When Alexander the Great invaded India, these small kingdoms and Republics defended their hearths and homes so bravely and gave the Greek soldiers such bitter taste of war that the Great World Conqueror was obliged to give up his long cherished dreams of conquering India. The Greek Army had suffered such heavy losses at the hands of the *Kath* Khshatriyas of Gurdaspur and Amritsar that the soldiers simply refused to cross the Beas and proceed further.

Before and after the Great Buddha and after his time for about 800 years the Punjab, particularly the city of Taxshila continued to remain the famous seat of learning. The great diplomat and political philosopher and the Prime Minister of Emperor Chandra Gupta, *Vishnu Gupta Chanakya*, whose nickname *Kautilya*, was a renowned teacher of *Taxshila*.

The great Grammarian of Sanskrit and the author *Ashtadhyayi*, Panini, the famous Physicians *Arti* and *Charak*, all belonged to the Punjab and had been the teachers at the same university. The great Buddhist scholars, who were also great poets and exponents of Philosophy, *Asang, Vasabanhdu*, and Ashwaghosh all either belonged to this very land, or had been persuing their noble literary pursuits, while living in the Punjab.

From the 4th to 7th centuries owing to the constant invasions of *Shakas*, *Huns* and other Asian Tribes from the North West, the great centres of learning shifted to the Gangetic plains, and the Punjabis continued to struggle hard to defend this western Gateway of India. During this period innumerable races migrated into the Punjab and permanently settled here after accepting the fundamentals of Indian religion, philosophy and culture. But constant contacts with the foreigners, and constant admixture of blood and blending of various cultures, made the Punjabis tolerant and chivalrous, brave and virile, and made their vision and outlook broader and comparatively liberal. There are still strong traces of all that in the Punjabi character.

Birth of Punjabi Language, The Punjabis had been the direct inheritors of the *Vodic* language, which later took the form of mamy *Apabhranshas*. Most of the Provincial languages of India are direct descendants of the various *Apabhranshas*. Punjabi also continued to develop in the same way. It is nearer to the vedic and Prakrit. This is why its direct style, and highly impressive sounds and notations have great potentialities of expression. Punjabi continued to develop just as other Indian language in their surroundings, and in the 12th and 13th cenruries it had become a commonly known dialect of the Punjab. Baba Farid (1196—1265) used this language as his medium. Two centuries thereafter Guru Nanak (1469–1538) just like other saint poets of that period adopted the language of the common people as his medium for conveying his sublime message to the masses. Guru Nanak was a great Punjabi and Hindu poet. He was perhaps the first, who successfully explored the literary potentialities of the Punjabi and its expressive powers.

The later Gurus and the eminent writers and poets of their courts gave this language a perfect literary form and profuse literature of very high order was produced in Punjabi by subsequent writers.

Hindi Writers of Punjab: Most of the writers and poets af Punjabi were also acknowledged writers and poets of *Brajbhasha* and Hindi, Urdu and Persian. The

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great Gurus from Guru Nanak Dev to the Tenth Guru, were themselves acknowledged writers and poets of both Punjabi and Hindi. They had an absolutely broad mind, and were free from the provincial, religious or cultural narrowness. Therefore they never bothered whether a person used as his vehicle of expression Punjabi, Hindi, Persian or any other language. They simply used the language prevalent and quite easily understood by the common people wherever they went. So we get their wise sayings in almost all languages that were known to the people of Northern India in those times.

In the Darbar of Guru Gobind Singh, there were 52 poets of various languages, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Hindu scriptures, and mythological stories had freely been translated, Bhai Santosh Singh was one of the great Braj Bhasha poets who wrote "*Guru Pratap Surya Prakash*" in fine poetry. The poems had been written in Gurmukhi script and, therefore, his poetry escaped notice of the Hindi readers and writers, otherwise he would have been counted as a poet of very high order in the Hindi literature.

In these very days *Abdul Rahim Khankhana* wrote his poetry in chaste Braj Bhasha and Hindi. He too belonged to the Punjab.

In modern times too some of the acknowledged Hindi writers and poets were Punjabis. Their number is so large that it would be impossible to count them here. But Babu Balmukand Gupta, the famous editor of Bharat Mitra was the foremost writer of Hindi prose He belonged to Bhiwanti. His "*Shiva Shambhu Ke Chitte*" is considered a masterpiece in political satire in Hindi, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi held him to be the best Hindi writer of his time. Another equally great Hindi writer who belonged to the Punjab was Pt. Madhava Prasad Misra, and yet another great Punjabi writer was Pandit Chandra Dhar Sharma Guleri who won immortality by his short story "*Usne Kaka Tha*", which is a fine portrayal of Punjabi life. There are a number of living Hindi writers who belong to the Punjab, and their contribution to the Hindi literature is in no way insignificant. I refrain from giving the long list, but I assure the reader that in the list of these Hindi writers there is considerable number of Sikh writers also who are acknowledged writers in the Punjabi also.

At the end I only remind the reader that just as Punjab played ever an impertant role in the past history its part in the recent history of modern India is also remarkable, The glorious part played by the Punjabis in the independence struggle forms the subject matter of another article in this volume.

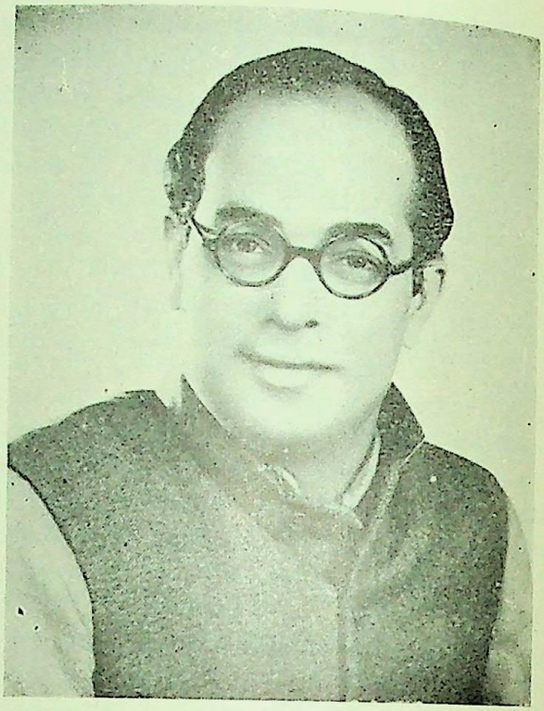
Undoubtedly the Punjab is destined to play a most important role again in the struggle for unifying and rebuilding New India.

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VILLAGES AND PANCHAYATS IN PUNJAB

(*H. D. Malaviya, Secretary Economic and Political Research Dept., A.I.C.C.*)



Punjab—the cradle-land of Panchayats

Punjab can well be called the cradle land of the Indian Panchayat institution. The incoming Aryans first settled in this very area and established the Village Panchayats. It is in Punjab again that the village communities lasted the longest. Manuscripts describing conditions under Panchayat Raj in a 200 sq. mile area around Delhi, from the 4th century to the middle of the 19th century were recently found in village Sorom in Muzaffarnagar district.* The Panchayats, according to the records, were responsible for local administration and enjoyed a wide degree of autonomy. Their powers were confirmed by successive emperors regardless of dynasty. The Panchayats in return undertook to pay taxes and raise militia in times of war. Indeed, in the studies of village communities by early British officers, Punjab villages feature again and again. Douie has the following to say about the village communities of Punjab :

"The affairs of the brotherhood were formerly managed by an informal village council or Panchayat. But this body was too numerous and loosely constructed to fittingly represent the community in its dealing with Government officials. A few of its leading members were, therefore, selected as headmen or *lambardars*, and the appointment of headmen naturally came to be confined to particular families. From a revenue point of view the most important function of the headman is to collect the revenue from the coparceners and pay it into the treasury. The special position assigned to the lambardars and the action of our courts stripped the Panchayat of its influence, and practically it has ceased to exist. The administration of the *malba*, or fund out of which the common expenses of the brotherhood are met, is usually left in the hands of headmen, but it is generally recognised that each member of the proprietory body has a right to demand an account of its expenditure."**

The State of Punjab of the Indian Union as constituted today is only a small part of the old and historic Punjab Province which in 1941 had a population of 2,84,18,918, living in 35,256 villages and 202 towns in 29 districts. After Partition, the present Punjab State has 13 districts and 54 tehsils. Its area is 37,378 square miles. Its population according to the 1951 Census was 1,26,41,205, living in 130 towns and 15,147 villages. Of this total population, 101,40,273 or 81·0 per cent was rural and 24,00,932 or 19·0 per cent urban.

*This valuable discovery has been made by Shri Jagdeo Singh Shastri, a Delhi research scholar. He says that the manuscripts were written in Hindi, Urdu, Arabic and Persian and were preserved by Chaudhry Kabul Singh of Village Sorom. One of the manuscripts mentioned the sending of local instructors to train the armies of Shivaji in guerilla warfare. It is stated in another place that Aurangzeb exempted Panchayats around Delhi from payment of *Jazia* (tax on non-Muslims). Shri Shastri says that a study of the manuscripts reveals that in the earlier days there was no rigid caste system and inter-caste marriages were prevalent. Even sweepers and washermen used to act as Panchayat Chiefs. (See *Our Punjab*, Monthly published by Director Public Relations, Punjab, Vol. 6, No. 6, June 1953).

**Sir James M. Douie : *Punjab Settlement Manual*, op. cit. p. 63.

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The Punjab Village

In the Punjab, as in other North Indian States, a village has a central or main *abadi* (i.e., habitation), a continuous and compact collection of houses, conspicuous by a number of *pucca* (i.e., brick) houses wherein reside its inhabitants. There may be scattered houses in the fields used sometimes as residence, but normally made use of during busy agricultural seasons. In addition to the old and main *abadi*, there may be smaller *abadies* used by some families as their exclusive or additional residences. In hilly areas, as the cultivation is scattered, formation of large hamlets does not arise. For purposes of enumeration in the 1951 Census, a village has been defined to mean any area (a) for which a separate record of rights exists, or (b) which has been separately assessed to land revenue or would have been so assessed if the land revenue had not been released, compounded for or redeemed, or (c) which the State Government, by general rule or special orders, declare to be an estate. The average population per village has been estimated at 988·7, the average area 1280·4 acres and the average density of population per square mile 494·2.

The Agricultural livelihood classes

In the Punjab, out of each 10,000 population in rural areas, 7,737 are engaged in agriculture. Out of these, 4,671 belong to livelihood category one, that is, cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents. Cultivators of land wholly and mainly unowned and dependents (category two) number 1,905. Agricultural labourers and dependents (category three) number 922, and non-cultivating owners constitute 239. The non-agricultural classes in the rural areas number 2,263. Thus in the Punjab countryside, 77 per cent of the population belong to agricultural classes and 23 per cent to non-agricultural classes.

Out of 13 districts in the State, Simla and Kangra belong to the Natural division called the Himalayan Punjab Division. Simla has no rural area. In Kangra, 95 per cent population is rural out of which 89 per cent is constituted by agricultural classes and 11 per cent only by non-agricultural classes. Out of this 89 per cent of agricultural classes, 75 per cent belong to livelihood category one, 10 per cent to category two, and bare 2 per cent each to category three and fuor.

The remaining 11 districts fall in what is called the Punjab Plains Division. The Division as a whole has 77 per cent agricultural classes as against 23 per cent non-agricultural. The former are divided thus in accordance with livelihood classes : Category I—44 per cent, Category II—20 per cent, Category III—10 per cent; Category IV—3 per cent. In other words, the agricultural tenants or crop-sharers constitute 20 per cent and the agricultural labourers 10 per cent of the rural population.

The General Family Survey conducted by the Agricultural Labour Enquiry of the Ministry of Labour arrived at identical conclusions. There were 5,074 families in the 29 villages selected for the enquiry. The total population of the sample villages was 28,721. The following table* gives the distribution of families by occupation :

TABLE I

Family Occupation	Total No. of families	Total No. of persons in the families	Average size of a family
Agricultural land-ownership.	2,237	13,249	5·92
Agricultural tenancy	868	5,520	6·36
Agricultural labour :			
(a) with land	83	463	5·58
(b) without land	430	2,118	4.93
	513	2,581	5·03
Total Agricultural families	3,618	21,350	5·9
Total Non-agricultural families	1,428	7,312	5·12
No specific stable occupation	28	59	2·11
All families	5,074	28,721	5·66

Of the total number of families, 3.618 or 71·3 were agricultural. Non-agricultural families comprised 28·1 per cent. Of the agricultural families, 2,237 or about 62 per cent were those of agricultural landowners while agricultural workers families number only 573.

Rural Man power and Occupational Structure o p. cit., p. 142.

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TABLE II

Size of holdings	Holder's family Occupation								Total	
	Agricultural owners		Agricultural Tenants		Agricultural workers		Non-Agricul-turists		Number of holdings	Area (acres)
	No.	Area(Acres)	No.	Area(Acres)	No.	Area(Acres)	No.	Area(Acres)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Under 1 acre	31	17·60	19	11·5	27	11·55	45	13·67	122 (4·54)	54·32 (0·17)
1 acre & under 2·5 acres	88	148·88	69	110·75	15	21·25	26	42·90	198 (7·37)	323·75 (1·02)
2·5 acres & under 5 acres	190	694·2	102	369·15	8	29·15	12	38·55	312 (11·62)	1132·05 (3·56)
5 acres & under 7·5 acres	228	1378·25	114	694·93	6	34·25	16	94·15	364 (13·55)	2201·58 (6·93)
7·5 acres & under 10 acres	217	1841·54	109	934·13	5	43·25	5	40·90	336 (12·51)	2859·82 (··
10 acres & under 25 acres	770	11769·30	330	4997·81	9	114·80	15	200·20	1,124 (41·85)	17082·11 (53·80)
25 acres & under 50 acres	167	5325·77	37	1159·58	1	30·00	2	67·00	207 (7·71)	6582·45 (20·72)
50 acres & under 100 acres	18	1069·00	2	105·0	nil	nil	nil	nil	20 (0·74)	1164·0 (3·66)
100 acres & above	3	368·70	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	3 (0·11)	368·7 (1·16)
Total	1,712	22614·21	782	8382·95	71	284·25	121	491·37	2,686(100·00)	31768·78 (100·00)
Average size of holdings ...		13·21	...	10·72	...	4·00	...	4·11	...	11·83

Note :—Figures within brackets denote percentages.

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Lower proportion of agricultural labourers

It thus follows that Punjab has a lower percentage of agricultural labourers than most other States. The reason for the low return may be the prevalence in wide tracts of the State the system of *Sanjhi*, whereunder the agricultural owners employ persons to cultivate their farms on a crop-share basis. This *Sanjhi* of the Punjab, indeed, has a peculiar position, somewhere between a full-fledged crop-sharer and agricultural wage-earner. The Punjab Census Report,* has hardly anything to say on the subject, and we are not aware as to how the *Sanjhis* have been placed in Census enumeration.

Landholdings in the Punjab

Nor is a clear picture available of the distribution of landholdings in the Punjab according to size. The Census of Landholdings undertaken under instructions of the Land Reforms Division of the National Planning Commission was restricted to holdings of 10 acres and above. According to this Land Census classifying holdings according to area owned (in ordinary acres as distinct from standard acres), the total number of holdings above 10 acres was 3,51,230, which comprised 26,42,849 acres as leased. Out of this leased area, 6,57,406 acres were on cash rents and 19,85,443 acres on kind rents.

According to figures given in the Punjab State Assembly in March 1948, 65·2 per cent owned less than 5 acres of land, 83·3 per cent less than 10 acres, and 90·5 per cent less than 15 acres. According to an estimate of the Punjab Government supplied in 1952,** 20,04,371 owners, that is 80 per cent of the total, had holdings of 10 acres or less. Out of these 14,18,221 had holdings of 5 acres and less. As against this, 11,685 owners, that is about 0·45 per cent of the total had holdings of 100 acres and above.

The General Family Survey of the Union Labour Ministry, however, gives a different picture. The table*** appended gives the size of distribution of cultivators' holdings according to the categories of families.

It follows that out of 2,686 holdings, 1,712 or about 64 per cent were held by owners, while agricultural tenants occupied 29 per cent of the total. Furthermore, the total area held by the owners was greater than that held by tenants. The average size of a holding in the case of owners was 13·21 acres, while for tenants, agricultural workers and non-agricultural families it was 10·72, 4·0 and 4·11 acres respectively. Taking all the families together, the average size of a holding was 11·83 acres. Only 3 holdings were more than 100 acres in area, while 23·5 per cent, accounting for only 4·8 per cent of the total area, were below 5 acres. Agricultural workers' families had 71 holdings of which 50, or 70·4 per cent were below 5 acres.

Of the total of 2,686 holdings, 1,124 or 41·9 per cent were between 10 and 25 acres, 12·51 per cent between 7·5 and below 10 acres, and 13·55 per cent between 5 and below 7·5 acres. The first category accounted for 53·8 per cent of the total area. 632 holdings, constituting 23·53 per cent of the total number of holdings, were below 5 acres and comprised of 1510·12 acres, that is a bare 4·75 per cent of the total holdings area.

Caste Composition of Rural Population

The maldistribution of land is apparent, though the situation obviously is not as bad as in other States. The General Family Survey gives the following account of caste composition of the families in the surveyed villages.**** Of 5,074 families, 1,086 belonged to the *Brahmin, Kshatriya* and *Vaishya* communities, 968 to scheduled castes and tribes, and 63 to tribal, aboriginal and backward classes; the miscellaneous group consisting of Sikhs, etc., accounted for 2,956 families. Most of the families (82 per cent) engaged in agricultural labour belonged to scheduled castes and tribes; 12 per cent were *Sikhs* and 5 per cent were *Brahmins* and *Kshatriyas* taken together. Amongst owners, 79 per cent were *Sikhs, Brahmins* and 'others'; *Kshatriya* and *Vaishyas* accounted for 18·5 and 1 per cent respectively. Tenants were drawn mostly from the *Sikhs* or scheduled castes and tribes. Most of the families cultivating the land were owners, there being only 868 tenant families as against 2,237 owner families. It follows that in the Punjab, as elsewhere, the property differences tend to coincide with caste differences, the so-called 'upper'

Census of India, 1951, Vol. VIII, Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh, Bilaspur, Delhi, Part I-A-Report by Lakshmi Chandra Vashista, Simla, 1953.

**See author's *Land Reforms in India*, Second Edition, 1955, published by All-India Congress Committee; Table on p. 166.

****Rural Man Power and Occupational Structure*, op. cit., p. 149.

*****Ibid*, p. 142.

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castes being mostly owners, and the so-called 'lower' castes mostly constituting the labouring classes. The General Village Survey* found that in some cases, workers who were indebted to their employers "were forced to work for inadequate remuneration." The Survey found that in villages of Kangra district, landlords enjoyed the privilege of free service from workers in return for the grant of small plots of land as house sites, though this custom was dying out.

The First Punjab Panchayat Legislation

The earliest legislation of Panchayats in the State was the Punjab Panchayat Act of 1912, which was followed by another Act in 1921-22. These enactments of the British were intended more for propaganda than for solid work, and they utterly failed in establishing Panchayats to any extent or creating response among the villagers. The Panchayats which were formed existed merely on paper because they had no effective powers. Nor could the Panches inspire confidence or respect in the people because only those persons could find a place in the Panchayats who had ingratiated themselves with the authorities. No agency was created to help in the organisation of the Panchayats, and the District Collectors had complete control over them. Their practice was to select certain persons for the Panchayats who were deemed fit according to the opinion of the *Zaildars* and *Safaidposhes*. The judicial powers of the Panchayats was also nominal. They could not entertain civil suits of more than Rs. 50 in value, and in a criminal case they could not impose more than Rs. 25 as fine. Judicial fees and fines were the only courses of their income. The income used to be hardly enough to purchase Panchayat stationery, or at the most for distribution of quinine in the malaria season. Consequently no effective measures resulted for improving sanitation and promotion of any other welfare activity.

The Panchayat Act of 1939

Another Panchayat Act was put on the statute book in 1939 by the Unionist Ministry. It superseded the earlier Acts and conferred, among others, wide judicial powers both civil and criminal on the Panchayats. As many as 36 sections of the Indian Penal Code ranging from section 202 to 510 were included in the schedule of the Panchayat Act, which prescribed the legal authority of the Panchayats. Efforts were also made to improve the financial resources of Panchayats through Government grants equal to the judicial fees and fines credited by the Panchayats to the Government treasury. Panchayats were also allowed to levy taxes in their respective areas with the previous sanction of the Government. The Government awarded grant-in-aid to a Panchayat equal to the amount of tax collected by it. Panchayat funds were also augmented through voluntary contributions. The amounts thus collected were utilised by the Panchayats to provide new libraries, repair school buildings and other help in the welfare of the village. A separate Panchayat Department was created to look after Panchayats.

Punjab Panchayats at the time of Partition

The 1939 Act did result in considerable advance in the organisation of Panchayats in undivided Punjab, where it is clear, Village Panchayats developed more than anywhere else in pre-Independence days. There were 733 Panchayats working at the end of 1930. This number rose to 1,489 at the end of 1939. After Partition of Punjab in August 1947, a total of 4,414 Panchayats came to the share of East Punjab out of which 3,700 were functioning. Government efforts during the first two years after Independence were directed towards reorganising and improving the efficiency of existing Panchayats. By March 1951, the number of notified Panchayats had increased to 6,000 of which nearly 4,600 were functioning. About 900 Panchayats were concentrating on improving village lanes and streets. More than 3,000 Panchayats were helping in manure-pitting and healthy disposal of village refuse. About 800 Panchayats had educational institutions of their own and were equipped with libraries ; 122 had medical dispensaries or first-aid centres ; 63 had radio sets ; about 1,200 Panchayats were assisting in the Grow More Food Campaign by digging wells.**

The Draft Panchayat Bill of 1950

The Partition of the Punjab was an unprecedented upheaval and gave a rude shock to all settled life, and the Panchayats suffered equally. The unending flow of refugees from West Pakistan created unprecedented problems before the State Government and top priority had to be given to the resettlement of these unhappy countrymen of ours. In spite of this, even in early post-

**Agricultural Wages in India*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 158.

**See *Punjab on the March towards Better Villages*, issued by Public Relations Department, Punjab, March 1951, p. 5.

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partition years, the State Government gave its attention to the question of Village Panchayats. As early as January 1950, a bill to replace the existing Panchayat Act with a view to vitalise the Panchayats of the State was drafted. The main changes contemplated were establishment of a Panchayat in each village instead of in selected villages and also to enlarge their municipal and judicial functions.* Shri Prithvi Singh Azad, then Local Self-Government Minister of the State, told the Rohtak District Panchayat Union on February 4, 1950 that "Panchayat Raj, the conception of real Swaraj of Mahatma Gandhi is for the advancement of village life and not for creating unnecessary disputes, as are being done now by some Panchayats. In our social system we have been always looking upon Panchayats as the incarnation of God himself."** In March 1950 the new Bill was published in the official Gazette for eliciting public opinion. The object of the Bill was to reorganise the Village Panchayats in order to make them fully representative of the Village communities and fully-fledged autonomous units of self-government. The Bill proposed the creation of two bodies—the Gaon Sabha and the Gaon Panchayat, the first a representative body composed of adult men and women in every village with a population of 500 or more, the smaller villages being grouped together for the purpose of forming a Gaon Sabha, and the second an executive committee consisting of a Sarpanch, a Naib Sarpanch, and five to nine Panches. The Bill was welcomed in the State. The *Tribune* (9th March, 1950) wrote : "The provisions relating to the composition of the Panchayats mark a great improvement over the existing system.....The scope of the administrative functions and the duties of the Panchayats have been considerably enlarged under the Bill."

The Present Panchayat Act

Certain developments, however, necessitated President's rule over Punjab and then came the General Elections of 1951-52, and so this Bill could not be enacted. The new Congress Ministry, which took office after the General Elections, had at its head Shri Bhimsen Sachar, noted for his strong advocacy of Panchayats. A new Panchayat Bill was drafted and presented to the State Assembly, which referred it to a Joint Select Committee. This Joint Select Committee Report was presented to the State Assembly by the then Local Self-Government Minister of the State, Shri Sri Ram Sharma, on November 21, 1952. The Bill was passed by the State Assembly in December 1952. The main provisions of the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act are described below :-

Every village or group of villages with a population of 500 or more shall have one or more Gram Panchayat(s). This limit may be relaxed in suitable cases.

Election Provisions

Each Gram Panchayat will consist of 5 to 9 members. The Panches will be elected by adult universal franchise by direct vote, and the prescribed number of candidates securing the highest number of valid votes will be considered to have been elected. Every voter for the Assembly will be automatically a Panchayat elector.

Seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes for a period of 10 years from the 26th January, 1950, when the Constitution of India came into force. Where the population of the Scheduled Castes is not less than 10 per cent of the total population and no member of Scheduled Castes is among the first five, the Scheduled Caste candidates securing the highest number of votes amongst such candidates will be automatically the fifth Panch. If the number of members of a Panchayat is more than 6, two Scheduled Caste candidates securing the highest number of votes will be considered to have been elected.

The Panches will elect the Sarpanch from amongst themselves and they will hold office for three years. The Panchayat may remove the Sarpanch by a motion of no-confidence passed by at least two-thirds of the Panches. No such motion can be sponsored without the previous permission of the Director of Panchayats. This provision is meant to eliminate frivolous and vexatious motions of no-confidence engineered for ulterior motives.

Members are liable for the loss, waste or mis-application of money and properties of the Panchayat when such loss, etc., is a result of their neglect or mis-conduct. The Assistant Director of Panchayats is competent to accept their resignation. They may be removed by Government on specified grounds. The Director may suspend them on such grounds or during the course of an enquiry. Removal entails disqualification for re-election for a period up to five years.

Tribune, 15th January, 1950.
**Tribune, 6th February, 1950.

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Obligatory and Discretionary Functions of Panchayats.

The obligatory and discretionary functions of the Panchayats and their administrative powers are as follows :-

(a) The Panchayats can make arrangements in respect of the following matters, including all subsidiary works and buildings connected therewith :-

(i) any public place including its sanitation and drains ;
(ii) wells, water pumps, baolies, springs, ponds and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing ;
(iii) burial and cremation grounds ;
(iv) lighting of public places ;
(v) buildings for the accommodation of travellers ;
(vi) ponds for animals ;
(vii) the relief of the poor ;
(viii) public health and sanitation ;
(ix) organisation and celebration of public festivals ;
(x) improvement of the breeds of animals used for agricultural or domestic purposes ;
(xi) public gardens, play grounds, establishment and maintenance of recreation parks, organisation of games and sports, supply of sports material and holding of tournaments ;
(xii) the development of agriculture and village industries and the destruction of weeds and pests ;
(xiii) starting and maintaining a grain fund for the cultivators and lending them seed for sowing purposes on such conditions as the Panchayat may approve ;
(xiv) the construction, repair and maintenance of public places and buildings of public utility ;
(xv) allotment of places for preparation and conservation of manure ;
(xvi) construction and maintenance of culverts and bridges ;
(xvii) laying out of new roads and pathways and the maintenance of existing ones.

(b) A Gram Panchayat may also maintain and manage maternity and child welfare centres, provide for medical relief and first aid, promote agricultural credit, establish first aid centres for animals and arrange relief against famine or other calamity.

(c) The Panchayats have powers to order removal of encroachments and nuisances.

(d) The Panchayats can issue general orders regulating :

(i) use of water of a well or pond ;
(ii) steeping of hemp in ponds ;
(iii) dyeing or tanning of skins ;
(iv) excavation of earth or stone ;
(v) establishing brick kilns, charcoal kilns and pottery kilns, etc., etc.

(e) Gram Panchayats can impose a fine on any person who violates their orders. This fine may extend to twenty-five rupees. For a continuing breach of their orders the Panchayats may impose a fine which extends to one rupee for every day after the first breach of orders. The recurring fine may not exceed Rs. 500.

(f) The Panchayats have the power to make enquiries into the misconduct of petty officials like constables, patwaris, peons, bailiffs, etc., and to make reports to the superier officer to whom it may concern or to the Deputy Commissioner.

(g) The Panchayats can require a patwari or chaukidar to perform his duty and if he fails to do so, can report against him to his superior officer or to the Deputy Commissioner.

(h) The Panchayats ean introduce prohibitation in their jurisdiction.

(i) A Panchayat can make bye-laws consistent with the Gram Panchayat Act 1952, and its Amendments, and can impose fines for the breach of these bye-laws. The bye-laws have to be confirmed by the Director of Panchayats.

(j) The Sarpanch or a duly authorised Panch of a Panchayat may enter any building or land and inspect it for a work authorised by the Panchayat.

(k) The Panchayat can acquire land through the Deputy Commissioner for public works.

(l) A number Of Panchayats can combine to help in establishing a school, a hospital or an Ayurvedic and Unani dispensary.

(m) The Panchayats are authorised to appoint such servants as are considered necessary and to pay them remuneration out of the Gram Fund.

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Judicial Functions

Every Gram Panchayat is given civil, criminal and judicial functions. Government have power to confer enhanced powers on the elected representatives of a group of Panchayats. In this case the Panchayats concerned will elect five Adalati Panches from amongst themselves by direct voting. The Adalati Panches will constitute the Adalati Panchayat. Enhanced criminal and civil powers may also be conferred by the State Government on selected Panchayats.

The District Judge in respect of civil suits and the Collector in respect of revenue suits and the District Magistrates as regards criminal cases may set aside or modify the orders of a Panchayat or direct a re-trial in case of failure of justice.

A Panchayat may in a criminal case impose a fine upto Rs. 100 or if given enhanced powers upto Rs. 200 or double the value of the damage or loss involved. In civil jurisdiction, the maximum monetary limitation is Rs. 500 for Panchayats with enhanced jurisdiction and Rs. 200 for others.

Legal practitioners are debarred from pleading before a Panchayat in judicial proceedings.

The judicial procedure is kept simple and attempt has been made to avoid technicalities and complications keeping in view the fact that justice is to be administered by villagers with no judicial training.

Sources of Revenue

The main sources of revenue are :—

(a) grants-in-aid from Government for sanitation, education etc. ;

(b) 10 per cent of the land revenue paid by the Panchayat area ;

(c) taxes ;

(d) from common land, fees, fines and forfeitures.

There are two kinds of taxes (i) compulsory, (ii) optional. Every Panchayat will have to impose a specified compulsory tax subject to the maximum rates laid down by Government. It may levy any other tax which the State Legislature has power to levy in the State but with the previous sanction of Government. It will also have power to borrow with the sanction of Government.

A Gram Panchayat may with the previous permission of the Director impose a speeial tax on the adult males for the construction of any public work of general utility, It may, however, exempt any man from payment of this special tax in lieu of community service. In an emergency, manual labour for pnblic purposes may be compulsorily introduced without payment.

It is intended to have a pyramid of local authorities in rural areas organically liaised with one another. At the base of the pyramid there will be Gram Panchayat Unions consisting of all Sarpanches of the Gram Panchayats within the Thana. The duty of the Unions will be to advise the Gram Panchayats in the performance of administrative duties.

To maintain liaison between the Gram Panchayat and villagers every Gram Panchayat is bound to hold general meetings of the voters twice a year in which the report of the working of the Gram Panchayat will be presented and the future programme for the development of the village formulated. Each village community will thus be a miniature republic.

A Directorate of Panchayats with a large regional staff will be responsible for general direction, control and supervision of Gram Panchayats. Deputy Commissioners and the State Government have also powers of control which are commonly provided for in all local government laws. The Deputy Commissioner may inspect records, properties, etc., of the Gram Panchayat, suspend any action, and provide for the performance of an administrative duty in case of default of a Panchayat.

An order of the Deputy Commissioner suspending executive action of the Panchayat is subject to confirmation, modification or rescission of Director. Government have power to call for proceedings and to make rules.

Panchayat General Elections in 1953

The first general elections of nearly 9,000 village republics in the Punjab, covering 16,455 revenue villages was completed in mid 1953, and the Village Panchayats began functioning from August the same year. Reporting on the elections the correspondent of an esteemed

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daily said* : "The dignified and peaceful conduct of the villagers during the elections is a good omen which promises a bright era of Panchayat Raj in this border State." Nearly 50 per cent of the Panches were elected unopposed in many of the districts. The voting percentage was high, about 80 to 85 per cent on an average, as against 60 to 70 per cent in the 1951-52 General Elections. Women voters took interest in the elections beyond all expectations though the number of women candidates was meagre in some cases, *e.g.*, Ambala district, they defeated their men rivals with a thumping majority. The Harijans, besides securing the reserved seats, were successful in capturing a number of general seats. According to the *Statesman* correspondent, "the Communists....were a dismal failure in the rural areas and made no impression on the villagers with their promises to provide each with a buffaloe and a piece of land." The Congress refrained from the elections on a Party basis, but 40 to 55 per cent of the successful candidates were Congressmen. The Akalis and Communists accounted for less than 10 per cent of the total votes polled.

The total expenditure in running the elections amounted to the very low figure of Rs. 1 lakh, whereas the Government had expected to spend Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs. Much economy was effected by the simplicity of voting procedure and by cutting down formalities over nominations. There was no paraphernalia of Government made ballot boxes which had to be carried during the General elections to all parts of the State, involving loss in transport, voluminous clerical work and much expenditure, officially estimated to be more than 3 crores. Empty ghee tins were used as ballot boxes.

Shri Sachar on Role of Panchayats

On August 10, 1953, administering oath of office to newly elected Panches at Rohtak, Shri Bhimsen Sachar, the State's Chief Minister said** : "The objective of the Punjab Government is to establish real Swaraj in villages. There is fundamental difference between the reign of British Government which aimed at exploitation of the people and the present democratic set-up which exists for the welfare of the masses." He added : "After wrenching power from foreigners, the Congress has passed on its authority to the masses and the establishment of Gram Panchayats under the new Act aims at entrusting the people with full control to manage their local affairs. Panches under the new Act have been given great authority and responsibility—they have been given judicial administrative and financial powers. It now rests with them to justify the trust reposed in them by the Government and the people." Shri Sachar told the Panches that all possible encouragement would be given to those whose work was creditable but warned that : "Panchayats which failed to function satisfactorily and mismanaged their affairs would be penalised.

Undesirable elements apparently did get elected. Shri D. D. Kapila, Director of Punjab Panchayats, told a correspondent*** at Chandigarh on Junel 4, 1954, that 40 per cent of the total 60,000 Panches in over 9,000 Panchayats in the State were "undesirable." About 100 Panches were of doubtful character. He further disclosed that "undesirable" Panches shall be either reformed or removed in the interest of a healthy atmosphere in the villages. He stated that he had till then removed nearly 200 Panches for anti-national activities like exhorting people not to supportthe National Savings Campaign, getting drunk or mis-appropriation of Panchayat funds or harbouring bad characters.

Achievements of Punjab Panchayats

Very rightly the annual review of the Punjab Panchayat Department for 1953-54 said : "Despite feuds and factions, the co-operative spirit in which most of the Panchayats in Punjab are working for the welfare of the people is heartening." Panchayats have done creditable work in all spheres during the first Plan period. A total sum of Rs. 172·80 was raised by the Panchayats from their own sources, including voluntary contribution and taxes during this period.**** Special tax under Section 87 of the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act to be paid in the form of compulsory labour or cash for carrying out special work was enforced in a large number of cases, particularly for destruction of locust, construction of bunds against floods, etc. During the Plan period, the Panchayats, expended a total sum of Rs. 167 lakhs, from their own funds on works of sanitation, development, including street pavements, drains, village roads, culverts, etc., and for libraries against a total Government grant of Rs. 90·13 lakhs for such work.

Statesman, 25th July, 1953.

**Tribune*, 13th August, 1953.

***Hindustan Standard* (Delhi Edition) 15th June, 1954.

****Vide article by S. N. Vasudev, Director of Panchayats Punjab in *Tribune*, dated 16th October, 1955.

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Panchayats in Punjab have, in fact, set an excellent example of self-help and co-operation in fostering constructive activity within their jurisdiction. Besides the activities enumerated above, they have repaired and constructed Panchayat ghars, dispensaries, first aid centres, children's parks and recreation centres. Panchayats in the Punjab have shown special interest in the matter of education. This enthusiasm is indicated by the fact that in a single month, Panchayats in Kaithal Tehsil collected Rs. 86,000 for school buildings and their equipment. In Nikodar, they raised Rs. 5,000 for a high school.* In pursuance of the Government's decision to have a primary school in each village, 400 new schools were opened by the Panchayats between October 1953 and March 1954. On July 1, 1954, they were running 1,044 primary schools and progress has since been uniformly maintained. Apart from this, Panchayats collected more than Rs. 6 lakhs for construction of new school buildings, repair and extension of existing buildings, and provision of furniture. In June 1954, the Government decided that new schools would be opened by the Education Department and the existing ones would be taken over from the Panchayats by October, 1954. Now the Panchayats provide buildings and furniture for the schools and drinking water facilities for students.

In 1951-52, Rs. 50 lakhs were raised by the Panchayats through voluntary contributions for sanitation and water supply schemes. Against this amount the Government decided to give a grant of Rs. 37½ lakhs in five yearly instalments. Accordingly, Rs. 8 lakhs were provided during 1952-53, Rs. 7½ lakhs in 1953-54 and another Rs. 7½ lakhs during 1954-55. The first two instalments have been disbursed to the Panchayat staff. By the end of the financial year 1953-54 works involving an expenditure of Rs. 14 lakhs were taken in hand by the Panchayats. Money was mainly spent for the purchase of cement and bricks, and labour was provided on a voluntary basis.

In the judicial sphere, Panchayats have handled quite a large number of cases. Many protracted suits have been compromised through their efforts. The number of cases decided in 1953-54 is as follows : Criminal cases—instituted 12,095, decided 9,328, compounded 3,227, dismissed 1,550 and convicted 1,540; civil suits —instituted 11,087, decided 8,484, compromised 5,587, dismissed 1,239 and decreed 1,649.

Panchayats used their good offices in effecting compromises between landowners and tenants in several districts. Many ejectment notices were withdrawn as a result of their efforts. In Ferozepore Panchayats were able to effect compromises in 5,000 cases and in Gurdaspur in over 9,000 cases.

In accordance with Section 19 of the Gram Panchayat Act, Panchayats are enjoined to arrange village patrol under the Village and Small Town Patrol Act. Most of the Panchayats have provided the patrols. A proposal to place chaukidars directly under them is under the consideration of the Government and if this materialises it will strengthen their hands.

In Ferozepore and Karnal districts some Panchayats have adopted resolutions for stopping sale of liquor and removal of liquor shops from their jurisdiction. They are mobilizing public opinion in favour of prohibition.

A drive was launched by the Panchayat Department in 1954 for removal of untouchability from the rural areas. Five hundred and fifty-four Panchayats certified that untouchability has been removed. The district-wise break up was as follows : Hissar 67, Karnal 34, Ludhiana 43, Jullundur 157, Kangra 62 and Gurdaspur 191.

Panchayats played a significant role in popularising the National Plan Loan. According to the Punjab Panchayat Department review of 1953-54 Rs. 85,00,000 were contributed through their efforts. The maximum amount contributed by a Panchayat member is Rs. 76,000.

Co-ordination

The beneficial work done by the Panchayats is obvious. This advance has to be viewed in the background that for the first time in June-July 1953, the entire rural adult population of Punjab took part in a huge election to elect upwards of 50,000 representatives, a large number of whom were illiterate or were elected for the first time. It is not surprising, therefore, that some undesirable elements got in. The Panchayat Review for 1953-54 says : " There is no denying the fact that a

Statesman (Delhi Edition) 15th August, 1954)

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arge number of undesirable Panches has found their way to Panchayats as a result of elections. Naturally, they started obstructing the smooth working of Panchayats by opposing the imposition of the house tax, embezzling Panchayat funds, fostering indiscipline and abusing and assaulting fellow Panches. It was decided to purge the panchayats of such undesirable elements. Two hundred and eighty-one Panches were suspended. Out of them 22 have been reinstated on their tendering an apology and promise to reform themselves."

The Panchayat Department quickly reacted to the situation. Ten experienced Panchayat officers from the field staff, along with two permanent education Panchayat Officers, were entrusted with the task of training the members. About 30 centres were opened at convenient places in each district and 41,733 members were imparted elementary training in Panchayat work within three months. The duration of training was two days for a batch.

To assist members in the performance of their duties and to guide them generally, the Government recommended the appointment of a secretary for a group of 10 to 12 Panchayats. Some of the Panchayats opposed these appointments on the ground they had educated members. They were firmly told that a Secretary had not only to attend to clerical work but to maintain proper accounts, prepare copies of judgments and keep a record of documents. As a result of the Government advice, about 90 per cent of the Panchayats have appointed Secretaries.

Proposed Reorganisations. District Boards to be abolished.

The Punjab Panchayats can thus lay claim to very solid work done, and the Punjab administration deserves credit for the attention it has bestowed on fostering this movement. It would appear that the creation of intermediate units between the State and Village Panchayats for better co-ordination and results, as also some other schemes for better Panchayats development are engaging the attention of the Government. Punjab's Development Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, told a meeting at Sidhwan Bet, in Ludhiana district towards the end of 1955 that the State Government planned to have a Panchayat in every village. Under the scheme the number of Panchayats in the State would rise from 9,000 to 16,000. A few months later, in February 1955, the State's Chief Minister, Shri Bhimsen Sachar, told a Panchayat audience in the backward area of Naraingarh in Ambala district that the State Government was thinking of esta blishing an institution to replace the District Boards in Punjab. The scheme, which evisaged the setting up of Committees charged with the task of improving the lot of the rural population, at tehsil level would have members elected by Panchayats. Shri Sachar visualised that the proposed institution would have direct contact with the masses and wield more powers than the District Boards and would be able to solve the problems of the masses expeditiously. No final shape, it would appear, has been given to the schemes of Panchayat reorganisation, but the matter is under discussion and formulation.

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MOTOR TRANSPORT IN THE PUNJAB

(*By L. Jagat Narain*)

Year by year the subject of Transport is becoming more and more complex in character all over the world. The development of Road Transport in this country has assumed greater importance at present than ever before. This is in keeping with the vast changes that are taking place in our national economy. Its further development is closely linked with the growth of modern automobile industry which is making headway. Following the recommendations made by the Tariff Commission, a programme has been chalked out for the manufacture of automobiles and their components in India, which has to be achieved by early stages. It is, indeed, a welcome sign, for much would depend on our future self-sufficiency in this sphere. The new industry would not only be capable of bringing in more wealth, but also give an impetus to increased production allround. An efficient Motor Transport system, by providing improved communications, will in a large measure, promote trade and industry, and go a long way in raising the standards of living. It has come to occupy a prominent place among the public utility services.

Motor Transport in the Punjab State has been receiving much of the attention that it deserved and efforts have been constantly made to improve and expand this mode of conveyance. Steps were taken to save it from the vagaries of wasteful competition and to co-ordinate the system with other means of transport. The large number of individual operators of passenger buses were grouped into Limited Liability Companies and Transport Co-operative Societies. The area of Punjab (I) is 37,461 sq. miles and population is about 126 lakhs. The total length of routes, outside the municipal limits, is 9,329 miles out of which only 2,643 miles are metalled. For operation of passenger bus services, the whole State is being served by nearly 400 routes. Permits to private operators are issued on specific routes for regular operation according to requirements. The total number of buses in operation is 1,730, which cover a route mileage of 16,751 and annual operational mileage of 46,911,375. The good vehicles, numbering about 3,000, are allowed to operate in specific regions which generally extend over the entire State. In addition they are granted counter-signatures for one of the adjoining States.

The most important achievement in the development of road transport relates to the sphere of nationalised services. The idea of Nationalisation of Passenger Transport was conceived after partition with the arrival of 13 buses falling to the share of this State from joint Punjab. This formed the nucleus of Jullundur Omnibus Service which was started in 1948. Then followed the Amritsar Omnibus Service in the same year with 11 buses and finally the Ambala Roadways with 29 buses. The year-wise figures of fleet strength, capital investment, routes operated, net profit, mileage operated and number of passengers carried are shown below :—

Year	Addition to fleet	Additional capital	Additions in number of routes	Total net profit	Mileage operated	No. of passengers operated.
1948-49	42	7,79,773	6	1,15,966	5,75,369	58,18,492
1949-50	34	6,85,740	5	1,64,069	21,35,454	1,20,85,696
1950-51	99	20,05,510	14	5,72,036	40,53,350	1,58,14,395
1951-52	20	2,85,135	7	8,10,004	71,84,928	1,87,36,659
1952-53	33	22,98,156	15	2,82,938	83,82,488	1,73,13,557
1953-54	14	3,45,194	16	9,95,170	73,26,656	1,67,76,102
19545-5	—	4,92,000	14	17,00,000	1,04,31,291	1,93,78,360
	242	68,91,508	77	46,40,183	4,00,89,536	10,39,23,261

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With the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan, there have been substantial developments in the State Transport Services. The old vehicles which had become worn out and uneconomical for use were replaced by sturdier vehicles of larger capacity, with better layout and well upholstered cushioned seats, greater leg space, headroom and rest. With better workshop arrangements, incidence of breakdowns has been successfully minimised and greater stress is laid on regularity and punctuality of timings. Politeness on the part of staff in their dealing with the public is strictly insisted upon. Well equipped bus stands have been built and are being added at important places, with greater and modern amenities for the travelling public. Monthly concessional passes are issued to students, teachers, professors, press representatives, Government servants and other categories of office-goers and businessmen. To provide further facilities in the new Capital special passes entitling the holders to travel "as many times on any routes" have been introduced at a fixed rate.

The welfare of workers and the conditions under which they are employed are of paramount importance. In addition to the normal privileges enjoyed by Government servants, such as, security of service, fixed grades, increments, leave and overtime allowance, they are provided with free uniforms, retiring rooms, first aid, library and canteens, besides free travelling between office and residence. The benefits of State Employees Insurance Scheme have been made applicable to them and proposals for creation of Labour Welfare Fund and giving cash rewards as incentive are under consideration. The scheme of Contributory Provident Fund has recently been introduced to the benefit of employees, under which they subscribe 6¼% of their pay and an equal amount is contributed by Government.

The State Transport is doing its best to provide much better service by enhancing the previous standards. It is gaining popularity among the travelling public and there is the added goodwill of the workers, which provides the real index as to why there is demand for further expansion of Government Transport Services.

The financial results of the Government Transport Services have been outstanding. The percentage of net profit on progressive capital after meeting all the working expenses, including interest on capital and after providing for Depreciation Reserve Fund and Motor Transport Insurance Reserve Fund works out to 23·9%, till the close of the last financial year. In addition, Government Transport Services have built up Depreciation Reserve and Motor Transport Insurance Reserve Funds in the neighbourhood of Rs. 20 lakhs upto the end of 1954-55, after meeting expenditure on replacements and compensation claims. During the year 1955-56, there will be an addition of Rs. 10 lakhs to these funds, thus making the total of about Rs. 30 lakhs. Profits during the current year for eight months (upto November, 1955) have touched the peak figure of Rs. 22·98 lakhs (subject to audit and proforma adjustments). By the close of the year 1955-56, the profits from the Government Transport Services are estimated at about Rs. 28 lakhs. The Services would thus have over-subscribed in the form of profits the entire capital investment of Rs. 68,91,989 upto the end of the year 1954-55. However, the capital invested is still intact in the form of physical assets, such as, lands and buildings, furniture and fittings, tools and plant and spare parts and vehicles. It is said that comparisons are odious but it is a matter of legitimate pride that if these profits are compared with the other State Transport Undertakings, the percentage of Punjab State works out to be the highest.

On the basis of developments already achieved, the State Government have decided to continue and complete the process of nationalisation of all the existing routes in order to achieve the maximum results. It is an admitted fact that the quality of vehicles of private operators and their maintenance arrangements are not as satisfactory and they have generally been reluctant to invest money on buses and stands. The vehicles of State Government Transport are replaced normally after a fixed number of years and after completion of a fixed mileage to ensure flow of new and better buses. State Transport have also been spending liberally on providing necessary amenities at important stands. The Nationalisation of Transport will help in achieving rail road co-ordination and eliminate wasteful competition. It will also improve the lot of workers and result in larger employment. Above all the profits earned by the Government Transport Services will in no small measure augment

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PUNJAB'S PART IN THE FREEDOM FIGHT

By Feroz Chand,
(Chairman, Punjab Committee for History of Freedom)

Three years ago the Central Government appointed a Board in connection with a projected history of Indian Freedom Movement. The project has stimulated a great deal of interest in a theme that will continue to inspire the generations to come. Work on the freedom movement will of necessity mean a large scale rewriting of Indian history during the last century and a half or so. The Board which during its brief tenure did quite creditable work in collecting and sifting material has been recently wound up and the authorities have not yet announced their intentions as to when and how they intend to complete the project. Besides the large quantity of material it collected the Board's work has proved indirectly of immense use. State authorities set up committees to assist the Central Board in the collection of material in their respective territories, and these committees continue their useful work. In fact some of them got into stride only when the Central Board was more or less being wound up. Some of the State Committees have also been entrusted with an independent local assignment. The Punjab Committee with its enlarged terms of reference has been asked to compile a narrative on Punjab's contribution to the Indian Freedom Movement.

Punjab's contribution to the Freedom Fight—undoubtedly this is a grand and glorious theme.

* * *

What might be the startingp oint ? The Annexation ? Resistance and revolt no doubt started soon after the annexation. But the Punjab was annexed by the British much later than most other parts ; and when we know the full story of the pre-Annexation attempts to drive out the 'Feringhee,' we my be quite confident that Ranjit Singh had a large hand in these. New work on this phase of the anti-British moves, as also work on Ranjit Singh henceforward must devote careful attention to the abortive attempts at a concerted anti-British effort. There is clear evidence of alliances entered into by various Indian rulers to fight the common enemy—the British . Ranjit S ngh figures a good deal in these. The whle story has yet to be pieced together.

In the post-Annexation phase we have the revolt of Diwan Mool Raj of Multan (1848-49). For a while large numbers of Punjabis were agitated about Prince Duleep Singh—largely I suppose out of a feeling of loyalty towards Ranjit Singh, partly also because mean and crooked dealings of an alien conqueror filled them with disgust.

In the larger per pective of the Indian struggle, 1857 naturally occupies a most conspicuous place, l eing the first large-scale revolt against British authority, as distinct from earlier 'ocal resistance movements. Punjab's contribution on this occasion it is generally assumed was on the wrong side. This debit item is not denied ; but a number of things cal for further examination. We know too little as yet as to how the leaders of the War of Independence approached the Punjabi fighter ? Did they completely neglect him ? Did they in any way mishandle him ? Was their approach psychologically inferior to that of the Britisher who exploited (*i*) the Sikh grievance against the purbia—(*ii*) a few years e.rlier he had fought against Sikhs on the British side, and they exploited the still not too dim memories of what the Gurus had suffered at the hands of the Moghal administration – and Bahadur Shah was just another Moghal ruler.

Nor would it be correct to say that in the 1857 upheaval the Punjab remained altogether quiet. There were a large number of incidents and minor revolts or abortive mutinies from Lahore to the Simla hills, from Ambala to Peshawar. In rewritten history these will surely deserve better notice than what they get at present. And in the terrible sequel revealing the victory's blood-thirsty traits—which form the them of Edward Thompson's *The Other Side of the Medal*—the Punjab witnessed many things including one that made even British writers recall the "Black Hole" story narrated (or invented) by Holwell. The site of this occurrence was not very far from where the congress assembles this time—near Ajnala in Amritsar district. The details of the incidents are there in the Britishers' own reports – only while Holwell's story was broadcasted through a thousand text-books this one seldom found its way into such text-books even when they were written by Indian writers of history.

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Though in the '57 revolt Punjab's contribution was by no means comparable to that of Delhi or of large tracts now included in Uttar Pradesh, or of Bihar, it can fairly be claimed that in the post-'57 period—that is before the political agitation platforms like that of the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) came into being—the most notable movement which made the British really nervous arose in the Punjab. I refer to the Namdhari movement of Baba Ram Singh—to his followers Guru Ram Singh in the continued succession of Gurus beginning with Baba Nanak—culminating in 1872 in the Malerkotla massacre.

In the post-'57 phase of the Freedom struggle the Namdharis, or Kukas as they are popularly called, must be given the pride of place. They hurled defiance at the Britishers afresh when to all appearance his authority had become unchallengable. They are the vanguard, the pioneers in a very real sense, for they anticipated history by more than half a century. Not only was Cowan, the official responsible for the Malerkotla massacre, an anticipation of General Dyer the imperialist "hero" of the Jallianwala butchery, but the basic concept of non-co-operation and the Gandhian programme based on khadi and on a boycott of the Britishers' law courts and of Government-controlled education launched by the Congress in 1920 were anticipated by the Namdharis in the 60's of the last century. The Kuka non-co-operation was in fact more thoroughgoing both in conception and in execution, and proved more abiding, than the non-co-operation adopted by Congressmen under the inspiration and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

From the Britishers the Kukas could expect nothing but a raw deal, but they certainly deserved better treatment at the hands of the writers of history than what they have been getting. A good deal was available in authentic records about the fight they put up and the sufferings they underwent, yet it seldom percolated into the current text-books. For the most part these have contented themselves with the barest mention of a "Kuka outbreak" in 1872 successfully and sternly put down by authority. The significance of the movement that so strangely anticipated subsequent national moods and national policies by more than half a century seemed completely lost on most of our historians. (An exception was the Punjabi historian, the late Bhai Parmanand, who saw the "outbreak" in its proper historical perspective and sought to bring out the real significance of the Kuka programme and its place in the struggle against the alien ruler. But unlike most of our "professional" writers of history, Bhai Parmanand was ever alert against imperialist suppressions and distortions of the history of "British" India. When the history of the Punjab and of India in the sixties and seventies has been properly re-written "non-co-operation" will be found to have had its birth in the Punjab at the Kuka Diwans of Baba Ram Singh. Then the village of "Bhaini"—at present a name unfamiliar to most of our historians—might well acquire a new national significance as a spiritually charged shrine radiating a message of self-help and self-sufficiency, of Swadeshi, of defiance and boycott of alien authority and of withdrawal of co-operation from alien institutions, of austerity and truth and sacrifice, in general of true spiritual and national values, and of unique serenity in spite of the onslaughts of tyranny and oppression.

* * * * * *

Towards the end of the sixties the conflict was becoming sharp indeed. Trouble arose mainly over cow slaughter. At Amritsar the butchers were murdered but the Kukas who had done this remained undetected—till at the eleventh hour they discovered themselves (made to do so by their Guru to save innocent persons from being hanged). The Kuka mind was much exercised over the slaughter issue; the fivre-brands amongst them decided on an insurrection.

On the 14th of January 1872 a band of about a hundred Kukas determined, recklessly, on a clash with authority whom they found intolerable, attacked Maler Kotla. There—was now let me tell the story in the words of Sir Henry Cotton :—"bloody and obstinate fight, with heavy loss on both sides. The survivors, sixty-six in number, including twenty-two who were wounded, fled into the Patiala State. There they surrendered on the 15th of January, and were lodged for the night in the Fort of Sherpore. With their surrender the Kuka rising came to an end.

"On the 16th January Mr. Cowan, who was then Deputy Commissioner for the adjoining British Division of Ludhiana, ordered the prisoner to be sent into Kotla, where he himself arrived during the day. That evening he wrote to his official superior, the Commissioner, a letter reporting that tranquillity had been

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completely restored, and adding : 'The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at daybreak. About noon of the following day (the 17th) he received a note from Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, desiring him to keep the prisoners at Sherpore till a guard could be sent from Ludhiana. This note he says, he put in his pocket 'and thought no more about it.' It was not until 4 p.m. on the afternoon of the 17th that the captured Kukas were marched into Kotla, and then and there without delay or the semblance of a trial, Mr. Cowan caused forty-nine of them to be blown away from guns. Close on 7 p.m., when the last batch of six men had been lashed to the guns, there came an official order from Mr. Forsyth to send the prisoners to him for trial. In his explanation to Government, Mr. Cowan wrote of that order : 'After reading Mr. Foryth's letter, I handed it to Colonel Perkins with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to the guns ; that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us ; and so the last six rebels were blown away as had been the forty-three others before them.' One man, who would have made the fiftieth, broke from the guard, rushed at Mr. Cowan and caught him by the beard, but was promptly cut down by the sabres of the native officers who were in attendance.

"Such was Mr. Cowan's share in this transaction. The Commissioner, Mr. Foryth had repeatedly enjoined on him to proceed with legal formalities, and on the 17th he telegraphed to the Government : 'I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form and withwout delay. Exceptional action not necessary and would increase excitement better allayed.' On the 18th however, having been informed by Mr. Cowan of the ghastly tragedy which had been enacted, he wrote to him in the following terms : 'My dear Cowan, I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out.' He did come out, and sanctioned within the terms of the law the execution of the sixteen remaining prisoners. They were hanged.'

"The Government of India recorded an elaborate Resolution on these proceedings... 'His Excellency in Council is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which give it a complexion of barbarity.' In effect, however, the "barbarity" was condoned. Forsyth was given another assignment and earned a kinghthood, and though Cowan was dismissed for him too another equally good appointment was found. The Anglo-Indian press belauded the 'firm action.'

"For my part", writes Sir Henry, "I can recall nothing during my service in India more revolting and shocking than these executions."

* * *

But though writers of history, for imperialist reasons, chose to ignore the Kukas, the imperialist administrators never minimised the danger and never left them in peace. Long before the "outbreak" of 1872 the Kukas had become suspect and been in trouble. All through the sixties they figured a great deal in intelligence reports, and bans on Kuka assemblies had become a routine affair, for several years their leader Guru Ram Singh was in quasi-confinement and not permitted ta stair out of his village, Bhaini Sahib. After the Malerkotla episode, in January 1872 Guru Ram Singh with 12 of his most important lieutenants was arrested under Regulation III and deported to Burma, the entire community put under suvreillance, and at Bhaini Sahib police restrictions imposed of a kind unknown elsewhere in the annals of British oppression in India. The restrictions imposed in 1872 remained in force for five decades. For half a century the Kukas as a community were under a sort of ban, for the British suspected every Kuka as such of an inborn hostility towards the "Raj". I do not know of another religious sect or another political organisation that suffered like this for such a long time.

* * *

But even though they incurred British wrath were the Kukas not purely a religious sect without any poltical significance in a context of nationalism or of Indian Freedom ?

The British authorities certainly did not dismiss the Kukas as innocent of political motive or purpose. Guru Ram Singh led a saintly life and was by all accounts a man of deep religious feeling and conviction. But we have also to remember that before he became a religious leader he had served in the Khalsa cavalry, had seen from within the amazingly swift decline of

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Sikh power, had tasted the humiliation of defeat at the hands of foreigners ; and a man of his sensitive perception and deep thinking was bound to ponder over the happenings that had given such rude jolts to the Punjab and spelled such speedy decline for the Punth. He had seen the glorious days of Ranjit Singh and must have been struck by the contrast to these of the inglorious days that came so quick when Ranjit Singh was gone. He proved himself a shrewd organiser, so that his prolonged internment at Bhaini Sahib so far from making him disband his followers actually was used for their metamorphosis into a much better organized community with a soldierly discipline.

By the early sixties, the Kuka organization had definitely acquired a political complexion. Explicit injunctions by the Guru himself settle this point once for all. In addition to the vows prescribed by Guru Gobind Singfi, Baba Ram Singh enjoined his Sikhs to observe other rules, which he divided into personal, social, religious and political. They were (as summed up by Khushwant Singh):

(*a*) *Personal.* Not to eat meat or drink alcohol.
Not to covet another's property or women.
Not to lie.
Not to accept interest on loans.

(*b*) *Social* Not to kill female children or sell them.
Not to allow marriages under the age of 16 or arrange marriages by exchange.
Not to give expensive gifts at weddings.
Not to castrate domestic animals.

(*c*) *Religious.* To rise at dawn, bathe and pray with rosaries made of wool.
To wear their turbans straight (unlike those of other Sikhs, the two sides of whose turbans meet in an angle on the forehead).
To protect cows and other animals from slaughter.

(*d*) *Political.* Not to accept service with the Government.
Not to send children to Government schools.
Not to use courts of law but settle disputes in panchayats.
Not to use foreign goods.
Not to use the Government postal service.

All these vows were incorporated in an epistle addressed to his followers—the *Rahatnama*,—which Guru Ram Singh issued in 1863.

Thus from 1863 onwards the Kukas going about in simple homespun, using rosaries of wool, were pledged to what in later phraseology became Swadeshi, Boycott and Non-co-operation.

It is true that the Kuka clash with the British arose over the issue of cow slaughter. The Malerkotla episode was directly connected with this issue. The Kukas were bitter against the Britishers' slaughter-houses. But even in this respect the attitude of these early khadi-wearing non-co-operators was not without points of similarity with Mahatma Gandhi's movement. The Kukas were vegetarians and attached the highest importance to the cow—as also did Gandhi. The Gandhian non-co-operation as conceived at first was based on two grievances—the Punjab wrong (with the Dyer performance at the Jallianwala Bagh as its outstanding feature) and the Khilafat wrong. At least in the early phase Mahatma Gandhi used to say that befriending the Muslims and taking up the cause of Khilafat was his way of saving the cow. Non-co-operation as conceived by the Mahatma was not unconnected with the cow—and the "Khilafat" wrong was primarily a religious issue. If the prominence of the religious aspect in Gandhi's thinking does not make the non-co-operation movement void of political purpose, the importance of the cow to the Namdharis need not, likewise, take away their significance to the freedom fight.

I do not say the concept of "nation" and of "freedom" in the 1870, was the same as today. These concepts have been changing and they still continue to change. It is only by making due allowance for this that a proper assessment of the Kuka struggle or of Guru Ram Singh's movement could be made.

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There are certain aspects of Kuka doings which deserve more attention than they have received hitherto, if a proper assessment is to be made of the "freedom" content as distinct from the religious and spiritual content of their movement. Guru Ram Singh is known

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to have established and fostered contacts with a number of rulers of the day. The Kashmir ruler was persuaded to accept his followers in the Kashmir army, in a separate Kuka regiment. (When the Kukas earned the Britishers' wrath this had of course to be disbanded). It may be this move had a significance which has not been properly appreciated. Guru Ram Singh received presents from the Nepal rulers. It is quite possible that there was more to it than mere courtesy. Guru Ram Singh certainly had such contacts beyond India's borders. We do not still know the real nature of these. Russia has loomed large in the Kuka consciousness—loomed unintelligibly large I might say. Is there any intelligible explanation of this ? If so, did it have any bearing on the "freedom" context ? Further investigation by historians and archivists is needed here to light up the hazy nooks with unnoticed or unopened packets.

There seems some evidence of a Kuka emissary having gone to the Czar in 1881. Was Guru Ram Singh himself inspiring or directing such activity from his captivity in Rangoon ? The British authorities were throughout much worried about his channels of unauthorised communication. For their part they had taken extreme precaution, as for nearly 2 years they had not disclosed to his family as to where he was being kept in detention. Six years later they seemed to have been puzzled whether he and his men were conspiring with Russia against them. It is quite likely that further investigation will bring to light things bearing on this puzzle.

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The Kuka movement in many ways resembles that of George Fox. Guru Ram Singh wanted to restore the pristine purity of the Sikh teaching as earlier George Fox sought to restore Christianity to its pristine purity. Both worked against elaborate ritualism and against priestcraft. Both insisted on simple, austere living. The early Quakers in appearance must have been very like the Kukas as we see them to this day. The devotional practices of the Quakers and Kukas resemble each other. In both cases the popular name of the sect (how alike the two names sound to the ear ! and both were onamaetopic invention) arose out of these practices. The Quakers insisted on a strict business conduct—economists have told us that "fixed price" in several western countries was largely a result of the Quaker preaching and practice. The Namdhari leaders too showed a like insistence on purity in everyday life and in business dealings.

* * * *

The Namdharis have done their bit in all Congress campaigns in the Punjab since the non-co-operation days. But in a rapid survey this need receive no detailed mention. Maharaj Nihal Singh (brother of the present head of Namdharis, Guru Partap Singh) now a Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha has been active in the Punjab Congress since the twenties. In emancipated India the Namdharis are as emphatically against cow slaughter as ever—but of course their method of work has changed. The Namdharis seem astir with new hope and aspiration and one could usefully write about their present doings, their gatherings and festivals, and community life, in their new colony near Sirsa, their educational, religious, cultural and other programmes launched under the leadership of Guru Partap Singh, but this is not the place to do so. The work of Guru Ram Singh in the seventies, the non-co-operation programme conceived and formulated by him and the sacrifices made by the Namdharis in their fight against the British are a most vital part of Punjdi's *ahuti* in the freedom *yajna*,—the Namdharis perform the *homa*, chanting hymns from their own scriptures—and even in a rapid survey I have found it necessary to give a good deal of space to it, particularly as it has generally received such scant notice.

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The impact of the West was by now asserting itself in other ways. A class with a different kind of education was growing up, and gradually beginning to assert itself as the leader of the community—as the "intelligentsia". Baba Ram Singh's inspiration had been completely indigenous and his programme including boycott of the new education completely cut off his movement from contact with this intelligentsia. Swami Dayananda's inspiration may have been equally indigenous—or Vedic as he himself claimed—but his following largely came from the intelligentsia. Swami Dayananda was not a Punjabi, but his movement found the Punjab soil the most congenial, and the Arya Samaj became more powerful in the Punjab than in any other part of India. The visits of Swami Dayananda and of Sir Syed Ahmed in the eighties were events of considerable importance in the Punjab. A new awakening seemed coming on - a new class taking a new kind of interest in a new type of eduation being its central feature.

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The awakening was by no means confined to the Hindus or the Samajists but for our present purpose the Arya Samaj has a peculiar significance, for the attitude of the leaders of corresponding Muslim(Ahmadiyaism for instance) or Sikh (Singh Sabha, Khalsa Diwan) movements towards things political and towards British rule was decidedly different from that of many of the Arya Samaj leaders (in the eighties and nineties). Though he did not start a political movement the founder of the Arya Samaj was intensely patriotic. (Some have even ventured a conjecture that the Swami had fought against the British in 1857. There is no clear evidence in support of such an inference—but it is very likely that the events of '57 and a revolt against British authority in his own Saurashtra had left their impress on him.) Whatever the causes the fact remains that the early Arya Samaj in the Punjab threw up a good number of leaders who attached the greatest importance to Indian freedom. The best known amongst these was Lajpat Rai. But the patriotic or 'seditious' element was by no means injected into the Samaj by Lajpat Rai. Even before he joined the Samaj this element was there. Some of the Samaj leaders who initiated him were themselves good patriots and had long practised Swadeshi in their lives. We have already seen that Baba Ram Singh's followeres put on homespun, and it is noteworthy that the Arya Samaj leaders took to 'Swadeshi' long before the 1907 Swadeshi movement that arose out of Curzon's partition of Bengal. The Arya Samaj prepared the ground by its social and religious reform, and in particular by its stress on national education and by the example of Swadeshi that many of its leaders set.

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A new awakening, with the new intelligentsia in the vanguard, had definitely started in the Punjab in the eighties. Lajpat Rai's patriotic fervour and his yearning for freedom had not come altogether from the Arya Smaj. About the same time as he accepted the teaching of Dayananda he had adopted Mazzini as his "political guru". This is the phase when Italian liberation was attracting the attention of many of the Indian leaders. Lajpat Rai in his youth was much influenced by the deeds and the writings of Mazzini and an important event of the nineties was his series of popular biographies in Urdu. This began with Mazzini and Garibaldi, the third hero chosen being Shivaji. (He seemed to have chosen Guru Gobind Singh as his next hero, but probably because of other pre-occupations the series could not be continued.) Lapat Rai's *Mazzini* and *Garibaldi* were events of considerable importance, for these more than any press or platform propaganda or organizational work then afoot helped to broadcast the message of freedom and to prepare young minds for the battles that were inevitably coming.

But before the nineties movements directly political had arrived. The Indian National Congress had met for the first time in 1885 in Bombay. At least two representatives from the Punjab were present on that occasion—Lala Murli Dhar of Ambala who later, in ripe old age, came to be known as the Grand Old Man of the Punjab and Shri Satyananda Agnihotri later an important religious leader. In the Punjab itself the Arya Samaj leaders were at first somewhat slow in their response to the new call. Some found no reason to interest themselves in other movements than their own, and some suspected the bonafides of the new organisation, particularly as Englishmen like Hume were amongst its chief sponsors. Active canvassing for the new organisation started when Alibhoy Bhimji came to the Punjab on its behalf. Lajpat Rai, then a young lawyer at Hissar, met him there and began to be interested. By the time of the fourth session (at Allahabad) the Punjab intelligentsia was ready with a large contingent of delegates, among them being Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia and the young Hissar lawyer, Lajpat Rai. The debut of Lajpat Rai was a very exceptional one for he was made much of by the elders from the moment of his arrival. The reason was that from Aligarh Sir Syed Ahmed had raised an anti-Congress cry, and the young Hissar lawyer, who had inherited from his father admiration for the sage of Aligarh and had therefore been an avid reader of whatever he published, had (just before the Allahabad session) come out with a series of Open Letters in the press to show, very effectively citing chapter and verse, how the new Aligarh gospel was the very anti-thesis of all that Sir Syed had himself been preaching before the founding of the Congress. Hume who had been worried by Sir Syed's stand was very happy with the polemic and he himself revised the *Open Letters* and broadcasted them in pamphlet form. Lajpat Rai became a Congress orator and Congress leader right from the Allahabad session.

In 1892, Lala Murli Dhar invited the Congress to hold its next session at Lahore—and so it did, under

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the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. Sardar Dayal Singh was the leading figure in the Punjab Congress at that time and he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Congress met a second time in Lahore in 1900. In the early phase Congress leadership in the Punjab was mainly shared between Brahmos (Sardar Dayal Singh was a Brahmo) and Arya Samajists. When the Congress met at Lahore a second time Kali Prasanna Roy was chairman of the Reception Committee, and from the Arya Samaj side Bakhshi Jaishi Ram (father of Bakhshi Tek Chand) was the most active man, and the Reception Committee depended a great deal on his energy and devotion. He had shifted to Lahore at the request of Kali Prasanna Roy at the time of the previous Lahore session to lend a helping hand in the preparations. The next Lahore session was mainly his care, but unfortunately some time before the Congress met, on his return from Delhi where he had gone to collect funds, he was laid up with entritis and the illness proved fatal. Bakhshi Jaishi Ram's premature death (at 38) removed a figure that held great promise of Congress prominence. The chairman in his address feelingly lamented the loss, and paid a high tribute to Bakhshi Jaishi Ram, remarking, "The budding forth of his powers, if spared, would have been.. an object of respect and admiration to the whole of India." The Anglo-Indian officials often used to refer him as the "proprietor" of the Congress in the Punjab.

Other prominent Punjabis active in the Congress in this phase included Harkishan Lal who possessed remarkable talents and enjoyed Dayal Singh's confidence but did not always get on well with the Arya Samajists. Late Lala Duni Chand had a unique record —unique particularly for steadfastness, for there were dark spells when the luke-warm deserted the cause and Duni Chand seemed to be running the Indian Association and the Congress in the Punjab almost single-handed.

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The Punjabis in the Congress, particullarly the Samajists, made a distinctive contribution of their own. The official historian of the Congress, Pattabhi Seetaramayya, has observed that Lajpat Rai spoke in Hindustani at the Allahabad session. This was a clear indication that if he had his way the Congress would be the mouthpiece not of the English-knowning, 'microscopic minority', but of the mass. Dr. Pattabhi has also pointed out that the industrial conference which became a regular and very important feature of the annual Congress gatherings was suggested by Lajpat Rai. In both these matters I think Lajpat Rai voiced what was part of the common fund of ideas in his circle in the Punjab. A third and more distinctive contribution was the pressing of a demand for a fixed constitution and rules. The Punjabi spokesmen insisted that before the Congress leaders could wrest a democratic constitution for India from the alien rulers they must themselves concede or provide such a thing within their own organisation. They did not believe in an annual festival of oratory, but wanted a working constitution providing for a broad based membership, for some sort of election for those who as delegates claimed a representative capacity and for machinery that could actively carry on the work the year round, adequately filling the then existing between-sessions long gap. Hume and others (including Phirozshah Mehta whose towering personality dominated the counsels, after Hume, for a number of years) did not at that stage find such a demand necessary or feasible. The Punjab leaders pressed their plan at the 1900 Lahore session and they continued to do so year after year till it found acceptance.

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An event of importance in the new century was the founding of *the Punjabee*. Lajpat Rai and his group felt the need for a paper to voice and to mould public opinion. Dayal Singh had felt the need in his day and had founded a paper. After his death the direction of the paper — so it seemed to the Lajpat Rai group— became intolerably unsatisfactory. Ten of them forked out a thousand apiece to finance the new paper that started as a weekly. They entrusted the management to Jaswant Rai who had then just passed his M.A. and he made a success of it, so that from the very outset the paper never made a loss. The editorial work was shared by Lajpat Rai and by Athavale (who had been sent by Tilak from Poona). The new left-wing trend that became noticeable in the early years of the century was well reflected in the columns of *The Punjabee* which soon became a very effective vehicle of the new gospel.

The left-wing acquired a distinct existence from the 1905 s Congres session at Banaras. Many who were present at that session still recall the vigorous speech that Lajpat Rai made at that session. Tilak was the

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acknowledged leader of the 'New Party' as they were sometimes called, but Lajpat Rai's Banaras speech has been called a landmark in Congress oratory and in Indian politics. (Lajpat Rai had gone to England as a Congress delegate shortly before and this probably had influenced his outlook. "Bal-Pal-Lal" (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Pal, Lala) soon became the Trimurti of the political shrine—and Maharashtra, Bengal and Punjab constituted the political vanguard of India's fight for freedom.

The partition of Bengal ordered by Curzon raised a storm. Swadeshi, Boycott, Swaraj, becamt household words—for the Britisher in India they became the proverbial red rag to the bull. In the Punjab local grievances had besides arisen out of new legislation which affected and perturbed the Zamindars—in the Punjab they are mostly peasant proprietors—particularly of the canal colonies. Ajit Singh (himself a product of an Arya Samaj school), his brother Kishan Singh, and their other colleagues including Sufi Amba Pershad founded the Bharat Mata Society aed worked up a tremendous agitation alike amongst the intelligentsia and the Zamindars. Ajit Singh was a daring and most effective mass agitator, the Sufi a very resourceful pamphleteer. The Anglo-Indian sheets with their reckless vituperation made their own contribution to this explosive situation. Many of the Punjab towns as well as the canal-irrigated countryside seemed dangerously electrified. The shocks upset the rulers' mind. Details have to be skipped in such a survey. But the most important events might at least be named. There was *The Pnnjabee* trial when Jaswant Rai and Athavale were imprisoned. There was a riot case in Lahore (Falak and others), there was a 'Pindi leaders' trial—Rawalpindi was among the worst affected towns—and a 'Pindi *fracas*, there was seditious literature (particularly Sufi's tracts), and seditious papers (*India* for which Pindi Das went to prison). The Zamindars' meeting at Lyallpur at which Banke Dayal recited his *Pagri Sambhal O Jatta*, and at which both Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh spoke, came as a culminating point. The happenings at Rawalpindi, at Lahore, and at Lyallpur filled the rulers' mind with the gravest apprehensions. The agitation spread and sucked in many who had till then not evinced any dangerous tendency, or who later took to a different kind of politics or more or less went out of politics—Chowdhry Shahab-ud-Din was quite vociferous then, and Manchanda, then a prominent figure at the Lyallpur bar was equally prominent in the agitation there, The Punjab happenings had a nightmarish effect on the minds of Britishers and this was immensely heightened and exaggerated as they recollected that 1907 would mark the half-centenary of the '57 rising. They lost their balance as they recalled the grim fate that had then befallen the British in India and the terrible things they had gleefully perpetrated in their hour of triumph in the name of "stern retribution". May 10th—*the* date in 1857—was approaching with all the grim foreboding of 'zero hour.' Gul.-like they swallowed all stories that unscrupulous informers cooked up for them about the recrudescence of the '57 doings. They were willing to believe that Lajpat Rai had an army of one lakh strong to follow his behest—an Anglo-Indian paper published such stories and later paid damages to Lajpat Rai.

Lajpat Rai was arrested and without the semblance of a trial deported uuder Regulation III and rushed, in a sealed train,—with very elaborate security measures that in retrospect sound fantastic—to Diamond Harbour and thence to Mandalay Fort. Sufi made good his escape but Ajit Singh shared Lalaji's fate. Lajpat Rai's deportation under *lettre de cachet* completely ruined the reputation of Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, as a 'Liberal' with those in India who had pinned their faith on his 'liberalism' and it made of Lajpat Rai *the* hero of the hour

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Lajpat Rai returned from Mandalay in time for his name to be proposed as President of the next Congress session at Surat. By this time the gulf between the "moderates" and the "extremists" was widening, and the Tilak group decided to contest the Presidentship, putting up Lajpat Rai as their candidate. As Tilak rose to challenge the presidentship of Dr. Rash Behari and to put up Lajpat Rai's name the Surat Congress Pandal became the arena of a free-for-all. The Congress split. The split came over the name of Lajpat Rai, and the surprising part of it was that the undelivered presidential address was full of eulogy for Lajpat Rai and of condemnation of the deportation—and more surprising still, Lajpat Rai himself chose the vain and thankless role of peace-maker, declined the honour, and declined even to leave the moderates' Congress to identify himself with Tilak and Pal. While some of his Punjab associates appreciated his anxiety to remain non-

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partisan and to restore peace, others no doubt thought he had let down Tilak.

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The 1905-7 happenings helped those who had begun to think seriously in terms of a secret society movement. Amongst the factors that decisively pushed them to terrorist action must be included the deportation to Mandalay. Writing several years later in a remarkable book interpreting the Indian freedem movement—*Young India* of which the pages remain readable to this day—Lajpat Rai himself said : "It is possible that some sort of secret oganization existed in Bengal in 1906, but force did not enter into their programme till after May, 1907, *i.e.*, until after the deportation of Lajpat Rai. The deportation decided them. The first shot was not fired until December, 1907, and the first bomb was not thrown until April or May, 1908. The split at Surat in Decembar, 1907 irrevocably divided the nationalists into two parties, and confirmed the younger party in their programme of force. The extremists saw the hand of the Government in the split."

The Bengal-Maharashtra-Punjab alliance that we have already referred to continued in the secret society work. The first notable event in this series, for our region, was the bomb thrown at Lord Hardinge at the time of the Delhi Durbar. The police investigation that followed failed miserably. But the investigation of a later bomb occurrence in Lahore (Lawrence Gardens) gave the needed clues. Rash Behari Bose the chief figure of the drama, escaped to Japan. Master Amir Chand of Delhi was amongst those hanged, whilst L. Hanwant Sahai, the Delhi veteran still active, earned a long sentence. Amongst the Lahore men in these cases was Bal Raj eldest son of Mahatma Hans Raj, the Arya Samaj leader. Bhai Balmokand was hanged, and his youth, his dedicated life, and above all the fact that he had been newly married and that the bride immolated herself on his funeral pyre give a peculiar halo to this martyr. His near relation, Bhai Parmanand, has written about the martyr and the *sati* in glowing terms—in one of the best passages that to my mind he ever wrote.

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An event of this period was the throwing away by a brilliant young man of a coveted Government stipend in England for an I.C.S. career. This young man was Har Dayal, and when he returned he started an ashram at Lahore. He preached ably and vigorously against current education, against its denationalising intent and effect, and against co-operation with British administration. His thesis sounded very much like that of the Namdhari Guru—though he had imbibed deep at the founts of western learning.

Later Har Dayal went away again to Europe and to U. S and before World War I he settled down on the California coast amidst Punjabi, largely Sikh, workers. With the help of the leaders of these Punjabi workers whose outlook experience abroad had widened, he founded the Ghadar Party. Amongst the most prominent figures in the party were Baba Sohan Singh (Bhakna), Bhai Bhagwan Singh, Moulvi Barkat Ullah of Bhopal and Pandit Ram Chandra of Peshawar. Baba Wasakha Singh and Baba Sohan Singh out of the Ghadar Party veterans are still in our midst. Jagat Ram of Haryana died last year. The Ghadar Party was by and large a Punjabi affair and a most remarkable thing not only in the history of the Indian freedom movement, but also in the world history of revolutionary parties. The party struck for the freedom of India with the help of Britian's enemies and its example no doubt inspired the World War II effort of Netaji. Whether or not the Ghadar Party plans for an insurrection in India were sound or realistic patriotism and tremendous sacrifices of its men have to be acknowledged quite as much as the failure of the plans to achieve the object of driving out the British. I have not the space to give details of the Ghadar Party's work. Recently even salient Shri Jagjit Singh (of Taran Taran) has published in Punjabi a detailed narrative of the Ghadar Party movement running into more than 700 pages and embodying a good deal of industry. I copy below a schedule of Ghadar Party cases from Shri Jagjit Singh's book.—

Title of the case.	*No. of those hanged*	*Number of those awarded life transportation.*	*Number of those awarded shorter terms*
1. Lahore Conspiracy case	7	44	6
2. Lahore Supplementary Conspiracy case	5	46	8

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3.	Lahore Second Supplemetary Conspiracy case	5	6	1
4.	Lahore Third Supplementary Conspiracy case	1	—	—
5.	Lahore Fourth Supplementary Conspiracy case	1	—	—
6.	Two Mandi Conspiracy cases	—	2	4
7.	Burma Conspiracy case	6	6	1
8.	Second Burma Conspiracy case.	—	4	—
9.	Banaras Conspiracy case	—	1	10
10.	San Francisco case	—	—	32
11.	Chicago case.	—	—	4
12.	Lahore City Conspiracy case	—	1	4
13.	Feroz Shah case	8	—	—
14,	Anarkali case	1	—	—
15.	Walla Pul case and			
16.	Murder case of Jagatpur	5	—	—
17.	Murder case of Nangal Kalan	1	—	—
18.	Murder case of Pathri	2	4	1
19.	Alawalpur Dacoity case			5
20.	Miscellaneous cases	—	—	17
	Total	42	118	93

I wish I had the space to say a few words about some of the leading Ghadar movement personalities. I simply cannot pass on to the next topic without a word about Kartar Singh Saraba, who was too young to have ranked amongst the party's leaders—his naivette has been forcefully brought out in the narrative of Bhai Parmanada who himself served a life sentence because of his association with Ghadarites. I mention Saraba especially as his youth and his ardent unflinching patriotism were a source of inspiration for Bhagat Singh.

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Gandhi's leadership in Indian politics starts when at the end of World War I he gave the call for a nation-wide protest against the Rowlatt Act. This time again agitation gathered exceptional momentum in the Punjab—a contributing cause being the "stern" regime of O'Dwyer. Gandhi wanted to come to the Punjab but was stopped by the Punjab authorities at Palwal anfl sent back. The agitation accompanied by hartals and demonstrations assumed big proportions at Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and other places. A regime of martial law was proclaimed in several areas, and at Amritsar General Dyer opened fire at a public meeting in the Jallianwala Bagh. Even news of happenings in the Punjab could not go out, (How at last it did go out is the theme of an article on another page by Shri Govardhan Das who with great resource made his exit out of O'Dwyer's cordon, and managed to tell the world know about what was going on. The Punjab happenings of 1919 become a most conspicuous landmark in the Indian struggle. Saifud Din Kitchlew and Satyapal, and Rato and Bugga were the leaders at Amritsar. At Lahore Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand and several others were tried by martial law tribunals. Pandit Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi came to apply the balm to Punjab's wounds. Punjab's suffering at the hands of O'Dwyer and Dyer undoubtedly was for many years a potent factor giving strength to the fight against alien rule. The next Congress session was held at Amritsar under Motilal Nehru's presidentship and by that time redressing of the "Punjab wrong" had definitely become a plank—the most important plank —of the national platform, The Amritsar session must count amongst the most important in the annals of the Congress.

* * * *

Gandhi's non-co-operation was based on the two-fold "wrongs" The Punjab wrong and the Khilafat wrong, (S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar has often recalled that the third and most important demand—for Swaraj—was added by Gandhiji at the instance of Lajpat Rai.) The non-co-operation resolution was adopted by the Congress at a special session held in Calcutta (September 1920) under the presidentship, very befittingly, of the Punjab leader, Lajpat Rai, who had shortly before returned to his country after several years of virtual war-time exile; and the presidential address was a most vigorous indictment of O'Dwyer's regime from the day of his elevation to office. Lalaji himself endorsed non-co-

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operation but had misgivings about some of the items of the programme then adopted. In particular, having taken such keen interest in education, he found it difficult to endorse the educational boycott. Three months later at the regular session at Nagpur a compromise was arrived at and Lalaji fully endorsed the revised programme. The "Punjab wrong" being one of the three demands on which non-co-operation was based, the response of Punjabis to the call could not fall below expectation. Both non-co-operation and Khilafat movements were powerful in this region. On the N. W. Frontier Khilafat was particularly strong. even the Congress was popularly known there, as the Khilafat Committee. *Hijrat* was almost exclusively a frontier phenomenon. Khadi and spinning which had completely disappeared from many parts were still alive in the Punjab countryside. In the early phase of the Gandhian revival of handspinning the Punjab charkha played a part which it is easy to lose sight of to-day. The Charkha on the Congress flag was a Punjab suggestion—made to Gandhiji by Raizada Hans Raj who probably shares with Lala Duni Chand (Ambala) the honour of being the seniormost veteran of first rank Congresmen of the Punjab.

* * * *

The Congress movement was now the main stream. But there were tributaries too. Amongst them and for the period now under comment mention deserves to be made of two local movements. The early twenties saw a good deal of labour unrest. The Indian Trade Union Congress founded in 1920 was mainly a creation of Punjabis, for the first session was largely organized by Dewau Chaman Lal and was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. In the Punjab unrest was particularly noticed in railwaymen's strike. One of railwaymen's leaders, Miller, achieved mass popularity in his day and Miller's *siti* (whistle) became quite a legend. Another unrest movement that attracted much attention and for a while became a headache for authority was the Jathas of demobilized soldiers—'war heroes' who now realized they were but cannon-fodder —organized by Risaldar Anup Singh.

* * * *

There was a third and more powerful tributary—in vigour, when it was in tide, it seemed to overshadow the main stream. This was the Akali movement. Britishers had taken special pains to spread a cult of "loyalty" amongst the Sikh community. Trouble over the demolition of a Gurdwara wall at Delhi, the Kamagata Maru episode, the Ghadar Party activity—all these spelt a new orientation. A Gurdwara reform movement was launched. This movement evoked an enthusiastic response and brought the Sikh masses into clash not only with the mahants but also with the authorities. The Ghadar Party men in America (or those returned from there), had a large hand in shaping Sikh politics at this stage. Also nationalist Sikhs like Caveesher and Harchand Singh now saw the opportunity they had longed for. The Akali movement had the moral support of Malaviya ji, Lalaji and of the Congress. Guru-ka-bagh was no mere local incident. This was the first large scale try-out in our struggle of the Gandhian technique of passive resistance, and it justly earned unique nation-wide renown. The Jaito Morcha in Nabha also attracted wide attention and Jawaharlal Nehru was an eminent non-Sikh arrested in this connection.

* * * *

Non-co-operation in recession gave birth to the Swaraj party. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru were the founders of the party, and from inside prison Lajpat Rai helped them very substantially in the new orientation —as also after his release he did by his powerful hustings campaign in the general election. In construtive work and in the various campaigns of Congress work the Punjab did its part. Punjab's speclal contribution came when the Simon Commission was appointed. The boycott demonstration in Lahore led by Lajpat Rai, the lathi charge directed particularly against him, his speech that evening at a mammoth meeting in which he declared that the lathis drove nails into the coffin of British rule in India—'the wounded lion's last roar', so some have characterised that utterance—and in which he said that if younger man after him took to more desperate methods his spirit would not blame them—there are events I believe, still not faded from public memory.

* * * *

Besides the main stream, a new rivulet is now seen flowing, and its waters have a grim darker hue, strongly contrasting with the limpid flow of non-violence. Really it is the reappearance of the bomb-and-revolver rivulet that had disappeared in the sands when the Gandian non-violent non-co-operation with its big promise of speedy success—descended torrentially into the political

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landscape. In 1907 Lajpat Rai's deportment may have been a factor in the Bengal party's decision to defer things no longer ; his martyrdom, three weeks after the lathi charge, was for certain directly connected with the determination of Bhagat Singh to avenge the insult hurled at the nation by the lathi blows inflicted on a leader like Lajpat Rai. Bhagat Singh was continuing the patriotic tradition of the family and following in the footsteps of his uncle Ajit Singh who was at that time in exile probably in South America. Ajit Singh had founded the "Bharat Mata" society his nephew founded the "Naujawan Bharat Sabha." He made the "loud noise" which he said was needed "to make the deaf hear" with the bomb which he and B. K. Dutt threw in the Assembly Hall in Delhi. A few months later he and his companions shot Saunders in settlement of the lathi charge account Jatin Sen earned a Mac Swiney like martyrdom during the trial. Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev were hanged, Bejoy, Sanyal, Tewari and their other comrades got long terms. Bhagat Singh's martyrdom was a Punjab event of the highest importance—equally a national event of the highest importance.

It is not necessary here to recount Punjab's part in the various civil disobedience campaigns launched by the Congress. Here Punjab as a rule did its bit—though after Lajpat Rai's death it lacked first-rate leadership, and the communal situation was a serious handicaps, The other distinct Punjab movements in this period included one of 'Babar' Akalis, terrorists with Kishan Singh (a different person from Bhagat Singh's father) as their leader. A more important movement was the 'Kirti' (workers) movement—a proletarian movement in which some of the former Ghadar party men played a conspicuous part.

* * *

We come down to World War II. The main movement was the 1942 "Quit India" campaign.—an all India affair in which certain parts excelled others, and the Punjab may be somewhere in the middle. The other big movement was that launched by Netaji. It is well known he made his exit through the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier—the police all the time looked for him in the wrong direction. In Netaji's I.N.A. Punjab's was a glorious role. Punjab revolutionaries abroad working independently towards the same and included Ajit Singh. Immediately after the war amongst the biggest events was the I.N.A. trial in the Red Fort of Delhi—the trial of 3 lieutenantsof Netaji, Sehgal, Dhillon, Shah Nawaz. The other big names of the period included those of General Mohan Singh. The Red Fort trial captured the public imagination—and the Congress leaders. It was also a major factor in the electioneering that followed. When the full I. N. A. story is available and that of all the court-martia trials during the two wars there can be no doubt Punjab's fight will have acquired further lustre.

* * * *

The last and biggest item of Punjab's sacrifice, outweighing to my mind all previous sacrifice, is the 1947 uprooting of the entire non-Muslim population of the lemitory nade over to Pakistan and the holocaust accompanying the partition that became condition precedent of emancipation. After such a holocaust mere survival seems. The Punjabis have shown they could take it. It is a miracle the Punjab have survived this. Their spirit remains undaunted and their industry and enterprise seem already to have put a truncated, badly mauled Punjab once again on the road to prosperity. But they have still much leeway to make up. They need a decade of hard work free from fresh sectional strife and devoted exclusively, uninterruptedly to development of their shrunken home.

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the general avenues of the State for the good of the public at large. In keeping with our aim of a Socialistic State we have entered in this business to provide an attractive, efficient and economical system and, by so doing, to earn a handsome return for the common good. We have also an obligation to maintain a sound and efficient transport system in the public interest in this border State.

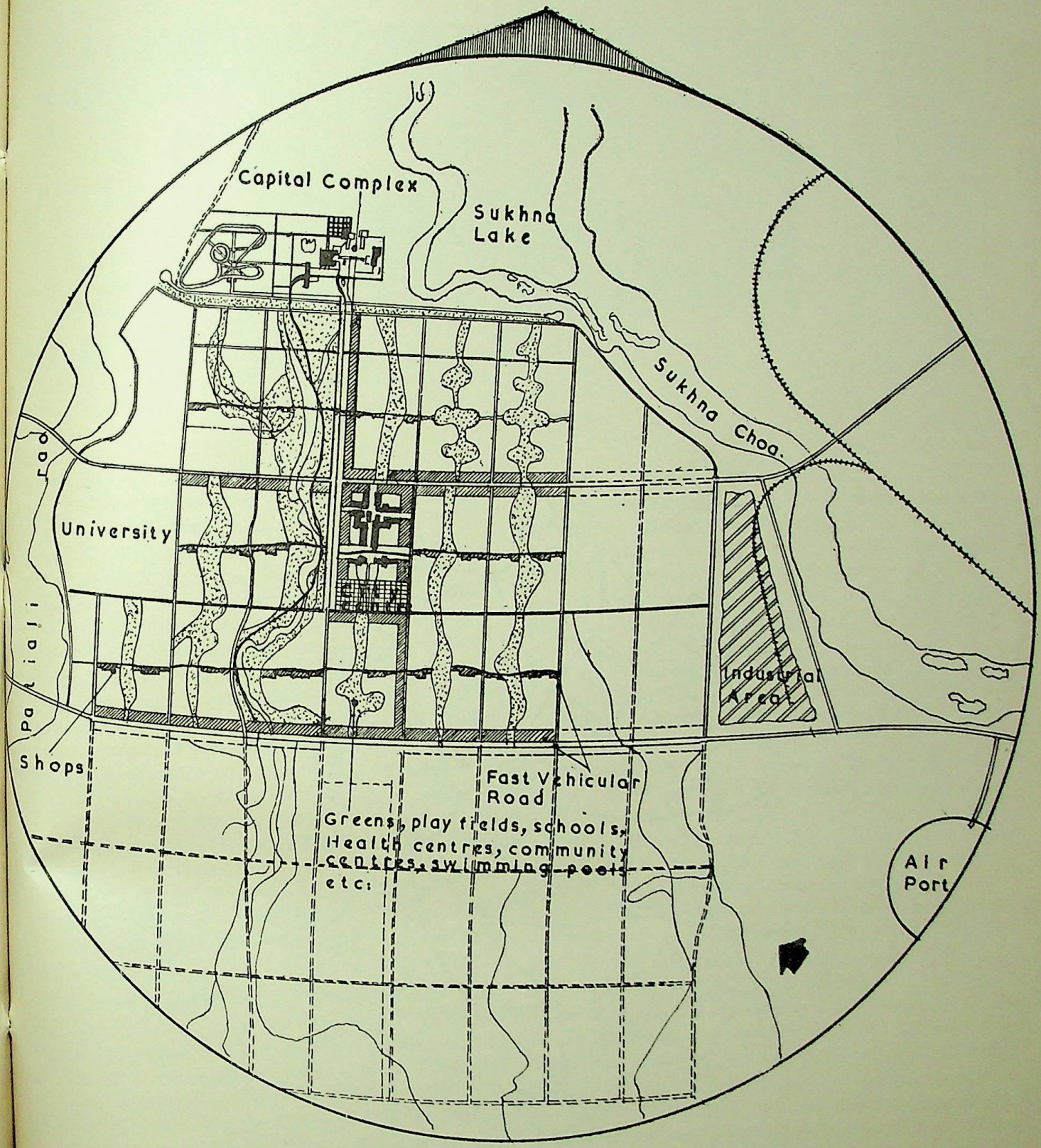
The State Government, after careful consideration, have decided in favour of progressive nationalisation. A phased programme has been chalked out which will be implemented during the Second Five-Year Plan. The private operators who are displaced in furtherance of the programme of Nationalisation are proposed to be rehabilitated and paid compensation in accordance with rates as may be prescribed.

In order to promote trade and industry in general, to achieve efficiency and economy in operation and eliminate wasteful competition among the individual operators, it is proposed to rationalise goods transport in the State by forming viable units of public carriers. Booking and forwarding agencies will also be set up to facilitate speedy movement and safe delivery of goods carried in public carriers.

It is also proposed to open a large number of new and kacha routes connecting the rural and hitherto inaccessible areas in the interior of the State. A list of such routes numbering 270 which are in motorable condition, has been finalised in consultation with members of the State legislature and local authorities. Permits thereon will be issued shortly by the Regional Transport Authorities after following the prescribed procedure. It will be an important step in the development of road transport in this State when the services on these routes begin to operate and the rural Punjab is served by speedy means of transport in the near future.

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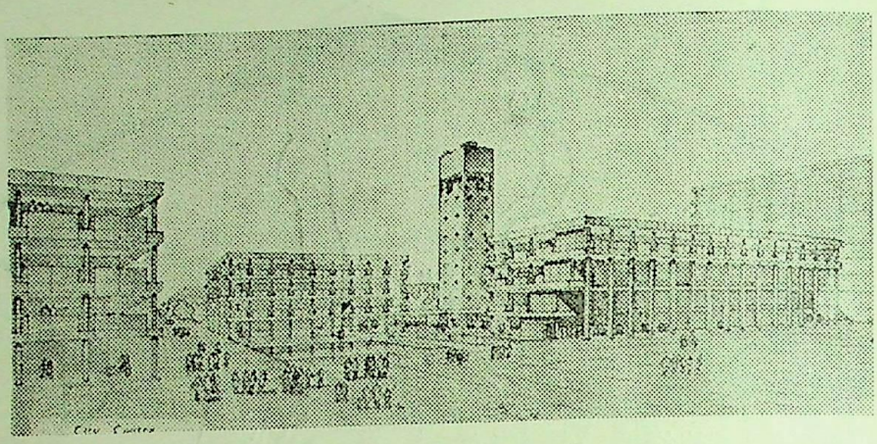
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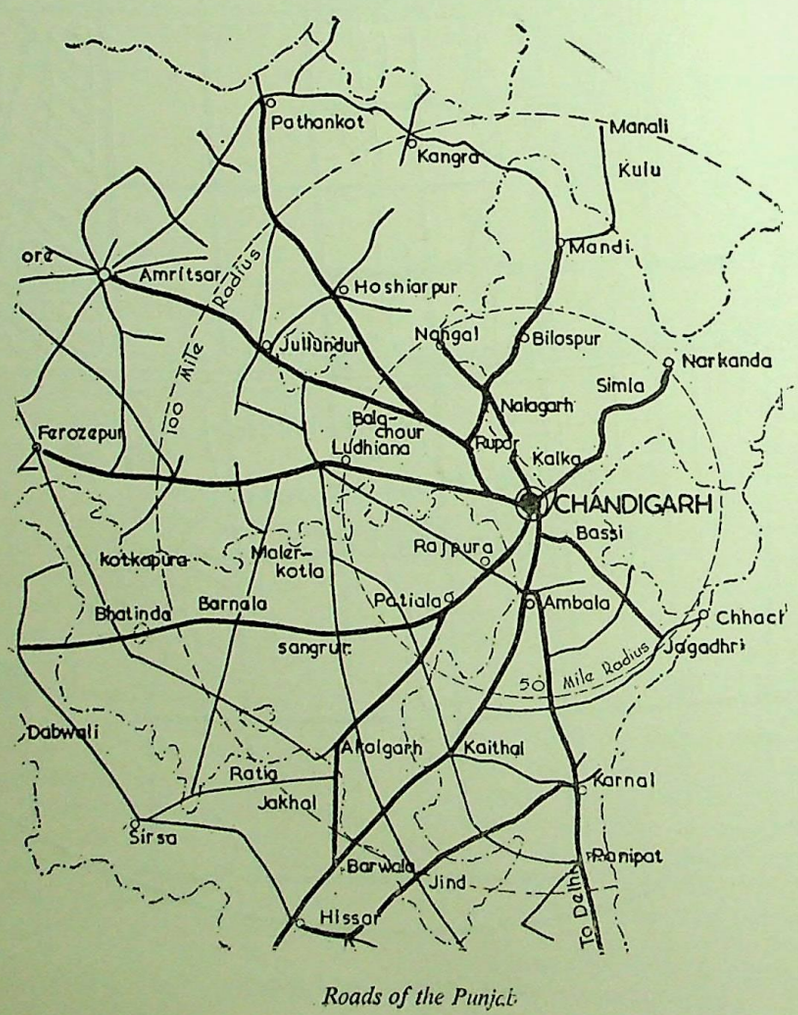
New Capital of the Punjab

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One View of the New Capital



Roads of the Punjab

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VILLAGERS FREED FROM BONDAGE OF FEUDALISM

The formation of the State of Saurashtra on April 15, 1948 marked the beginning of a unitary development on many different fronts for the whole region formerly known as Kathiawar. For a synoptic view, it is convenient to give it under two major heads. They are Land Reforms, and Gram Panchayats. What is being attempted and accomplished under the Five-Year Plan, will be dealt with at a later stage, which, because of its size and scope, would seem for purposes of convenience and proper assessment to merit separate and distinctive treatment.

First, to begin with a few essential background facts; before the formation of the integrated State, the Kathiawar peninsula was made up of 860 administrative areas under 222 administrative units with boundaries overlapping one another. The different States—some were hardly more than estates—were in varying states of economic development, lacking homogeneity and uniformity of approach in all but a certain refractoriness to change. Especially was this the case in relation to the land system, a fact of some importance when we reflect that, apart from agriculture, economic activity in the region had only made precarious and fumbling beginnings. Politically, Saurashtra as a part of the democratic republic of India is an entity which achieved its status at a single bound from conditions more or less feudal, without the intermediate steps of transition through which most other States in India prepared themselves for the ultimate change: through dyarchy and limited devolution of power to elected representatives and, at the penultimate stage, through what was called provincial autonomy.

Saurashtra has an area of 21451·1 square miles and a population, according to the census of 1951, of 41,37,359. There are three towns with populations of more than a lakh, namely, Bhavnagar, Rajkot and Jamnagar, 22 towns with populations of more than 10,000 each and 4·415 villages. One of the first tasks which confronted the State on its inception was that of building up a coherent unit out of the tangled skein of inter-state boundaries. The administrative structure had to be set up from top to bottom to ensure that the writ of the new administration ran effectively over its jurisdiction. The caderisation and integration of the services and their training in the new context of the administrative tasks and practices, and the settlement of compensation and pension cases of those retrenched or retired posed problems of peculiar complexity and were satisfactorily grappled with. Within a few years, the onset of the General Elections brought the people of the State, unfamiliar with its processes, face to face with the novel experience of political articulation on democratic lines. This was an exhilarating experience, but, in the event, somewhat robbed of its lustre by the recrudescence on a large scale of organised banditry which had all the appearance of a formal alliance between gangs of dacoits and malcontents rendered derelict by the disappearance of feudalism.

Land Reforms

The history of land system in Saurashtra until the inauguration of the Reforms is a bit of a muddle. In the last decade or so of the last century a beginning was made for the survey and settlement of the villages by the bigger States. At the time of integration, the total number of surveyed villages was 2,776 of which 1,689 were classified. Partial occupancy rights were given by Junagadh, Nawanagar, Dhrangadhra, Bhavnagar, Morvi, Limbdi, Wadhwan, Jasdan and Bilkha States. Full occupancy rights existed in only one State, namely Gondal. In Dharangadhra, Limbdi, Jasdan and Bilkha, these rights were subsequently encroached upon by the States to the prejudice of the tenants. In the rest of the States, there prevailed unadulterated tenancy-at-will, with absolute right of eviction and no restriction as to rent. This rent varied from a quarter to a half share in the Kharif, and from a sixth to a third share in Rabi, the tenants being often liable to an additional impost called Santi Vero and other cesses, in varying degrees of enforcement, numbering some 91 separate heads. Veth and Begar were operative in all States, and there was hardly any tenancy protection law. Apart from tenants holding directly from the States, there were other tenure holders in Saurashtra which can roughly be classified under two heads: Girasdari and Barkhali. But they are generic terms which covered, indeed, a wide and varying multitude of tenancy rights. Every

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inch of land in Saurashtra was regulated by feudal laws and customs in growing conflict with the claims of economic and social justice, so that when freedom came, the smouldering tension was released, each side in the conflict jokeying for position.

Government on their part were ready with an integrated land policy. On April 15, Government issued a proclamation granting full occupancy rights in all unalienated villages with rights of transfer and inheritance free of all charges. But with respect to alienated villages, Government proposed a *modus vivendi* which would have softened the transition, but the formula did not find favour with the landlords who, quite unmindful of the temper of the times, were intent on using the opportunity to consolidate and perpetuate their favoured position as exploiters. In order to protect the tenants against arbitrary evictions, and in order to gain time in which to study the whole position in detail, Government met the situation by a series of ordinances. As they failed to stabilise the position and other efforts to bring about an acceptable solution did not meet with success, the Ministry of States of the Government of India appointed a Commission in consultation with the Government of Saurashtra. In the light of the recommendations of this Commission, Government brought forward three bills, which, after going through a Select Committee were passed into Acts by the Saurashtra Assembly. These are known as the Saurashtra Land Reforms Act, 1951, the Barkhali Abolition Act, 1951 and the Estates Acquisition Act 1952. Under these Acts, on a regulated basis of compensation, tenants acquired full occupancy rights.

While a transformation was taking place in the alienated areas, Government were moving with equal vigour in the matter of reforms in the State owned villages. The institution of a uniform land revenue code, the cash assessment system, a unified survey and settlement and the removal of arbitrary cesses were other measures taken. This series of legislative measures, beginning with the proclamation of 15th April 1948 and ending with the Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1954, has raised the land system in Saurashtra to modern standards. It is yet too early definitely to attempt an appraisal of their economic and social consequences, but Government have set up a Land Reforms Committee to devise measures of land reform in consultation with the Central Land Reforms Committee, and a scheme for a socio-economic survey of the results of the Land Reforms legislation is being worked out. Nevertheless, the immediate signs are unmistakable. These are an increase in land values mainly attribuatble to the elimination of feudal and intermediary interests, a quickening of economic activity on the agrarian sector, a growing demand for increased facilities like seeds, manure, irrigation facilities and finance. The only prevalent system of land tenure in Saurashtra now is the Ryotwari tenure. The law relating to land revenue is the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879, adapted and applied to Saurashtra. The State does not envisage any great change in the present system of individual farming in the near future. Co-operative farming is only in an experimental state, but no provision exists for co-operative farms on a compulsory basis. The co-operative way is being ardently encouraged by assigning priority to co-operatives in the grant of waste lands. There are also a few co-operative farms in the State to which Government render assistance by way of finance and technical advice.

Gram Panchayat

In Saurashtra the process of building Panchayat institutions has been at work for just about five years and must be viewed against the background of conditions before the integration in 1948 of the two hundred and odd autonomous principalities. A few of them had made cautious experiments in the revival of these village units of self-government, but they were fragmentary, lacking a unitary conception and unequal in aims, methods and results. With the notable exception of Bhavnagar where some real headway had been made they were on the whole rather half-hearted concessions to popular feeling.

Conditions in the whole of the area of what, following their integration, became Saurashtra, were unpromising, not only in a relative sense, as, for example, when compared with Bombay. Bombay happily had had a longer start in this direction under a previous Congress regime before the war and an even older piece of legislation which public opinion inspired by Gandhiji had forced on the administration. They were unpromising in an absolute sense by reason, in varying degrees, of the feudal character out of which, by a flying leap, a whole multitude of separate states converged under common auspices to make a new start as a single administrative unit, accountable to a popularly elected legislature.

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The Panchayat Act

Inevitably, legislation bringing the Panchayat system into being in the villages of Saurashtra could not be merely a duplication of similar legislation elsewhere, but had to take into account the wide disparity of local conditions. It was embodied in a series of ordinaces, beginning with Ordinance No. 14 of 1950 and by Act of 1951, and reinforced from time to time by specific directions in a succession of Government Resolutions and notifications.

Its ultimate aim is to restore to the villages of Saurashtra conditions in which by co-operation and the exercise of local initiative people can order their lives and affairs with as little interference from above as possible and secure through the mechanism furnished maximum opportunities for conscious self-direction in matters of common concern, from education, sanitation and economic activity to the settlement of disputes and the general tasks of village administration. It furnishes the necessary institutional frame-work, defines its scope and lays down directive principles for the efficient functioning of its various organs.

Democratic Means

It is implicit in the legislation that all this should be accomplished by democratic methods and that the Gram Panchayat should not merely answer to the manifold needs and purposes for which they are designed, but should themselves be representative of the will of the people, and should function in conformity with recognised democratic principles. Accordingly, the Gram Panchayat Act provides for a village Assembly in which every adult in the village above the age of 21 is entitled to vote. The right to set up a Panchayat is vested in the adult population itself, so that it is open to any village with a population of 2,000 or less to establish a Panchayat. When the population is larger, Government permission is necessary, but in either case, it is the expressed desire of the people to have panchayat set up and their willingness to shoulder the responsibilities devolving on them in consequence which are of decisive importance.

A Panchayat is elected by the entire adult population of the village, and in order that there may be no suggestion of interference from or dependence on Government, its members and office-bearers have to be exclusively non-official. The election procedure, by making election to the Panchayat unanimous, ensures on the one hand that party factions and bickerings are averted ; on the other hand, the complicated impediments of the electoral machine are reduced to a simple, serviceable and inexpensive formula by simplifying voting through the process of ascertaining the voters' wishes by show of hands. The strength of a Panchayat body varies from 5 to 15 members depending on the size of the population concerned.

Its normal tenure is 3 years, though, in special cases, the Collector of the district is empowered to extend its life by a maximum period of two years. Supervision over the working of the Panchayat, which must meet at least once a month, is vested in the general body of the voters, *i.e.*, the Village Assembly which meets at least once in three months and which, besides electing the members and office-bearers, can review the Panchayat administration, consider and approve previous reports on its working and make recommendations in regard to future programmes of work outlined in the budget. The interests of the Harijans, for long helpless victims of exploitation and persecution, and of women, till now without any voice in the management of affairs affecting the community, have been safeguarded by the reservation of a seat for each of them which is to be filled by the vote of the whole assembly.

Panchayat Executives

Considering the comprehensive character of the duties devolving on the Panchayats, it should be obvious that idealism, public spirit and disinterest, though necessary and important ingredients, are not enough ; there is equal need for experience and knowledge on the part of their executives both of routine procedure and of the problems and needs of rural life. As their sphere of work expands progressively, embracing every aspect of community life in the villages, so will the complexities of their tasks. Already, these include on the purely administrative side revenue and judicial work. At another and more important level, they must include co-operation and development activities and the many-sided incentives of economic and social uplift. All these, seemingly simple in aims, are a ramifying and continually shifting area of effort, requiring insight as well as enerprise. The need to ensure that those on whom falls the main brunt of efficiently discharging the responsibilities and functions of these institutions have

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an adequate grounding in the aims and scope of Gram Panchayat work was early recognised, and concurrent steps were taken to open centres of training for Panchayat secretaries where, under a carefully drawn up curriculum aspirants for this work undergo a rigorous training for five months followed by a months' practical training in revenue work under the guidance of an experienced Talati.

Controlling Authority

In consonance with the aim of fitting the whole Panchayat organisation into a democratic system reflecting its popular basis, both of power and inspiration, administrative control is vested in an autonomous hierarchy consisting of the Gram Panchayat Madhyastha Mandal at the centre and District Panchayat Mandals in each district. The members of the central body whose strength is fixed by Government work on a two-year term of office and consist of the Minister in charge of the Gram-panchayat work as President, the Vice-President, the Chief Panchayat Officer, five members of the Legislative Assembly, the five District Collectors and seven persons nominated by Government by reason of their known aptitude for Panchayat work.

The Mandal employs its own staff and enjoys wide powers of discretion within limits defined by its rules and regulations in disbursing funds on activities for the encouragement and establishment of new Panchayats. Its expenses are met by Government. Its functions include the whole administrative work, such as the appointment of new Panchayats, the framing of rules for the levy of taxes and fees subject to Government sanction, the measures necessary for the financing of Panchayat work, the supervision and inspection of Panchayats and their certification for promotion to higher classes, the preparation of the budget and accounts relative to the work of the Mandal, etc.

At the district level, the District Panchayat Mandals discharge within their jursdictions identical functions. Each consists of ten members, namely, the Chief Panchayat Officer, the Collector of the district, two members of the Legislative Assembly, three persons from amongst the elected members of the Panchayats, 2 members nominated on the strength of their avowed desire for service and the District Panchayat Officer.

The Five-Year Plan

The First Five-Year Plan envisaged a net outlay of Rs. 20·4 crores. The targets aimed at were an increase in food production by 82,000 tons, the sinking of 10,000 new wells, bringing 1,08,000 acres under direct canal irrigation, raising the road mileage per hundred square miles from 14 to 18 miles, the handling capacity of ports to 15 lakh tons cargo, power generating capacity to 25,000 K.w., the number of hospital beds, including T.B. beds by 460. Other targets were expansion of primary education facilities by the establishment of 800 new schools bringing the total number in the State to 3,113, the conversion of 3,000 primary schools into basic schools, extension of Ayurvedic services, expansion of coverage of anti-malaria and anti-filaria measures and raising the total number of Panchayats to 3,000. It is gratifying to note, at the end of the plan period, that the physical targets have not only all of them been fulfilled but have, in several major projects, been exceeded. In addition to the programmes under the Plan, several important activities have been undertaken under the various Central programmes. Irrigation schemes of Machhu, Bhogavo, Gondali, Munjiasar, etc., have been taken up under the programme of "Permanent Improvement in Scarcity Areas". The Shetrunji Irrigation project is under way and contour building programme has been initiated. Under the "Special Minor Irrigation Works", 29 irrigation and reclamation works will be completed. A sum of Rs. 32 lakhs will have been spent on local Development works. A programme of hygienic water supply and drainage covering 32 municipal townships will have commenced, while nearly 400 villages will benefit under the scheme of Rural Water Supply and Environmental Hygiene. Under the industrial housing scheme 1700 tenements are being constructed, Nursery Power Stations and extension of transmission lines from power houses undertaken as part of rural electrification will ensure supply of electric power in most of the 63 Talukas and Mahal headquarters and nearabout villages. The development of Khadi and village industries has been intensified by the creation of statutory board called the Saurashtra Khadi and Village Industries Board working in close co-operation with the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Handloom industry is being organised and assisted in its production and marketing programme. Financial assistance and provision for technical training of the craftsmen is furthering

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BACKWARD VINDHYA PRADESH ON THE ROAD TO PROGRESS

Vindhya Pradesh emerged out of disintegrated small its of the States of Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand. litical Agencies and the new Government that took er as Union of States had to build the edifice of the vernment machinery from the very foundation. Pass- through a checkered political carrier, this Pradesh ame a Part 'C' State with a Legislature in February 2, that is, at the end of the first year of the Plan. developed on the new Ministry to shoulder the res- nsibility of the implementation of the plan, to take stock of things and also to organise necessary set up. e establishment of a Welfare State under democratic vernment could not be possible without revitalising e Administrative services coming down from the erst- ile states and to raise them upto a level so that they ld carry out the plan under changed circumstances. cordingly the first task before the Government was finalise the reorganisation of services started in 1948 the formation of the union of Vindhya Pradesh and fix the cadres of various services. These could be mpleted by the end of 1954-55.

This state lying between Uttar Pradesh, Madhya desh and Madhya Bharat is situatedover the Vindhya eau with hills and hillocks and forest covering 2% of the area. The mountanous terrain does not w extensive development of communication and roaches upon cultivable area to the extent of 56·76% the area under cultivation. The mileage of railway is 287. There has been no addition since 1926. e metalled and fair weather roads covered 1,296 miles l 1,075 miles respectively in 1950-51.

The percentage of population which mainly depends agriculture is 87·12% and those depending on pro- tive activities are only 4·5% as compared to 10·6% in adhya Pradesh, 3·94% in Bihar and 8·38% in U.P. ose depending on Agriculture are 87·12% of the po- lation and of which 27·1% are self supporting, while ·8% are non-earning and 13·42% are partly earning dependents. The tenants cultivating their own lands are 62·6% as compared to 62·7% in Uttar Pradesh and 49% in Madhya Pradesh. The tenants who cultivate wholly or mainly un-owned land are 6·36% as compared to 5·15% in U.P. and 4·4% in Madhya Pradesh. The Agricultural labourers comprise 17·2% of the total population as compared to 5·71% in U.P. and 7·5% in Madhya Pradesh. Among the labourers 35·21% are self supporting while 46·5% are non earning dependents. The number of Jagirs was 21,722 of whom 120 were those with a gross annual income of Rs. 5,000 or above, 386 with gross income of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000 and 21,216 with gross annual income of less than Rs. 1,000. The population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is 4,76,234 and 4,18,282 (Total 8,94,516) or 25% of the population and with addition of the population of the Backward Classes (7,40,000) their proportion increases to 46% of the total population of the Vindhya Predesh.

There are 10,988 villages in Vindhya Pradesh and 91·44% of the population lives in the villages. The density of the population is 154 per square mile as compared to Madhya Pradesh which has a density of 164 per square mile. The number of towns in Vindhya Pradesh is 64 and there are only 3 towns between a population of 20 to 50 thousand. The urban population is 8·56% as compared to 91·44 of the rural.

The percentage of education was 6% in the rural areas while it was 20% in urban areas, of which the percentage in Rewa and Panna was nearly 23%. These are some of the data depicting the position before the First Plan.

Plan-Frame

Originally a plan estimated to cost Rs. 6·39 crores was provided. After certain revisions and adjustments the cost increased to Rs. 6·91 crores. The following table will indicate the provision for different departments :—

		Rs. in lakhs.
1.	Agriculture ..	204·7
2.	Animal Husbandry and Dairy ..	14·4
3.	Forests ..	22·5
4.	Co-operation ..	3·0
5.	Fisheries ..	1·2
6.	Power Project ..	72·5

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7.	Cottage Industries	..	6·0
8.	Roads	..	125·0
9.	Education	..	100·0
10.	Medical	..	40·0
11.	Public Health	..	85·8
12.	Welfare of Backward Classes	..	691·0

It will be noticed that agriculture, education and communication appropriate 60% of the provision, while health, water-supply and power project cover nearly $\frac{1}{3}$. The Cottage and Co-operation subjects were not given priority over production of food-grains, the advancement of education and development of communications which were the first concern of the State Government.

Agriculture

In the Agriculture sector reclamation of land amounts to 31,179 acres by tractrisation and by bullock power and through distribution of *Takavi* for reclamation.

The area developed for paddy and *Rabi* comes to 21,613 acres and 24,249 acres respectively. The number of wells constructed for irrigation purposes is 290. The number of tractors purchased by private individuals is 85. The tanks repaired and preapared for irrigation number 97. Persian wheels and pumps numbering 92 and 130 respectively, were purchased by the cultivators. The other activities of the Department are as follows :—

1. *IMPROVED SEEDS* —distribution of —

1. Wheat	..	14,253 mds.
2. Paddy	..	23,037 ,,
3. Potato	..	6,773 ,,
4. Gram	..	1,066 ,,
5. Other Grains	..	4,122 ,,

2. *MANURES AND FERTILIZERS*—Distribution of—

1. Fertilizer	..	37,581 mds.
2. Sulphate of Amonia	..	3,959 ,,
3. Rural Compost	..	2,28,000 ,,
4. Town Compost	..	3,72,000 ,,
5. Bone Meal	..	400 ,,
6. Oil Cakes	..	1,372 ,,
7. Green Manure	..	3,360 ,,
	..	6,06,672 mds.

3. *CROP COMPETITION.*

1. Kharif	..	11,664 persons
2. Rabi	..	10,806 ,,

4. *JAPANESE METHOD OF CULTIVATION*

Paddy cultivation .. 7,335 acres.

5. *PLANT PROTECTION.* 162 Number acres.

6. *TACCAVI.*

1. For purchase of Bullocks Carts	..	219 Number
2. For purchase of Bullocks	..	1,933 pairs.

7. *FARMS*	..	9.
8. *SEED STORES*	..	18 (Some under Construction)

Out of the minor irrigation works taken up for grow more food 21 have been completed and the remaining are expected to be completed this year.

This concerted effort has increased the production of food grains by 25,709 tons. During 1955-56 it has further been proposed to bring 27,000 acres of land under cultivation and 250 of wells will be constructed *Taccavi* and grants for other G.M.F. Schemes will be given to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. All the minor irrigation works will be completed, which will irrigate 78,750 acres of land. The present acreage under irrigation is 1,91,008 acres which when added to the new efforts will increase the area to 9,69,758 acres.

Education

As mentioned earlier the percentage of literacy was only 6%. Expansion of education was, therefore, the next foremost important subject to be tackled during the first plan. The efforts were mostly concentrated at the Primary and Secondary stages. The number of children in the age group of 6-11 years was 4·50 lakhs in 1951 ; but out of these only 68,094 were attending the classes and the number of Primary Schools was 1,696. It was increased to 1,723 in 1951-52, 1,876 in 1952-53, 2,425 in 1,953-54, 2,886 in 1954-55 with the result that 1,22,236 boys of age group to 6-11 attended the schools. The percentage of expansion was nearly 80% over the 1950-51 figures. Thus the literacy among this age group increased to 30%. In 1955-56 the number of schools will increase to 3,256 and the number of scholars is expected to increase by 30,000. Thus at the end of

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first plan 150 lakh boys will be going to the schools and the literacy will increase to 33% from 6% in 1950-51.

At the Secondary stage the number of middle schools was 171 and that of High Schools 16 in 1951. In 1954-55 it has increased to 204 and 36 respectively. The increase in percentage of expansion is nearly 60%. In 1955-56, 40 Junior High Schools and 8 Senior High Schools will be started and the number of scholars will also increase to 60,000 by 1955-56 over 34,000 in 1950-51.

Communications

The development of communication was very important which had to be tackled in the First Plan and will further be expanded extensively in the Second Five Year Plan. The metalled and fair weather roads covered 1,296 and 1,075 miles respectively, during 1950-51 as mentioned earlier. The development made in this direction has increased the mileage of metalled roads to 1,954 and that of fair weather roads to 1,183. The construction of roads includes the construction of bridges, culverts and cause-ways over rivers and *nalas*. One of the outstanding works is the bridge over river Ken, which is expected to complete this year. The road from Rewa to Amarkantak will be an all weather road by the next summer. The black-topping of roads is proceeding rapidly and by the end of the First Plan 186 miles of roads will have been black-topped. This includes several National Highways, inter-statal roads and important state roads. Besides the road programme, the Public Works Department has taken up the construction of departmental buildings, state buildings and the irrigation schemes. The mountanous physical feature of the state hinders extensive development of means of communications but development of trade, advancement of education and raising of the standard of the people will not be possible without better roads and opening of the interiors of the state and connecting them with the capital and then district towns.

Motor transport has made a rapid progress since the formation of the Vindhya Pradesh. The number of buses now plying on the roads is 241 on 141 routes and they cover 6,488 miles every day. The opening of Out Agency Office of the Central Railway at Rewa has improved, both the passenger and goods traffic between Rewa and Satna (the Railway station for Rewa about 32 miles). The buses go direct to Katni (M.P.) and through Jhansi to Datia but the direct running of buses to Allahabad and Mirzapur has not been possible in spite of the Vindhya Pradesh Government's best efforts.

On the formation of Vindhya Pradesh the postal, telegraph and telephone departments of the States forming union were taken over by the Post and Telegraph department of the Central Government. The post and telegraph system has made rapid progress during these four years. The number of Post-Offices in Vindhya Pradesh was aout 100 in 1950-51 and at present there are 296 branch offices, 40 sub-offices and 3 Head Offices. An efficient telephone system has been provided at Rewa, Satna and Panna. All the Districts are now connected with the capital by telegraph and telephone lines. Wireless messages can be sent from the Capital to all the District Head-quarters.

Power

The provision of modern amenities in the capital towns of the former states of the Union was very meagre. Rewa and Satna have had good power houses and provided street and houses connections. Maihar, Nagod, Panna, Chhatarpur, Tikamgarh and Datia had small power houses and supplies electric energy partially more for palace use than for public consumption, though at certain places street connection had been provided. It was not profitable for some time to maintain these power houses, but with the improvement of the power supply and development of Inter-State trade they could be maintained. In the First Year Plan development of the power project is estimated to cost Rs. 1·02 crores. A thermal station with a capacity of 2000 kw. of energy sufficiently to electrify Rewa, Satna, Maihar, Nagod and other neighbouring towns is being set up at Satna. The Umaria Town of district Shadol with which the Rewa State Coal Fields Ltd. Umaria, are associated has been fully electrified with the assistance of the colliery power houses. The supply has been started from 31st August 1955. The engines which will be released from Rewa after settling up of Thermal station will be transferred to Sidhi, the district Headquarter of the District.

The other power houses at Panna, Chhatarpur, Tikamgarh and Datia are being improved and those will supply more power to the towns and for the development of cottage industries running with electric engines.

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Water Supply and Drainage

There was partial water supply system in Rewa only. Development of water supply was absolutely necessary on account of increasing population and paucity of water carriers. Accordingly, water supply and drainage of Rewa, and water supply in Satna, Panna, Chhatarpur and Tikangarh have been taken up during the First plan. The estimated cost is as follows :—

1. Rewa Scheme.	Rs.	26,38,000/-
2. Satna ,,	Rs.	15,27,400/-
3. Chhatarpur ,,	Rs.	18,25,000/-
4. Panna Scheme	Rs.	12,72,000/-
5. Tikamgarh ,,	Rs.	8,70,000/-
	Rs.	81,33,400/-

About $\frac{2}{3}$ of work has been completed in Rewa town. The work in other districts is expected to finish by 1957-58. These facilities will be extended to other district towns in the Second Five Year Plan. Under the rural water supply scheme two projects have been taken up, namely, Teonthar and Bijawar.

Medical and Public Health

Under the improvement of health programme five hospitals and 25 dispensaries were sought to be upgraded to class I. Eight Aushadhalayas one in each district and 25 Aurvedic dispensaries are provided in Plan. One district hostpital at Shahdol has already been constructed . 9 dispensaries have been upgraded to class 3 hospitals. T.B. Hospital of hundred beds has been constructed at Nowgong. The National Malaria and Fileria control B.C.G. campaign years are being carried out by several teams in the districts. The B.C.G. campaign has served the population of 20 lakhs people. 4 Leprocy clinics and 1 Venereal diseases clinic are being run for the good of the people. 4 Anti-Malaria units are working at present. The Malaria control is mostly limited to district towns at present. The mobile dispensaries one in each district are rendering services to the people in rural areas. The Gandhi Memorial Hospital is being improved and provided with specialists in different branches. A deep X-ray plant has recently been provided. Two primary health centres have been started in two National Extension Service Block.

Animal Husbandry

The cattle wealth of Vindhya Pradesh is about 53 lakhs nearly one and half times of human population. At the advent of the Plan, there were 9 Hospitals and 29 Dispensaries. Nine Hospitals and 32 Dispensaries have been opened so far. During this year 9 Dispensaries will be upgraded to Hospitals and nineteen new Dispensaries will be opened. Thus at the end of the Plan there will be 27 Hospitals and 51 Dispensaries each of which will serve 68,000 heads of cattle against the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Agriculture that there should be a Veterinary hospital for every 25,000 heads of cattle. Thus 212 Veterinary hospitals are necessary. The deficiency will be made up in the Second Five Year Plan. The improvement of local stock of cattle is being taken up through an artificial insemination centres of Key Village schemes. There are two A. I. centres and 8 Key Villages which will be supplementated by one A. I. Centre and 4 Key villages in the current year. 67 Hariana Bulls and 16 Murrah Buffalo bulls have been distributed in the rural areas to be maintained by the Gram Panchayats which are paid a subsidy of Rs. 30/- per month.

For the segregation of old and unproductive cattle one Gosadan has handled nearly 700 heads of cattle. One sadan will be established this year. It is a centrally financed scheme.

Training of Veterinary graduates, Stockmen, Compounders and Dressers is proceeding.

The Government dairy at Rewa has been expanded by providing 25 Murrah Buffaloes, 24 Hariana Cows and 2 Hariana Bulls, which had raised the production of milk from 30 seers to 6 mds. per day. Milk is supplied to Hospitals, Jail, Schools, Public and Government servants.

The expansion is to be carried out in the current year also.

For the development of Poultry farming pedigree cocks have been distributed in compact poultry areas. Pilot Project has been started at Nowgong in the National Extension Service Block.

Fisheries

The development of protective food to supplement the shortage of food-grains has been receiving attention since the 2nd Year of the first Plan. Fishing was one of

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important professions that has been practised in primitive fashion by fishermen and such other persons. With a view to improve this business in scientific manner the fisheries Department was established under a trained Fishery Development Officer with four assistants. One more trained Assistant is being appointed this year. The number of tanks and small rivers that are in V.P. provide great scope for the development of fisheries. The provision under the first Plan in this subject is rather modest. However, during the last two years a number of tanks and river sides have been surveyed. About 14·35 lakhs fingerlings have been imported from Calcutta and stocked in tanks and approximately 2,000 of mds. of fish have been sold bringing a revenue of Rs. 2.04 lakhs.

Against the Plan provision of Rs. 1·2 lakhs Rs. 89 lakhs have so far been spent.

Forests

The Vindhya Pradesh is rich in forests. The area of the Reserve forest is about 15,12,782 acres while stray forest covers an area of 17 lakh acres. The exploitation of forest consists of taking out teak wood for fine works, and timber wood for building purposes, lac culture, miner forest produce etc. which are some of the important items.

For want of proper demarcation, the forest resources were squandered in the past by over grazing the pastures and cutting the trees ruthlessly. The efforts have been made to protect the forest from devastation. Up to the end of the last financial year demarcation works have been completed in Datia and Panna districts and have almost been finished in Chhakarpur district. The district Shahdol Sidhi and Satna have had been demarcated before the advent of the plan. Thus an area of 400 sq. miles of forest has been demarcated.

In order to open out inaccessable areas of the forests 118 miles of fair weather roads at a cost of Rs. 2·69 lakhs have been constructed.

As the hands of P.W.D. were full in carrying out their own programme of communication and buildings, the forest department took over the construction of quarters of the junior forest officers and up to the end of March, 1955, 157 buildings at a cost of Rs. 3·30 lakhs have been constructed against the five years estimate of 100 buildings.

In the field of soil conservation, the department has done some original work which has received recognition and commendations from the experts. The work was started in the Pandit hill in the Satna district by check dam and sowing of tree seeds. The result was beyond expectation. Soil conservation will be done extensively during the Second Five Year Plan. The cost over this operation is about Rs. 30 to 40 acres. Efforts are being made to further reduce the cost. In the first plan lac culture has been extended to Panna and Chhatarpur districts which provided facilities for development but had not been exploited previously.

The Shellac Factory of Umaria has been extended and mechanised. To supplement the work of anti soil erosion and to increase the availability of fire-wood the afforestation of vast tracts has been taken up. Nurseries are being maintained at six places.

A training school has been started at Umaria to train the forest guards and 50 guards are given six months training. So far, 50 guards have received training.

Another important step that has been taken is to improve the lot of forest tribes. A beginning has been made in Umaria Division by rehabilitating the forest tribes and labour in villages.

The game sanctuaries, one in Mand (Rewa) and the other in Panna have been notified and distraction of wild ani- mals there has been prohibited.

The development of forest industries is also receiving attention. The bone meal factory has been started at Umaria. Negotiations to start training factory and paper mill are in progress.

Welfare of Backward Classes

Backward Classes as mentioned earlier comprise nearly 45% of the total population of the Vindhya Pradesh, namely :—

1. Scheduled Castes	..	4,76,234
2. Scheduled Tribes	..	4,18,282
3. Backward Class	..	7,40,000
		16,34.516

The magnitude of the task can well be imagined in view of this large population and mostly living in scattered villages in the hills. A beginning was made since

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1952 with a plan provision of Rs. 15 lakhs which was further supplemented by the special grants from the Central Government under article 275 of the Constitution. Upto the end of the last financial year Rs. 21·36 lakhs have been spent on the welfare works under the following heads :—

1. Education facilities	..	Rs. 6·54 lakhs.
2. Agricultural ,,	..	Rs. 1·51 ,,
3. Housing Scheme	..	Rs. 2·75 ,,
4. Co-operative Societies	..	Rs. 1·02 ,,
5. Medical Facilities	..	Rs. ·97 ,,
6. Communication	..	Rs. 2·80 ,,
7. Water Supply	..	Rs. 1·66 ,,
8. Miscellaneous Schemes	..	Rs. 4·11 ,,

For the amelioration of Backward Classes, welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and about removal of untouchability, the work done under th heads men- tioned above is summerised as follows :—

1. *Education Facilities.*

Award of 1,980 scholarships to students reading in Class VI or above, payment of Non-Government fees on behalf of students reading in Classes below class VI along with free supply of books, stationery and uniforms, running of 100 schools and making 60,000 adults literate, running of 20 Asharams where 500 students (girls and boys) are some of the important items, maternity and child welfare centres are attached to 5 girls Asharams.

2. Agricultural Facilities.

Rehabilitation of 116 families by giving them one pair of bullocks and 10 acres of tractorised land has been completed successfully.

3. Housing Schemes.

18 model villages one in each district (Kailash Nagar) of Govindgarh, Gandhigram of Sidhi, Rajendra Nagar of Shahdol, construction of 178 houses, colonies one at Rewa and the other at Chhatarpur for Municipal sweepers and providing Panchayat Ghar, radio sets, night schools, parks etc. in the model villages and colonies are some of the activities in this direction.

4. Organisation of Co-operative Societies.

1,028 multi-purpose co-operative scocieties were organised with memberhip of 2,625, and share capital of Rs. 1 lakh. A grant of Rs. 500 as subsidy to each society was made along with providing a manager at Government expense.

5. Medical Facilities.

17 Ayurvedic Aushashdhalayas, 3 hospitals and one dispensary were constructed.

N.B.: One hospital is already functioning and two are under construction.

6. Communication.

605 miles approach roads were constructed.

7. Water Supply.

152 new wells were constructed and 151 old ones repaired.

8. Free Legal Aid.

Grant of Free Legal aid even in Revenue and Civil cases through Government pleader or a special counsel is being provided by the Government.

During the current year, 118 miles of new roads will be constructed. Another colony for sweepers at a cost of Rs. 65,000/- will be constructed at Satna. Other facilities will continue.

9. Co-operation.

The Co-operative Department was allotted a provision of Rs. 3 lakhs in the First Plan as share capital of the Government for investment in the Apex. Bank. So far Rs. 2 lakhs have been invested and the balance will be invested this year. The Apex. Bank has a membership of 284 societies, share capital of Rs. 2,90,295 and working in this State with a membership of 18,223 and a capital of Rs. 11,41,496 as against 464 societies with membership of 10,338 and working capital of Rs. 3,53,731 at the outset of the Plan.

In backward areas there are 129 societies with 3,068 members and working capital of Rs. 2 lakhs.

A training school has been started at Rajgarh (Chhatarpur) to train managers, secretaries etc. for the banks.

A co-operative pilot project has been started at Swhawal. 10 multi-purpose societies have been formed

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with 424 members and paid up capital of Rs. 81,001. Loans to the extent of Rs. 59,727 have been advanced.

Industrial Potentiality of Vindhya Pradesh

This State provides for development of several major industries on account of its vast mineral resources. The developed major industries, so far are raising of coal and making of lime. Raising of coal is, however, concentrated on Eastern Railway passing through district Shahdol (Katni Bilaspur Section and Annuppur Chirmiri Section). At present 11 coal mines, 19 limestone concerns, two corudum, one sillimanite, five fire clay, ten ochre, one quarter and felspar, one barytes and three diamond mines are working . In 1954-55 mining leases have been issued to one for fire clay, one for limestone and one for ochre and whiter earth. Thirteen new certificates of approval were issued and 58 were renewed. Prospecting licences were issued one for coal, 2 for limestone and one for ochre and white earth. Besides the three lease holders of diamond mines 654 licences for working shallow mines were issued. 894 diamond pieces of the value of Rs. 1,65,776 were auctioned.

The coal seam extends over an area of about 2,000 sq. miles of districts Shahdol and Sidhi. Singrauli coal (Disstt. Sidhi) is considered to be better for want of railway communication. The exploitation of Singrauli coal and corudum has not been possible so far. The extensive tracts of limestone along with coal at short distance provides great opportunity for development of cement factory. The bamboo and thick grass in district Shahdol provides prospects for paper factory. Negotiations are, however, going on with Messrs Birla Bros. for a cement factory at Satna and a paper mill at Shahdol. They have already received a licence from the Government of India to establish a cement factory.

The match factory is already functioning at Unchehra (district Satna) but it requires expansion before it can really be profitable. An Abrasive Factory has recently been started at Hanumana (56 miles from Rewa on Mirzapur Road).

Several other minerals such as mica, iron ore, aluminium, sum gypsum are available for exploitation. A survey of minerals is going to be taken up shortly.

A sum of Rs. 3,75,000 has been sanctioned by the Government of India for grant of loans to various industrialists under the State aid to Industries Rule.

Development of major industries along with railway line to Singraoli will greatly provide possibilities of employment and development of economic condition of the people.

During Second Five Year Plan the forest department proposes to start a Katha mill and tanning factory in district Shahdol. The annual export of hides from Vindhya Pradesh is nearly 100,000 pieces and if a part of the exports are utilised locally, there is a good prospect of running a tannery. There are other industries more on cottage and small scale basis at present which can be developed into big industries such as, Metal works of Unchehra (district Satna), iron works of Ramnagar and Semaria (district Satna and the indeginous bangle preparation at Beohari, Rewa stone works of Chitrakoot and Chhatarpur etc. About 15,000 to 20,000 maunds of glass sand is exported from V.P. It provides the possibilities of establishing a Glass Factory somewhere near Dabhe (Manikpur-Allahabad Section of Central Railway). Similarly large quantity of ochre is exported from Jaitwara (a railway station about 9 miles from Satna) and a paint factory can successfully flourish. The production of sugarcane has been increasing for the last 15 years in V.P. This is, no doubt, attributed to the high prices of *Gur* and sugar but there are possibilities of sugar factory anywhere in V.P. There was one at Harpalpur, but it is not running on account of differences between the partners. There are prospects of paper pulp factory and plywood factory also. The Umaria pulp board factory that is lying locked on account of litigation between the partners, is proposed to be purchased by the Government.

Labour

The labour problem in V.P. has cropped up since the development of collieries, ochre mines and lime production. The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 was enforced. Of late Biri manufacturing has developed as a big small scale industry and engages nearly 40,000 labourers. Minimum wages for the workers were fixed in 1954. The labour engaged in Motor transport also demanded the fixation of minimum wages and the same was fixed accordingly. As reconciliation could not be made between the owners and the labour about certain facilities demanded by them, a reconciliation Board under the Chairmanship of the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue was constituted and it has given its award bringing out an amicable settlement between the con-

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tending parties. The wages of stone crushing and stone breaking labour have also been fixed. The wages of agriculture labour has been fixed in Sidhi District as an experimental measure.

There are 17 registered trade unions in the State out of which 6 are of coal mining with a membership of 1,952, 3 of Biri making with a membership of 1,020, 2 of public Motor transport with a membership of 335 and 6 others with a membership of 133, thus making a total of 3,340 members. In the Second Five Year Plan development of industrial township has been proposed with various other ameliorative measures.

Housing

The problem of housing in the towns of V.P., though not so acute as in some other state, is nevertheless real and is growing in size. With the central assistance, a beginning has been made since last year to relieve the shortage by advancing loan to the Low Income Group to build their houses on the improved sites. Last year efforts were concentrated in Rewa and Satna towns only and a loan of Rs. 1 lakh was advanced. This year several other towns are being benefited through this scheme and Rs. 8 lakhs are being advanced.

Tourism

Development of tourism has been receiving the attention of the Government. There are several beauty spots such as Amarkantak Chachai, Keoti and Pandava falls, architectural monuments and temples namely, Bharhat (near Nogod), Khajuraho (District Chhatarpur), Sonagir (district Datia). Some temples at Unnoa (district Datia) are some of the important items. Class I dak bunglow has been constructed at Khajuraho with emporium of local products. Road and dak bunglow at Chachai and Keoti falls have been constructed. The road to Amarkantak will be all weather road very soon. A museum at the Dhubela near the monument of Maharaja Chhatrasal has been constructed. A small green belt has been provided with swimming pool on the River side in Rewa to serve as a park for the people. Another park in Rewa Town is being set up near the Bikram Bridge.

(Contd. from page 4)

the cause of small scale industries and handicrafts. Nearly 300 teachers have been recruited. A scheme for bringing to a satisfactory level of development the incomplete road works undertaken as part of the scarcity relief works has been recently approved and estimated to cost Rs. 100·5 lakhs. The total estimated outlay on these activities during the two years 1954-55 and 1955-56 is expected to exceed Rs. 11 crores. In addition, 6 Community Development Blocks and 5 NES Blocks have been in operation. Over and above this, there are 9 Taluka Development Blocks, 15 pre-extension Service Blocks, and 1 special development block. 16 new blocks will start functioning in April 1956.

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TURBULENT MAHANADI IS NOW RIVER OF HOPE

(By Nabakrushna Choudhury, Chief Minister, Orissa)

Orissa can boast of the oldest relics of human habitation. In the hilly tracts to the west of the flat coast land of the State the oldest stone implements have been discovered. Situated between the northern and the southern part of India, through ages it has been forging a living link between the two cultures and has provided a fertile ground for evolution of synthesis out of warring antithesis. History speaks of Orissa as a land of peace. The people inhabiting this region have excelled in peaceful pursuits. This perhaps has tended to create an atmosphere in which men of peace have, for centuries, made it their abode. The mighty conqueror, Ashoka, the terrible, was converted to a man of peace in this land and carried the message of peace to the four corners of the known world of those days. Kharevela, the Jain king of Orissa carried consolidation of India as far as Afghanisthan in the second century B.C. Like other parts of India, Orissa has seen ups and downs through ages. But the outstanding landmarks which have been left behind in the shape of glorious monuments in Konarak, Bhubaneswar and Puri and in many other parts of Orissa point to an unbroken line of prosperity. In those days, Orissa had a powerful mercantile marine and the people carried on colonising expeditions to remote lands like Indo-China, Malaya, Bali, Java, Borneo and Sumatra traces of which are even found in these days.

As we approach the modern times dark days descend. At the beginning of the 20th century Orissa was found to be a land recking with poverty and recurringly visited by floods, famines and pestilences. It was the last territory to go under the British yoke and suffered perhaps the most at the hands of the foreign conqueror. The compact province which was once the seat of a mighty empire was broken into pieces. 26 small principalities were created on the hinterland of the West. Parts of Orissa were parcelled out to Madras, Madhya Predesh, Bihar, and Bengal and a small area consisting of three coastal districts—a carricature of the historical



Orissa—known as Orissa division, was placed under a Commissioner.

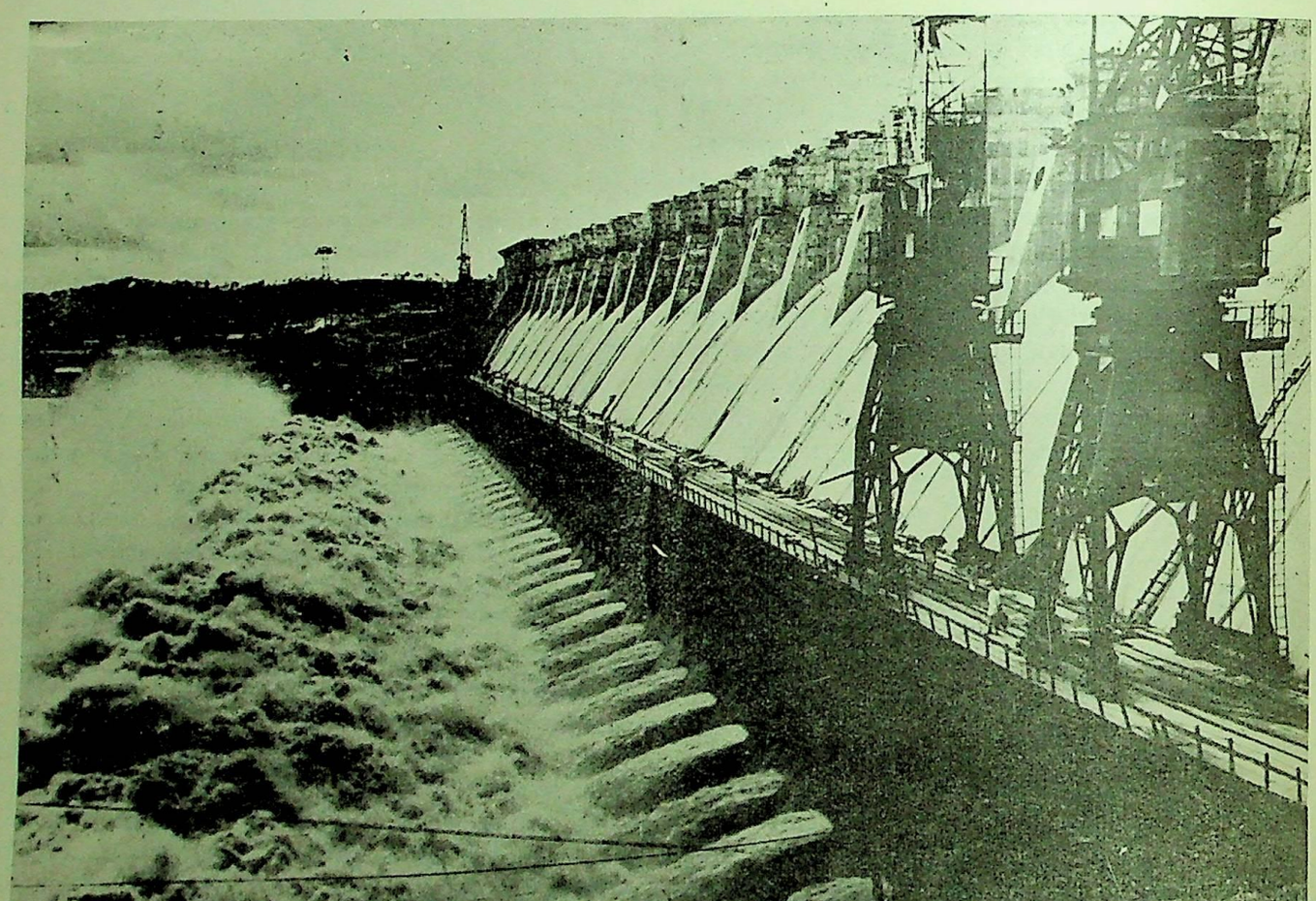
The spirit of independence which had sustained the peculiar culture of this region could not be smothered by systematic exploitation—moral and material. For one and half a century that the British ruled over the land there have been a series of risings entailing untold suffering to the participants till the great movement of national emancipation was inaugurated in 1921 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Orissa threw itself heart and soul into the struggle. That perhaps provided the turning point in its history. It was always on the fore-front of the fight and faced all sacrifices and braved all sufferings to achieve the ultimate goal. Due to the rising tempo of the national movement aspirations of the people had to be satisfied, as far as practicable, by the foreign rulers and in 1936 a truncated province was created consisting of six districts, three of which were recurringly devastated by floods, one contained long stretches of forests and another was situated in the hinterland cut off from the main body by a ring of princely States, which had by that time been completely separated from the main body of Orissa. A Provincial Government was set up which had to carry on the administration on financial resources hardly exceeding a crore and a half of rupees. More or less this state of

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affairs continued till the achievement of Independence in 1947.

After Independence, rapid changes began to take place in Orissa. The urge for progress and achieving something good and great which had remained latent among the people during the last two centuries or more began to take new shape. Limitations which had curbed the self-expression of the people were considered irksome and a rising tide of upsurge began to sway them forward. The first to fall in the process was the unnatural barrier that divide the people of the coastal district from the Western area where 26 autocratic principalities ruled supreme. The British, due to their policy of divide and rule, endowed them with some attributes of peramountcy when they left the shores of India. In the changed order of the small rulers who with their so called States could hardly eke out an existence began to claim rights of sovereignty. Ludicrous as it may appear now, some of them went to the length of unfurling the flag of independence of their principalities. All the time they were conscious of the fact that they could not keep themselves above the tremendous wave of nationalism which was passing over the country or face the immense forces which had been unleashed by freedom. They thought it expedient to entrench themselves behind the last ditch and combined themselves into an organisation which they called Eastern States Federation. They thought that a political move of this nature can save them from the ultimate doom, but they were mistaken. The will of the people swept them aside and Sardar Patel began his great experiment of consolidation of India by abolition of Indian States from Orissa. Stage had been properly set for this purpose by popular movement and had not Sardar Patel come in at the nick of the time, the rulers, their States, their privy purses and privileges would have gone the way that usually such things go.



A view of Hirakud Irrigation Project.

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On January 1948, 25 States were integrated with ssa which doubled its size, raised its population by re than 50% and gave almost an organic whole to the rince. That was an achievement which fired the gination of the people and new aspirations and e for new achievements which had gripped them ce then is carrying the State from one stage of pro-ss to another.

After integration, the area of Orissa stands at 60,135·9 uare miles and the population 1,46,45,946. Orissa bounded on the south-west and north-east by Andhra d West Bengal respectively, Bihar and Madhya Pra-sh lie on its north-west and west and the blue waters the Bay of Bengal wash its southern shore.

The composition of the population is also interesting. t of the total population, as stated above, of 46,45,946 the number of males is 72,42,892 and that females 74,03,054. The total backward population ns to 97,71,252 of which the Scheduled Tribes are 87,334, the Scheduled Castes contain a population of 30,763 and other backward classes 41,73,155. Orissa predominantly a rural State. It contains only one y and 38 towns, whereas the number of villages is ,984. Thus the percentage of the urban population 4·06 whereas that of the rural population stands as gh as 95·94. The density of population per square le is 244 as against the Indian average of 312. Viewed m the stand point of occupation the agricultural popu-ion forms the predominant majority and stands as gh as 79·29 per cent as against the non-agricultural pulation of 20·71. These are the basic factors which entially govern all development programmes of Orissa.

Finance provides comparatively a reliable index for ging the overall position of a State. There has been enomenal increase in the revenue and expenditure of issa. In 1936-37 the province started from what y be called a mere scratch and the revenue was . 1·68 crores and expenditure Rs. 1·71 crores. This sition was not radically changed till 1947. In 1949-50, at is two years after freedom, the revenue increased Rs. 10·82 crores and the expenditure stood at Rs. 11·45 ores. In 1953-54 the revenue had reached the figure Rs. 13·56 crores and the expenditure Rs. 14·45 crores. ere has been a phenomenal increase in the nation-ilding activities of the Government also. In com-rison with the second year of its existence as a sepa-rate unit, that is in 1937-38, there has been an increase of expenditure of about 3,469 per cent in some nation-building departments. Again taking 1937-38 as the base year the percentage of increase by 1952-53 has been of the following order—education 581, medical 557, health 558, agriculture 3,469, veterinary 1,947, forests 863, industry 1,098 and co-operation 75 per cent. These figures would indicate the rapid pace with which the State is marching ahead.

In 1936 when Orissa was created a separate province a multitude of problems beset it all around. Apart from poverty which is in itself a tremendous problem, the ordinary facilities which go to make a civilised life were lacking. There were few good roads. Most of the year rivers remained unfordable. Facilities for education were rudimentary in character. Urban electrification was a luxury and rural electrification was not dreamt of. Industry there was none. Medical facilities were provided in name. Floods and famines were chronic and even the Provincial Government had not a seat from which they would work. All these problems and many more have been taken up and are being solved one after another.

A new capital has been built at Bhubaneswar where the salubrious climatic conditions and historical association and environments joined together to create an atmosphere of honesty of outlook, purity of purpose and efficiency in work. Within the first year of freedom the foundation stone of the New Capital was laid by India's Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru on April 13, 1948. The master plan of the capital was drawn up by Dr. Koenigsberger, an internationally famous architect. Offices began to be shifted to the New Capital from Cuttack from June 8, 1949. The master plan provides for five neighbourhood units, each of which is self-contained so far as schools, shoping centres, playgrounds etc., are concerned. The town is designed in the first phase to hold a population of 25,000.

Almost simultaneously construction work of the great Hirakud Project was taken up with a view to solve at the first instance the problem of flood and famine in Orissa. The Mahanadi which once upon a time provided the main artery of communication for Orissa and spread plenty and prosperity on the land has been changed into a perpetual curse by spreading death and devastation in the delta areas during floods. The Hirakud

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Project is designed to harness the large volume of water in the Mahanadi during floods and use it for irrigation, power production, flood control, navigation and malaria control. It will also provide facilities for soil conservation, silt control, fish culture and recreation. The Hirakud reservoir will also provide a suitable sea plane base at a strategic location. The great curse is being turned to a great blessing for Orissa by human endeavour. The Project, when completed, will be one of the biggest in India. It comprises the construction of a Dam across the Mahanadi about 9 miles upstream of the town of Sambalpur, gravity and lift canals on either side and two hydro-electric installations. The Dam will be nearly 3 miles in length across the main channel with 17 miles long low dykes on the two sides. The maximum height of the Dam above the deepest river bed will be 150 ft. The reservoir formed by the Dam will rise to R.L. 625·00. It will have a gross storage capacity of 6·6 million acre ft. of which 2·24 million acre ft. will be a dead one. Water at full reservoir level will spread over an area of 263 square miles, which is more than a half in size of the Chilka lake during rains.

To solve the food problem of India priority has been given to irrigation in the Hirakud Project and work in this connection is in progress. The first stage of construction is to be completed by 1956. It comprise, besides construction of the main Dam and dykes, a power-house of four units, 400 miles of transmission lines and eight substations and includes canal system upland in Sambalpur and Bolangir district and in delta areas in the coastal region. An area of 5,42,000 acres will be irrigated in the Sambalpur district both on the right and left side of the Mahanadi river. A net-work of canals and distributaries is to provide irrigation facilities to 7,91,000 acres and in the delta districts 11,37,000 acres will be irrigated as a result of upland and delta irrigation. Food production is likely to increase by 7,35,000 tons and sugarcane by 2,97,000 tons a year. The State will benefit financially to the extent of Rs. 17·18 crores annually. 589 miles of gravity and 65 miles of lift canal system will be dug to carry water from the Hirakud reservoir to the lands to be irrigated.

Power will be generated at Hirakud Dam in two parts, one at the main Dam to utilise the fall created by the construction of the Dam and the second at the subsidiary Dam formed at the end of the power channel. The installed capacity will be 3,50,000 k.w., but the system will be capable of meeting a maximum demand of 3,00,000 k.w. making available about 1,612 million k.w. hours annually under full development. The revenue from power would amount to Rs. 95,00,000 annually. The electric power generated at Hirakud is to be transmitted by long distance extra high-tension lines to places like Cuttack (160 miles), Jamshedpur (224 miles), and Kharagpur (271 miles) for onward transmission to Calcutta. Another line will run via Bolangirpatna and Kalahandi upto Rayagada where the system will be linked up with the Duduma transmission system. Ultimately the Hirakud Power Station will be linked up in grid to the proposed power stations at Tikkarpara, Naraj, Kosi, Tista, Damodar, Rihand and Nagpur.

With cheap power available, there would be opportunities for industrial development of Orissa which has a large deposit of key minerals. In fact according to a planned programme, industries are rising up in the area to be served by the Hirakud Project and great enterprises like the Rajgangpur Cement Factory, the Orient Papers Mills and a great Steel Factory at Rourkella have already begun. In anticipation of availability of power from Hirakud, rapid progress has been made in respect of rural and urban electrification and villages, which 20 years ago could not dream of having electricity, are provided with electrical street lights. The economic resources which would be available due to agricultural and industrial development would result in extention of social services in the shape of greater facilities for education, sanitation, medical relief and other civilised amenities of life and ultimately lead to the raising of the general standard of living.

On the Southern boundary of Orissa another big Power Project—the Machkund Hydro-electric Project is under execution in collaboration with the Government of Andhra. It is designed to harness the 540 ft. high Duduma Fall on the Machkundu river by putting up a storage reservoir higher up the river. The Project is estimated to cost about Rs. 10 crores. Approximately 34,500 k.w. would be made available during first stage, out of which Orissa's share would be about 10,000 k.w. The cost and benefits of the scheme will be shared between the Governments of Andhra and Orissa in the ratio of 70 : 30. Arrangements have been made for utilising Orissa's share of power. 132 K.V. line would be laid from Machkund to Berhampur *via* Jeypore

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and Rayagada with 33 and 11 K.V. Subtransmission and 33 k.v. and distribution lines for supply of power to the Southern part of Orissa that is Jeypore, Koraput, Nawarangpur, Borigumma, Kotpad, Berhampur, Aska and Rambha. This would be extended upto Rayagada.

Besides the two big electrical projects there are a number of small diesel stations in ex-States, at Aska Jeypore. In addition there are generating stations at Puri, Berhampur, Balasore, Jharsuguda, Bargrha, Parlakhemidi and distribution systems at Cuttack and Sambalpur.

A provision of Rs. 21 lakhs has been made in the First Five-Year Plan for power supply in small towns and rural areas. Power would be supplied in 12 rural areas and 7 small towns in the near future.

Orissa is full of mineral deposits, forest products and other raw materials. With cheap power available from Hirakud and Duduma industries would grow up. Within the last few years a new chapter of industrial progress has already begun. The Textile Mill at Choudwar, a Paper Mill at Brajarajnagar, a Cement Factory at Rajgangpur, a Refriegerator and Steel Cabinet Manufacturing Plant at Cuttack and Coal Mines at Talcher and Rampur have already been started and a 1 million-ton steel plant is under construction at Rourkella. Three more textile mills at Tangi, Rajgangpur and Sambalpur, a sugar mill at Bargarh, two more Paper mills at Choudwar and Titlagarh, a jute mill at Jagatpur, a galvanised pipe factory at Choudwar, an aluminium factory at Hirakud, a Tanning factory at Titagarh, an electro-chemical industry at Jharsuguda, ferro-manganese factories at Rajgangpur, Koenjhar and Koraput, and a ferro-chrome factory at Keonjhar are proposed to be started.

The State Government attached particular importance to the improvement of small scale and cottage industries. They have set up a Cottage Indutries Board with a view to encourage the cottage industries and develop small scale industries with the help of such machinery as would not lead to greater unemployment. New schemes for the development of handloom weaving, carpentry, blacksmithy, cutlery and cycle parts, mat weaving, pottery, bee-keeping, leather crafts and tanning are being worked out with satisfactory results. An organisation for the development of silk industries has also been set up. Marketing facilities for handicraft products are being provided.

To provide trained personnel for industrial enterprises arrangements have been made for giving industrial and technical education and interest free loan stipends are provided to the trainees. Financial assistance is also given to industries deserving State aid.

Orissa is predominantly an agricultural State. After meeting the internal requirements it has been contributing substantially to the solution of the food problem of the country. Vigorous steps have been taken to improve agriculture by introduction of modern methods and the use of improved seeds and manures. Apart from food crops encouragement is given to the production and development of fibre, such as jute and cotton. Steps have been taken for the improvement of agricultural marketing and aid is given to farmers for improvement of their lands and crops.

Measures for land reforms have been undertaken. Zamindaries have been abolished and steps have been taken to eliminate the intermediaries with a view ultimately to make the tiller of the land owners. The process of decentralisation of administration has also been taken up in right earnest by introducing Anchal Sasans and Gram Panchayats.

To improve communications new roads are being laid and bridges constructed. A road programme has been laid down and being worked out by Government. The area of Orissa is 60,135·9 square miles, but there are only 18,069 miles of roads on it. This is very inadequate for a rapidly growing State and the road programme provides for construction of 1,802 miles of new roads during the First Five-Year Plan period. A number of big projects like the rail road bridge at Hirakud, Kathjuri and Koakhai bridges have been constructed.

The First Five-Year Plan came as an additional urge for Orissa to go ahead with its programme of development in all fields of activities. The central object of planning in India is to raise the standard of living of the people and open to them opportunities for a better and fuller life. Orissa is perfectly in tune with it. And the First Five-Year Plan of the State as approved by the Planning Commission envisaged a total expenditure of 19·10 crores during 1951-52 to 1955-56. This total expenditure has been allocated between various heads

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of development a follows: Agriculture Rs. 197·02 lakhs, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry Rs. 36·93 lakhs, Dairying and Milk Supply Rs. 9·15 lakhs, Forest Rs. 17·23 lakhs, Co-operation 5·13 lakhs, Fisheries Rs. 30·23 lakhs, Irrigation Rs. 300 lakhs, Power Projects Rs. 516·49 lakhs, Cottage Industries Rs. 27·39 lakhs, other Industries Rs. 66·34 lakhs, Roads Rs. 202·88 lakhs, Road Transport Rs. 48·04 lakhs, Ports and Harbours Rs. 1 lakh, Education Rs. 172·33 lakhs, Medical 56·09 lakhs, Public Health Rs. 106·02 lakhs, Labour and Labour Welfare Rs. 3·56 lakhs, Rural Development Rs. ·72 lakhs, Amelioration of Backward classes Rs. 110·55 lakhs and Miscellaneous Rs. 3·5 lakhs. Substantial achievements have been recorded in terms of the Plan and there has been perceptible improvements in the different fields of activities.

The draft Second Five-Year Plan of Orissa which was presented to the Planning Commission contemplated a total outlay of Rs. 121·24 crores, excluding provisions required for the spill-over expenditure in respect of the Hirakud Project. The Planning Commission has alsked the State Government to revise the draft within a ceiling of Rs. 92 crores. The allocation of total outlay among the different sectors of development will be as follows :—

	Rs. in lakhs.	*Percentage.*
1. Agriculture and Community Development. ..	2,355·29	32·60
2. Irrigation and Power ..	1,234·00	17·07
3. Industries and minerals.	850·00	11·76
4. Transport and communications. ..	749·00	10·36
5. Social Services ..	1,970·77	27·27
6. Miscellaneous items ..	68·00	0·94
Total ..	7,227·06	100·00

The Second Plan will provide another stage in all-round development of this State.

Community development is the method and the rural extension is the agency through which the Five-Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transforming the social and economic life of the villages. So far three full Community Projects, three Community Development Blocks and 15 National Extension Services Blocks have been started. Improvement of agriculture is given the topmost priority under the extension plan. Improvement of health, education, communication facilities and development of village industries are being worked out satisfactorily. The project is changing the face of the village.

An era of all-round development has begun in Orissa and from a under-developed region, Orissa is rapidly coming to its own. The people have begun to feel the glow of a new life and a new out-look has begun to influence their activities.

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A GLIMPSE OF MADHYA PRADESH

The mists of time conceal a cogent account of the ancient history of Madhya Pradesh. The Vindhyan heights have for ages stood sentinel to the entire southern peninsula. They have, at the same time, served to cut off the south including this province from the main stream of civilisation. According to mythology, it was Agastya Rishi who is credited with having opened up this part of the country after crossing the Vindhyas.

Architectural remains, inscriptions and the Puranas speak, however, of the sway of Buddhist kings over this area. The oldest inscription relating to the affairs of this province dates back to 232 B.C. and is an edict by Asoka, discovered at Rupnath near Bahuriband, 35 miles from Jabalpur.

The rise of the Gonds in the northern districts of the province was an important phase in its history. Here, too, the chronicler is handicapped for want of coherent data. But the era is known to begin from 1200 A.D. with Garha Mandla as its centre. The brave Rani Durgavati who refused to pay fealty to the Great Moghuls and fell fighting belongs to this period.

The important historical land-marks in this area are the forts of Asiragarh, Deogarh, Mandla, Gawilgarh and Sitabuldi, the rich sculptural remains of the Chedi kings of Tripuri and the Moghul remains at Burhanpur and Achalpur which formed their southern outposts.

Perhaps few other States in India will compare with Madhya Pradesh in the diversity of its ethnical constitution. This is reflected in the variety of dialects spoken all over the State. As many as 377 names of languages and dialects were returned as mother-tongues at the 1951 census. Some of these owe for their existence to the successive waves of immigrants from the adjoining territories but some others are accountable to the historical accidents which result in the constitution of the State as it is today. The reasons, new community, and like most new committees, its pedigree will not stand too close a scrutiny. Roughly speaking, its inhabitants, with the exception of Muslims who form only 3·7 per cent of the population can be split into two divisions, the first being settlers from outside, the other being the indigenous Adivasis. The former comprise a mixture of all racial trends from the earliest inhabitants to the last of the immigrant waves. And the latter 12 per cent of the population comprise the Munda, Baiga, Gond, Muria, Madia, Bhathra and other Dravidian tribes, split again into numerous local groups, inhabitating the farthest jungle recesses of the State. Some of these tribes such as in Bastar and Chanda are still to be found in a most primitive state of civilization.

The State has 4 broad natural regions, *viz.*, the northern strip of Narmada valley, the eastern wet and warm rice tract of Chhattisgarh, the dry and warm cotton areas of Berar and the central plateau of Nagpur. A network of river system covers the State including the Narmada, the Tapti, the Mahanadi, the Godawari, the Indravati, the Wainganga, the Tawa, the Pranhita and other smaller rivers. Most of these rivers have their origin in Madhya Pradesh. When harnessed, these rivers can no doubt change the face of the State. The rice fields of Chhattisgarh are known for their abundance and rich variety and have played a great part in the country's battle of food. The Narmada valley has been for ages a granary and is believed never to have known famine. Berar of the Vidarbha of mythology is known for her cotton and groundnuts and keeps the Bombay mills fed. Cotton has left a trail of prosperity in Berar. Nagpur has been known for her oranges—the sweet golden fruit. Surplus in foodgrains as the State has been, it also has the many varieties of pulses and oilseeds in great abundance. Its pastures sustain a large cattle wealth and it is also one of the important fields for bones and hide.

After the integration of 14 former States, Madhya Pradesh is today the largest single State in India with an area of 1,30,272 square miles. About forty per cent of its vast spaces are clothed by tropical and other forests yielding one of India's best teak timber. Through these forests lay the path of Rama across the Dandak Vana to Lanka. Here was also Shabri of mythology from whom Ram had accepted tasted fruits. These forests abound in great wealth, and are the source of

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a variety of forest industries such as lac, colour and paints, resin, rusa oil etc. The important cottage industry of bidi-making owes largely to Tendu leaves in Madhya Pradesh forests. Drawing from the forest resources of salai, maharukh and bamboo, the State will shortly have India's first newsprint factory at Nepanagar, with a capacity of 100 tons a day. Already another white paper factory has gone into production at Ballarpur near Chanda with a capacity of 50 tons a day.

While rich forests and mighty rivers sway over her surface, below in the womb of the earth, great mineral wealth abounds throughout the State. There are rich deposits of coal, almost a monopoly of manganese and deposits of bauxite, lime-stone, dolomite, soft-stone, copper, mica and many other minerals. There are mountains of iron ore unparalleled for their quality and deposits anywhere.

The State's has been an agricultural economy so far, but its rich mineral potentials hold out prospects of a bright industrial future for the State in no distant future. Its central situation gives it an advantageous marketing position from the point of view of distribution. The main national highways criss-cross the State. In this air-age, its importance as an air junction is being increasingly realised. Among the existing industries are manganese and coal mining, textile, cement, paper, glass, potteries and ceramics, soap, oil and paints, jute etc. Recently, the Government of India have begun work on the one million ton steel plant at Bhilai in this State. The important cottage industries are famed handloom of Burhanpur and Umrer, Kosa, Bell-metal, brass, bidi-making etc.

Nagpur with its 4,49,099 population is the capital of the State. Other important towns are Jabalpur, Raipur, Amravati and Akola. The State has two Universities, 45 colleges including two Medical Colleges and an Engineering College, a Veterinary College, a Technological Institute, 3 Women's Colleges, 5 Teachers Training Institutions, 21 Vocational Training Centres, and three Agricultural Colleges.

More than two-thirds of the targets of the State's first Five-Year Plan have been achieved and nameless thousands in the N.E.S. Blocks and Community Project Blocks and outside have been awakened to a sense of initiative and ability to achieve desired results. The idea of development is today ringing at the door of almost every village home in the 91 Development Blocks of the State.

The size of the Plan today stands at Rs. 48·60 crores. A number of other schemes which aim at the development of the State but which are not included in the Plan cost a total of Rs. 16·19 crores, so that when we consider the developmental outlay of the State as a whole, we say it to be Rs. 64·79 crores.

In the sphere of Agriculture, which must be mentioned first because of the emphasis on food production and the need to wipe out national deficit in foodgrains, the State was allotted an increase of 2·81 lakh tons in foodgrains. The outlay on Agriculture schemes which included the training of staff, distribution of improved seed, distribution of fertilizers, repairs and construction of bunds and embankments, wells and tanks and so on was of the order of Rs. 1414·98 lakhs, out of which upto the end of 1954-55, Rs. 967·17 were spent. In the matter of foodgrains production, the State has already more than achieved the target with one more year still to go. More than 167 lakh tons of cereals alone have been produced in the four years of the Plan. More than 13,500 acres of Rabi land have been converted into do-fasali, more than 9,190 acres of rabi bunds have been constructed, more than 3,56,000 acres were reclaimed by the Central Tractor Organisation and 1,96,000 by the Machine Tractor Station. Under the Minor Irrigation Schemes of the Grow More Food Section 3,762 wells have been sunk, more than 11,000 acres covered by village irrigation tanks, more than 1,060 rahats distributed and more than 1,070 pumping sets installed. Nearly 6,04,000 tons of manures and fertilisers have been distributed, as also 5,81,427 maunds of improved paddy and wheat seed. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation was a grand success in Madhya Pradesh, one of the cultivators of Bhandara district producing 117½ mds. per acre last year. The area under this method has been increased from 1,500 acres last year to 13,192 acres this year.

Irrigation

While the above schemes have their own unquestioned importance in the production of foodgrains, the State's Five-Year Plan has taken certain other long-range measures, which, because they permanently provide the sinews of war on the food front, are equally important

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also. They are the major and minor irrigation projects of the State. A sum of Rs. 238·55 lakhs has been allocated for Irrigation in the Plan out of which during the last four years Rs. 158·42 lakhs have been spent. Projects under the Plan include six major and 40 minor ones, out of which three major and 23 minor ones are expected to be completed during the Plan period. The Dukrikhera Tank Project in Hoshangabad district, the Sampna in Betul, the Gangulpara in Balaghat, the Gondli and Saroda in Durg and the Dudhwa in Raipur districts, are the six major projects, of which the first three will be ready before the Plan and will bring about 35,000 acres under irrigation. The twenty-three minor projects and 16 village projects are estimated to bring 45,000 acres and 5,443 acres of land respectively under irrigation. They will thus add nearly 85,000 acres to the irrigated land of Madhya Pradesh which is at present 16,00,000 acres.

Roads

The Plan provides Rs. 217·79 lakhs for the construction of roads in the State, of which in the last four years Rs. 174·26 have been spent. The State had only 5 miles of roads for every 100 sq. miles before the Plan was launched. Of metalled and unmetalled roads the State had a total of 9,229 miles in 1947. But with the end of the Plan, the State will have doubled its mileage in every 100 sq. miles.

In addition to 1,172 miles of metalled roads which will be built during the Plan, the programme of road building also includes the scheme of village road development by which the people of the village contribute a third of the cost while Government meets the remaining two-third.

Power Supply

The State produces only thermal power. Before the Plan, the total supply of power was 26,000 k.w. against which the production in 1953-54 was 72,900 k.w. and by the Plan period it is expected to reach 1,10,000 k.w. From 23,000 consumers in the State in 1950, the number had gone up to 71,000 in 1953, not to mention those in the 37 towns to which power lines were extended later. It is expected that by 1956 all places in the State with a population of over 10,000 will be supplied with power.

The Plan provides for an outlay of Rs. 719·20 lakhs on Electricity, of which Rs. 518·25 lakhs have been spent in the last four years. The main power stations are: (1) Khaparkheda (2) Raipur (3) Chandni which are completed and (4) Ballarsha and (5) Itarsi which are under construction.

Education

In the sphere of Education, the Plan makes a provision of Rs. 1057·84 lakhs but it is obvious that the greater share of this should be devoted in the field of primary and secondary education. There were in 1947 only 6,269 primary schools in the State. By the end of the first year of the Plan, in 1952, the number rose to 10,328 and to more than 12,600 in 1955. The target of 13,000 primary schools during the Plan is nearly reached.

Two pre-primary training institutes, one at Nagpur and the other at Jabalpur, have come into existence during the Plan period. They will prepare the ground for opening 500 schools in the next Plan.

The State today has one normal school for every district. 92 Middle Schools were converted into Senior Basic Schools and 1,000 Primary Schools are proposed to be converted into Basic Schools during 1955-56.

Other Schemes include the opening of 320 Primary Schools and 30 Indian Middle Schools in Scheduled areas.

The State's Plan takes cognisance of the fact that agricultural education has to start from the High School stage. To meet this purpose, 8 Agricultural High Schools have to be opened. Industrial Schools have to be converted into vocational High Schools to give the former a more broad-based curriculum.

Medical

The establishment of a Medical College at Nagpur and another at Jabalpur, an Ayurvedic College at Raipur, schemes for the training of T.B. personnel and nurses, the establishment of rural dispensaries and T.B. Sanatoria are among the important features of the Plan. The total outlay on schemes under the head is Rs. 280·64 lakhs of which Rs. 197·02 lakhs have been spent in four years. The Medical College at Nagpur admits about 100 students every year and the Medical College, Jabalpur, which was opened on August 1955

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admits 50 students every year. The 2-crore Medical College and Hospital, Nagpur, has now established itself as a recognised institution for the highest type of Medical education in the country. During the Plan period 269 medical students have graduated from the college. The Hospital provides 800 beds of which 125 beds are reserved for T.B. patients. Last year the College was providing facilities for radium treatment. The encouragement of indigenous medicine is ensured by the opening of Ayurvedic Colleges in the State with research facilities. To give better medical aid in rural areas the Plan provides for the opening of 148 Ayurvedic dispensaries and 12 Allopathic Dispensaries, out of which 136 of the former and 8 of the latter have already been established. Two T.B. Sanatoria have been built, one at Chhindwara and the other at Buldana which between them provide 150 beds.

Apart from these, an integrated programme of rural development through the 91 Community Projects and National Extension Service Blocks now covers nearly ¼th of the State's 50,000 villages. These aim at bringing about an over-all improvement in agriculture, cattle wealth, health and education conditions, roads and other amenities and in developing popular initiative and community life in the villages. Through local development works popular initiative is rewarded. All works of public utility which have about ⅓rd contribution from the people in the shape either of voluntary labour, money or material are undertaken to be completed by the Government. Popular response has really been very encouraging and the people are willingly coming forward to share in the pride of nation building. They had contributed Rs. 56 lakhs in cash or kind upto March 1955. As a result of their active participation 3,586 irrigation wells were constructed, 1,451 wells repaired, 56 tanks constructed, 185 renovated, 629 irrigation pumps installed and 807 miles of road built in the development blocks. Several village roads have been constructed, tanks dug and wells rebuilt entirely out of people's own contributions. Slowly the initiative is being passed on to the people which is the real essence in democracy. There has been decentralisation of power through the Janapada Scheme and the tehsils are now the units of administration. About 8,300 Gram Panchayats throughout the State are becoming the nerve-centres of rural democracy.

To bring to the 25 lakh aborigine population, the amenities and fruits of modern advance and for their social and economic well-being, a Rs. 1 crore and 70 lakh special welfare programme has been launched in the scheduled areas. These programmes envisage 40 welfare centres of the Adivasis which would include a school, human and veterinary dispensaries, poultry farming, model farm and a social and cultural community centre. Large sums are being spent over the education of Adivasis and the number of schools exclusively devoted to them is today 288. Special concessions and reservations are being provided for them in all competitive walks of life, so that these long-neglected brethren find their due place in the course of time.

Nature has been kind to the State in its bounties. The State is known for the unrivalled beauty of its hills and dales, rivers and forest glades. The forests of Madhya Pradesh are known, apart for their verdure, for their tigers, bisons, bears, sambhars, leopards, and several varieties of deer. The State is an internationally renowned centre of big-game hunting. Several of the shikar-stories of late Kipling have their locale in this State only. They are coveted dens of the enterprising shikaris.

The forest-ranges also provide rich landscape and 2 of the areas in the State have been specially selected for conversion into national parks. The Kanha-kisli and the Sup-Khar sancturies abound in wild life in their natural condition providing one of the most refreshing sights to the tourists.

Near Jabalpur are the world famous Marble Rocks through which the Narmada wends its way. Boating in the moon-lit night here is a delightful experience which few other places can offer. A mile upstream is the "Dhunwadhar Falls" formed by a 30ft. fall by the river.

Pachmarhi, the health and holiday resort of Madhya Pradesh, is also one of the chief attractions of the State. With over 100 points, water-falls, brooks, and rivulets, the place is regarded as a 'trekkers' paradise. It is all known for its view points, forest-glades, picnic spots, swimming pools and golf-links. It is incomparable as a place offering so many points within such a small area. Chikhalda, the sanatorium of Berar as it used to be called in bygone days, is a strange contrast with the plains of Berar. Its altitude of 3,664 ft. above the sea level, its magnificent scenery, and the far-away

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Mahadeo Hills on its eastern and the Buldana Hills on its western horizons are a distinct delight.

Another place for scenic splendour in Madhya Pradesh is the newly-merged State of Bastar. The 94-feet Chitrakote falls of Indravati near Jagdalpur is a thing of perennial beauty and joy. The virile and ceaseless dancing of the sturdy Adivasis with their Bison-horn headgear and big drums against a setting of the mystifying Danteshwari Mai temple of Dantewara and its surroundings of wild weird beauty provide a breath-taking spectacle.

Other places known for their scenic, tourist and historical interests are the Onkar-Mandhata—a mountain island in Narmada near Khandwa, the confluence of Pranhita, Painganga and Pamla-Gautam near Bhamragarh in the thick forest region of Chanda, Kabir Chabutra in Mandla district, the Markandeya Temple of Chanda, the temple of Deolaonraja where Shivaji is credited to have been paying obeisance, the Ramtek temple which finds mention in Kalidasa's Meghadoot, the Chitrakote falls in Bastar district, the Lonar Lake in Buldana district, the Rajiv Lochan temple at Rajim, the brick temple at Sirpur near Raipur, the Gupta temple at Tigwa in the Jabalpur district, the Rukhmini temple of Amravati, the Padmanabh temple of Washim, the Chausath Yogini temples and Madan Mahal near the Marble rocks, the Jain temples at Seoni, Sirpur in Washim tehsil, Bhandak in Chanda district, Kundalpur in Sagar district and Muktagiri in Amravati district and the primitive rock paintings of Pachmarhi, Hoshangabad and Raigarh. Among the spectacular buildings and engineering works are the High Court and the magnificent Medical College building at Nagpur, the Rajkumar College building at Raipur, the Morram-Silli Syphon Works near Dhamtari, the rope-ways of Balaghat Manganese mines, the Moghul Water Works of Burhanpur and Achalpur, the Narmada Ghats of Hoshangabad etc.

Above all Madhya Pradesh has been known for Sewagram which remained the unofficial political capital of India for a number of years. Here Mahatma Gandhi chose his field of action and directed to a groping world the message of live and peace.

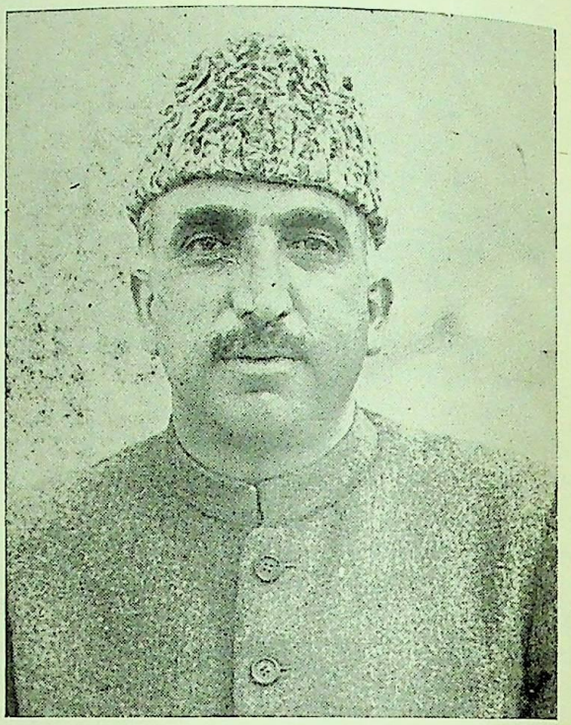
Being situated centrally, the State occupies a pride of place in the country and can claim to be the heart of India. It is a composite province and is a happy meeting ground of diverse languages, customs, costumes and cultures. Unencumbered by an inhabiting past, it, in fact, provides a crucible of cultural fusion and is the home of a most fruitful sociological experiment of racial and cultural meet. Stability and strength have been the main characteristics of the State. Unpretentiously but unflagging, it is playing its role in the building of a great and glorious India.

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KASHMIR

(*By Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed*)



The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India and the establishment of popular Government created exceptionally favourable conditions for the social and economic advancement of an oppressed and poverty-stricken people. For the first time in the last several centuries an opportunity was offered for the eradication of social and economic ills generated by a long era of misgovernment. It was time to direct all our efforts and thoughts towards the achievement of a happy and prosperous New Kashmir.

But the establishment of the new Government in August 1953 was a turning point in the history of the State. This great event created favourable conditions for cementing the State's bonds with India once and for all. In February 1954, six months after the formation of the new Government, the State's democratically-elected Constituent Assembly ratified Kashmir's accession with India, the decision about which had been taken in October 1947. Accordingly, the President of the Union of India issued on April 13, 1955, the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954. The Order defined, in constitutional terms, the relations of the State with India, finalised the relationship thereby putting a seal on the people's verdict of accession.

As soon as the present Government came to power, it adopted several measures for alleviating the economic distress of the people. The price of paddy, staple food of the people, was slashed down to a limit which was on level with the purchasing capacity of our people. The levy procurement system of foodgrains, which was at the root of the discontent of the peasant masses, was abolished. The customs barrier between the State and the rest of India was removed. Education was made free from primary to University standards. The development of the backward area of Ladakh received special attention of the Government. A network of irrigation canals was spread over the State. Vast schemes for eliminating the danger of floods were taken in hand.

Education

During the last two years several radical reforms have been introduced in the educational sphere in Jammu and Kashmir.

In 1953 the Government declared education free throughout the State from Primary to the University stage—a step quite unprecedented in the history of educational development in India. This measure was accompanied by an increase of about 40% in the number of educational institutions and about 70% in the budget for education, thus benefiting over 1·5 lakh students.

Mobile schools for backward sections of people like Gujars and Bakarwals who move from place to place have been opened. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh has been sanctioned for scholarships payable at all levels to students belonging to backward classes particularly those coming from Ladakh and other far-flung areas. Scholarships have also been granted from the Prime Minister's fund to deserving students.

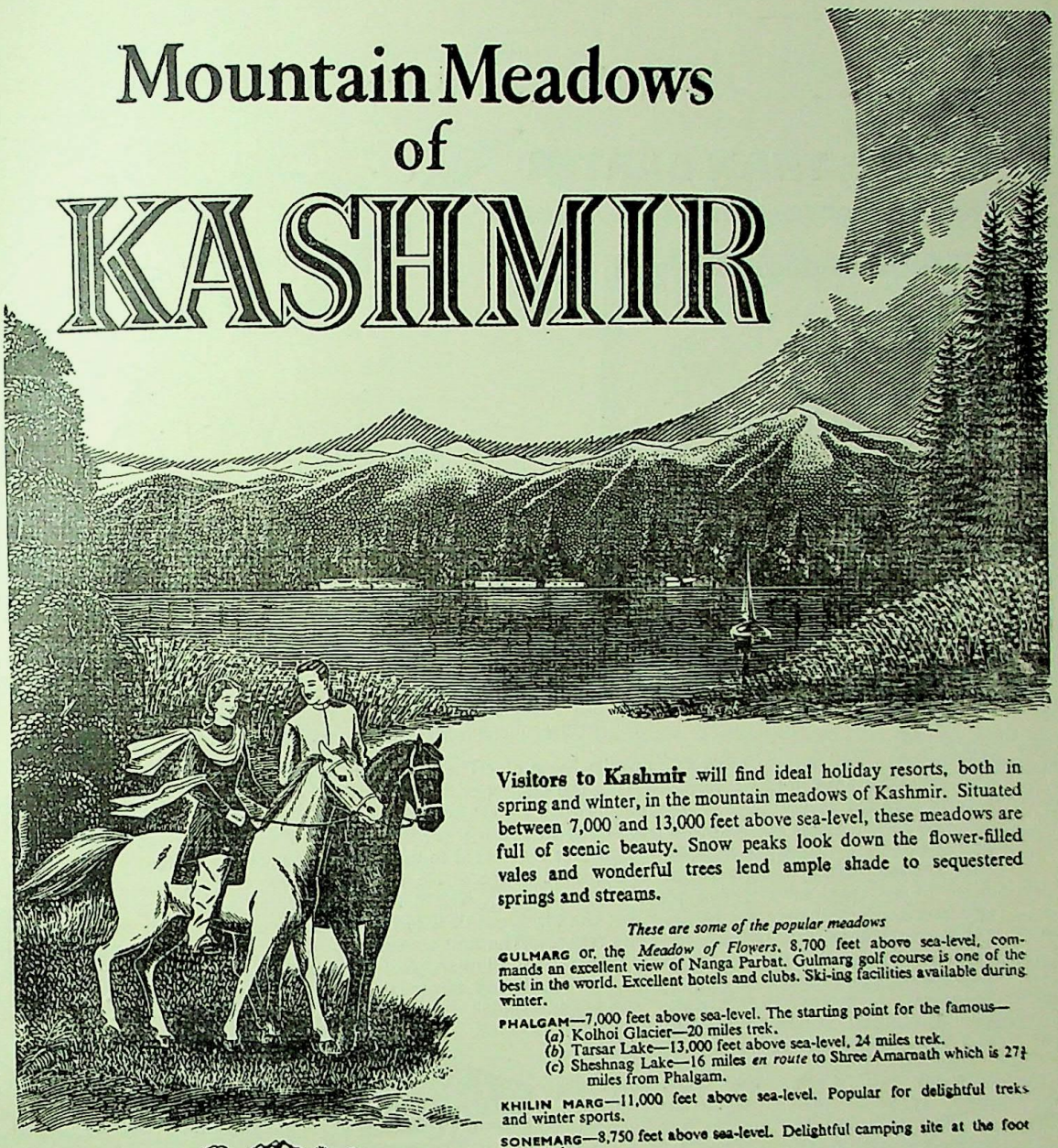
Women's Education

New institutions have been opened and training centres set up where refresher courses in home science

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Mountain Meadows of KASHMIR



Visitors to Kashmir will find ideal holiday resorts, both in spring and winter, in the mountain meadows of Kashmir. Situated between 7,000 and 13,000 feet above sea-level, these meadows are full of scenic beauty. Snow peaks look down the flower-filled vales and wonderful trees lend ample shade to sequestered springs and streams.

These are some of the popular meadows

GULMARG or, the *Meadow of Flowers*, 8,700 feet above sea-level, commands an excellent view of Nanga Parbat. Gulmarg golf course is one of the best in the world. Excellent hotels and clubs. Ski-ing facilities available during winter.

PHALGAM—7,000 feet above sea-level. The starting point for the famous—
(*a*) Kolhoi Glacier—20 miles trek.
(*b*) Tarsar Lake—13,000 feet above sea-level, 24 miles trek.
(*c*) Sheshnag Lake—16 miles *en route* to Shree Amarnath which is 27½ miles from Phalgam.

KHILIN MARG—11,000 feet above sea-level. Popular for delightful treks and winter sports.

SONEMARG—8,750 feet above sea-level. Delightful camping site at the foot of a glacier.

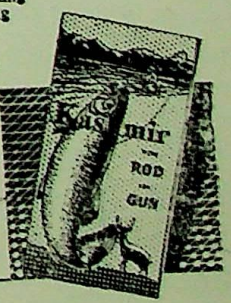
Kashmir offers "all-the-year-round" holiday pleasures. Her unrivalled scenic grandeur, beautiful lakes, colourful gardens and historical monuments lose nothing of their appeal from season to season. An exciting holiday awaits sport-lovers and some of the sports activities during different parts of the year are listed below:

April—September ..	.. Fishing
March—November	.. Horse-riding
April—September ..	.. Boating, Swimming and Surf-riding
May—November ..	.. Trekking and Mountaineering
October—March ..	.. Small game shooting
October—April ..	.. Big game shooting
Last week of December—February ..	.. Ski-ing
April—October ..	.. Golf and Tennis

in every season
KASHMIR
abounds in
holiday pleasures

FREE

Travel literature and advice are available free from Travel Agents, Kashmir Government Tourist Officers at the Offices of the Kashmir Government Trade Agents at New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Pathankot and Kashmir Government Tourism Directorate Srinagar.



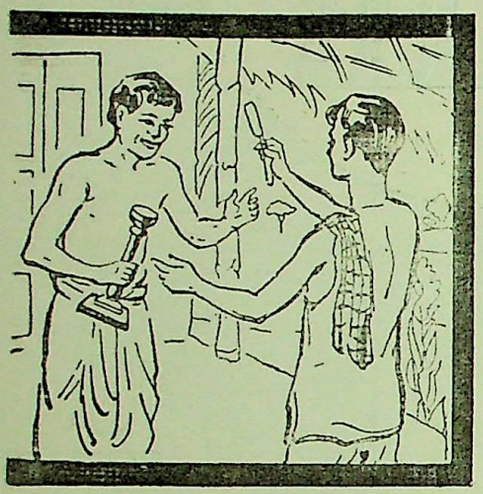
Issued by the Director of Tourism, Government of Jammu & Kashmir, Srinagar.

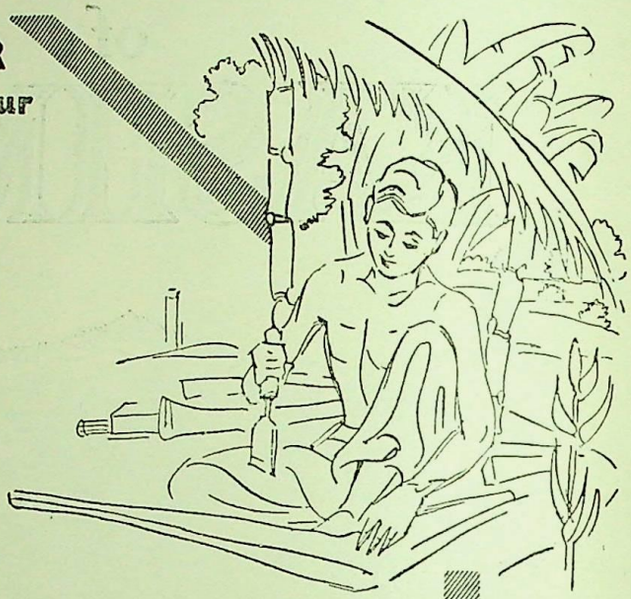
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BETTER THAN BARTER

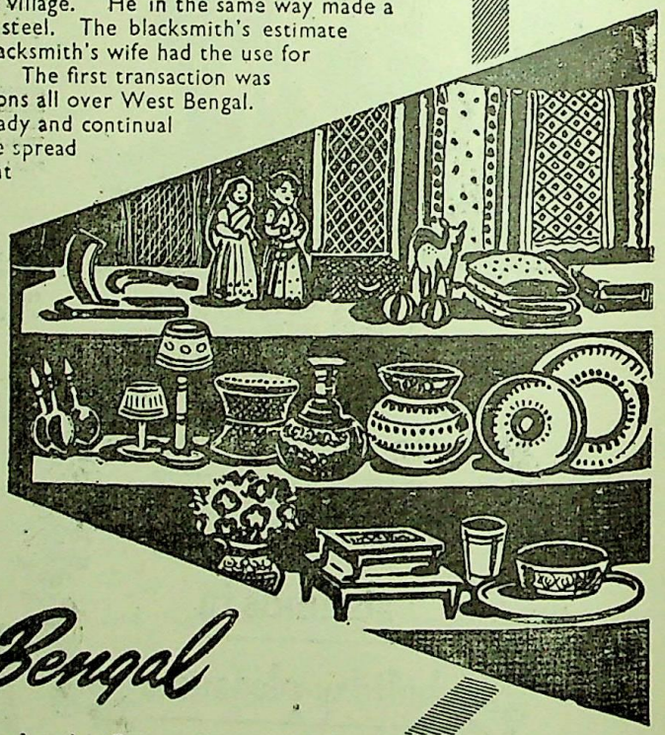
they exchange—spare time labour





The Government of West Bengal is experimenting a new programme for industrial extention in the State.

The first practical step to bring this novel scheme of "The Village Exchange" was taken on December 26, 1954 in an obscure village in the district of Birbhum. A carpenter carved out a small wooden lampstand in his spare time with a piece of waste wood. He estimated its price to be five annas but he could not sell it in the market because nobody in the village had five annas to spare and nobody outside was interested in such a crude product. So he took the lamp-stand to a blacksmith of the same village. He in the same way made a razor in his spare time with a piece of rusty steel. The blacksmith's estimate of razor, too, was worth five annas. But the blacksmith's wife had the use for the lamp-stand and the carpenter for the razor. The first transaction was quickly followed by many other similar transactions all over West Bengal. Every month since then has been a month of steady and continual progress. At the end of October the scheme spread over 920 villages in the Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks and as many as 4,969 artisans, craftsmen and other types of producers participated in it. The value of the articles and services exchanged amounted to Rs. 23,802. The additional wealth, thus created, would not be there, were it not for the everexpanding Village Exchange plan.



This was a humble beginning but there was a more significant meaning behind the exchange with its insignificant value reckoned in money. It meant the release of the rural productive forces based on a new-wealth creating concept to —

build a

Better Bengal

Issued in public interest by the Government of West Bengal

ADVES-E-1

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are arranged under the guidance of expert lady teachers whose services are borrowed from outside. The lady teachers are trained in domestic activities, such as tailoring, needlework, laundry, cooking, painting, health and hygiene, etc. The number of colleges and schools for girls has been greatly increased.

Men's Education

There are at present 1,286 primary schools, 74 high schools, 169 middle and central schools besides six colleges. There are two training colleges (both men and women) and five training schools where teachers receive instruction in teaching. Training classes have also been opened in far-flung areas like Poonch and Kargil.

Science Teaching

The colleges have been sufficiently equipped with science apparatus to meet the growing demand for teaching in science. A sum of Rs. 1 lakh has been allotted in addition to the normal grants for provision of extra apparatus and other equipment for laboratories in the educational institutions. The strength of the teaching staff for science subjects has been increased resulting in a considerable increase in the number of students admitted to science classes. An Arts College has been established at Jammu and the Government Gandhi Memorial College Jammu has been turned into a science college at an additional cost of Rs. 1,20,820 which includes Rs. 75,800 as recurring expenditure. The Private College for Women at Jammu which was not able to make much progress has been taken over by the Government and housed in a suitable building and provided with sufficient grants. The Srinagar College for Women is well-equipped in all respects and is functioning efficiently.

Private Institutions

The policy of the present Government has been to help private institutions so that private enterprise in education receives due encouragement. The St. Joseph's College, which had closed down following the 1947 invasion, has been re-opened and converted into a Degree College as a result of the liberal grants placed at the disposal of the College Management by the State Government. A yearly grant-in-aid of Rs. 15,000 has also been sanctioned by the Government for the Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar, which is managed privately.

In view of the importance of extramural activities, the educational authorities are giving extra attention to this side of education. Sports like swimming, boating, volley ball and jumping are a feature of the outdoor activities of the students. Recently a Youth Leadership Training Camp was organised at Pahalgam, 60 miles from Srinagar, in which teachers of various schools and colleges participated. During the period of a week the youths took part in hiking, held debates and discourses and read papers on youth discipline, etc.

Junior Red Cross

Recently a refresher course for Junior Red Cross was organised in Srinagar. It lasted over a week. Teachers from various schools (both men and women) received training in Red Cross work at this centre.

The Education Department of the State believes in associating teachers with the educational policy of the Government so that with their active co-operation the results aimed at are achieved. As the Education Minister, Mr. G.M. Sadiq, has put it, "By associating the teachers and other educationists with the framing of the educational policies of the State we can achieve more positive results....." Several education symposiums have been held during the last few months in pursuance of this objective.

Future Policy.

A draft outline of the new educational policy says, "We are faced with a number of educational problems. The basic problem is that of introducing universal primary education for all our children of the school-going age. The age-group and the duration and content of elementary courses of instruction must be governed by our need and resources. It is a colossal problem which cannot be solved in a day. At present not more than 1·5 lakhs are at school against an estimated school-going population of about 7½ lakhs in the age-group 7 to 12. 18,000 teachers and the necessary complement of buildings, play-grounds, equipment and so on, are needed." Other aspects of the plan, such as secondary education, college education, technical education, teaching university, physical education, cultural activities, medium of instruction, etc., are discussed in detail.

In the State's Second Five-Year Plan a much bigger allotment of funds that could be possible under the First Five-Year Plan is being made for expansion of educational facilities.

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Agriculture

Kashmir's economy is mainly agricultural. More than 80% of its population depends on land for its livelihood. Abolition of landlordism in all its forms and transfer of land to the tiller without payment of compensation to the landlords are the first broad steps in the execution of the new agricultural policy being followed in the State. The land reforms already introduced are to be followed by measures to encourage co-operative association among the agricultural population.

The system of compulsory collection of grains was abolished in 1953 soon after the present Government took over. The producer is now free to sell whatever quantities of his produce he likes to the Government. Vigorous efforts are also being made to make the State self-sufficient in foodgrains and already over eighteen thousand acres of additional land have been brought under cultivation. Under the Second Five-Year Plan it is proposed to cultivate over a lakh acres more through new irrigation projects.

Model farms have been set up and fruit nurseries laid out in different parts of the State. Research is being conducted in respect of various soils and production of better variety of seeds. For the first time use is being made of chemical fertilizers which are being supplied to cultivators on easy terms.

Animal Husbandry

Development and preservation of livestock is receiving the emphasis it deserves. The expenditure on Animal Husbandry has been raised from Rs. 3 lakhs to about Rs. 24·38 lakhs. There are at present 56 Veterinary units functioning in different parts of the State.

Panchayats

Panchayats have been revitalised. Their activities today cover all aspects of rural life. Most of the rural development works are pushed through by the villagers themselves. These include road-building, reconstruction, desilting, repairing and digging out irrigation canals, etc.

Co-operatives

Rural credit in the State was completely shattered before the present Government took over. The Co-operative movement has now been put on a new footing and co-operative debts in cases of distress have been written off to the tune of Rs. 36,00,000.

Industries

Kashmir, though rich in industrial potential, had remained under developed during the whole span of foreign rule in India. The industrious and hard working Kashmiri artisan, famed for his magnificent skill, however, crossed several hurdles and created a cottage and small-scale industry inside the State. This industry embraced such world-renowned arts and crafts as papier mache, wood-carving, embroidery, shawl-making etc.

The abolition of customs duty on goods brought into the State from India in April 1954 has opened new avenues for the development of trade and industries of Jammu and Kashmir. The woollen, silk, rosin, turpentine and drug industries have been re-organised and their production has gone up considerably. Liberal assistance is being given to handicrafts and cottage industries. Marketing facilities have been increased and put on an organised basis.

Over 200 production-cum-demonstration centres have been opened in various parts of the State, and a chain of Government-controlled arts emporia has been set up in various parts of India.

A Paints and Minerals Factory has been started in Jammu. The Factory also processes China clay, gypsum, soapstone, etc. A Carpet Factory has also been opened in the Valley. The Factory will manufacture quality carpets for supply to the State Emporium and for foreign markets.

A modern Tannery was established near Srinagar last year. The Tannery will utilise the hides and skins formerly exported from the State in large quantities.

The well-known Pashmina industry of the State was suffering for want of adequate supplies of Pashmina wool at reasonable rates. The present Government helped organize a Pashmina Syndicate to which it granted interest-free loan of Rs. 5,00,000. The Government is also assisting the local handloom silk industry.

Loans totalling about Rs. 15 lakhs have been given to small traders and craftsmen since August 1953 for rehabilitation in their respective trades and occupa-

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tions. Loans have also been advanced to cottage and small-scale industries.

A Joinery Mill has been set up in Kashmir. The factory has an installed capacity for the manufacture of 36,000 doors and 36,000 windows which, on an average, should mean a turnover of goods worth Rs. 35 lakhs per year.

The Government has decided to take up the work of Farm-cultivation of drugs on an extensive scale. The small experimental farm in Kashmir comprising 100 acres of land has been extended to over 300 acres. Improved varieties of seeds have been imported from abroad through the good offices of UNESCO.

A Drug Manufacturing Factory has been set up at Srinagar. This factory will process and convert into semi-finished form the barks available in Kashmir. These will be finally treated at Jammu before put on the market.

Health

The health services and medical aid facilities have registered considerable progress. The main emphasis has been laid on the expansion and availability of these facilities in the far-flung and backward areas of the State.

Services of experts from India have been borrowed to accelerate the public health activities. Vaccination and educational campaigns have been launched against such abominable and deadly diseases as venereal diseases, T.B., Eye diseases, Typhus, Malaria, etc., some of which have been prevalent in certain areas of the State in an epidemic form.

One of the very first steps taken by the present Government was to abolish operation fees levied in State hospitals. Simultaneously operation and X-ray apparatus were considerably expanded so as to cope with growing needs of people in this respect.

A 21-bed T.B. sanatorium has been established at Batote. The diet scale in the chest-diseases hospitals has been increased both at Srinagar and Jammu. Occupational therapy has been provided for patients. The bed strength of hospitals and sanatoria has been increased. A deep X-ray unit has been installed in Srinagar hospital. This has immensely helped the patients who had previously to go outside the State for deep X-ray therapy.

A vigorous anti-Typhus campaign was launched under a trained Epidomologist last year at a cost of Rs. 25,000. As a result of this campaign not a single case of typhus has been reported during the past year.

To combat Malaria a campaign has been started, which is to continue for three years at an estimated expenditure of Rs. 11 lakhs. Over a hundred workers under Malaria Inspectors are in the field carrying on this campaign.

A mass-scale anti-V.D. campaign has been launched in Jammu province, the results of which have been satisfactory.

Mobile Medical Unit.

A mobile medical unit has been set up, which will work for six months in Jammu and six months in Kashmir.

A mobile ophthalmological unit sponsored by the Central and State Governments worked in the Valley this summer. Four 100-bed camp hospitals were set up in Anantnag, Baramulla, Badgam and Shopian. 20,000 people were treated and over a thousand eye operations performed.

Medical Aid for Ladakh.

Two dispensaries have been opened at Leh under Community Development Scheme. It is proposed to construct three dispensaries in Leh and Kargil during 1955-56.

A unit consisting of venerealogists and other staff has been deputed to Ladakh to make a survey of venereal diseases in that area in preparation for a mass anti-V.D. campaign.

In order to keep the hospitals and dispensaries fully equipped, an additional grant of Rs. 5 lakhs has been allotted. In addition to this, a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs over and above the normal grant for main hospitals and other medical institutions has been allotted for the year 1955-56.

Blood banks which form an essential part of a well-equipped modern hospital, have been established in the Central Hospitals at Srinagar and Jammu at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

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THE MARCH OF RAJASTHAN

From a feudal, autocratic and despotic State to a modern, democratic and welfare State is a far cry, but Rajasthan has set itself well on this job and in the years to come this land, which during its long course of history remained fragmented in small 'Rajwaras', undeveloped in its natural resources and backward in social services with a low economic and social potential, awaits a bright future.

The significance and the magnitude of the march of Rajasthan can be visualised only when a comparison is drawn between its past and present. The ruling chiefs of the erstwhile States, whose collective and integrated denomination is Rajasthan today, were independent rulers so far as internal administration was concerned. They expended the revenues of the States at their sweet will and planned development was hardly possible under their regime. The result was that while the rest of the country was making rapid strides towards progress and development, the former States of Rajasthan lagged behind. There were a number of handicaps, natural and artificial, which prevented the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the States, and consequently this vast area comprising of a major portion of the Thar desert and having a low density of population, with scanty rainfall and almost inaccessible, unsuitable sub-soil water and exposed to frequent famines and with poor means of communications remained very backward and undeveloped. This heritage of Rajasthan should always be remembered while judging the progress and the achievements of the new State.

A broad analysis of the budget figures reveals how steadily and speedily Rajasthan is marching towards the goal, which has been set for it, and the rest of India, by our leaders—the goal of a Welfare State. The actual expenditure on public utility and welfare departments amounted to Rs. 547·64 lakhs in 1948-49. The actuals for 1953-54 stood at Rs. 1098·71 lakhs, while the revised worked out to Rs. 2284·09 lakhs. The provision for 1955-56 amounts to Rs. 2500 lakhs. Similarly, the expenditure on social services, which include Education, Medical and Public Health, Rural Development, Co-operation etc. is increasing rapidly. During 1953-54, it was Rs. 543·94 lakhs, but it rose to Rs. 689·18 lakhs in 1954-55 and for 1955-56, the estimates aggregate Rs. 845·24 lakhs.

The biggest achievement of the State Government is probably in the sphere of land reforms. Not only over 500 Jagirs with an annual income of about Rs. 1 crore, have been resumed under the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Jagir Resumption (Amendment) Act, 1954, a very important piece of legislation, the Rajasthan Tenancy Bill, has also been enacted, which would enable a large number of tenants to get new sights in the land, and help them raise their standard of living. With the application of new rules for the allotment of land and for prescribing the limit of agricultural holdings, the problem of landless peasants would be solved to a considerable extent. Settlement operations in about 24,000 sq. miles are to be completed by the end of this year and the remaining portion, which is 14% of the total area, will come under these operations soon after. Along with land reforms, the benefit of new methods of cultivation have also been made available to the farmers and success in this sphere is remarkable. The production of food-grains and cotton has increased, even beyond the target fixed by the Five-Year Plan, and the area which has always been deficit in food-grains is now in the export market; the area of cultivation of cotton has increased from 53,000 acres to 1 lakh acres.

Because of the special position of co-operation in a Welfare State, about Rs. 14 lakhs have been given as loans to co-operative societies this year and Rs. 25 lakhs are proposed to be advanced next year.

The State is predominantly agricultural, but resources are not wanting, which if properly exploited, would make Rajasthan an industrial area. The Government has before it some big schemes of starting new industries of which the main are cotton mills, cement factories, chemical industries, woollen cloth mills and paper industries etc. To provide loans on low rate of interest to the medium and small-scale industries, an Industrial Finance Corporation has been set up with an authorised capital of 2 crores and issued capital of Rs. 1 crore, while

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a Loan Committee has been established for cottage industries.

The exploration and exploitation of mineral resources has also yielded encouraging results. The production of gypsum, soap-stone, glass, copper, zinc and lignite has considerably increased and a departmental laboratory has been established to analyse various samples of minerals.

The lack of finance and means of communication, water, cheap power and transport facilities have been the serious handicaps in exploiting fully the mineral wealth of the State and diverting it for industrial progress. The State Government has succeeded in improving upon its finances and, as the Finance Minister said while presenting the budget of 1955-56, "in course of time we are confident of securing financial equilibrium in the State." To solve the problem of water, many irrigation schemes are being carried out under the Five-Year Plan, of which the big four are the Bhakra Project, Chambal Project, Jawai Project and the Rajasthan Canal, which would convert the deserts into fertile lands. The Bhakra-Nangal and the Chambal Projects, when completed, would bring about revolutionary changes in the field of agriculture and industries by supplying cheap electricity. Rs. 257 lakhs are being spent to improve the existing power houses under the Five-Year Plan, while Rs. 75 lakhs have been sanctioned to provide electricity to villages. The Five-Year Plan provides Rs. 2 crores for roads and an additional demand for Rs. 1,30,00,000 has been made for roads connecting Rajasthan with other States. As much as 700 miles long roads will be completed in the current year. Besides roads, expansion of Railways is also being given due attention. Work on the Fatehpur-Churu line has been started recently and certain other lines are being surveyed.

Along with these Nation-building activities, social welfare works are also being fully developed. The Rajasthan Government notwithstanding its financial difficulties, has kept its educational schemes functioning and expenditure on this item reached the extent of 3 crores and 35 lakhs of rupees in 1954-55.

Welfare of scheduled tribes, whose population is approximately 23 lakhs in Rajasthan, has also received full attention of the Government and both the Central and State Governments have jointly sanctioned nearly Rs. 40 lakhs for their welfare. The Central Social Welfare Board has sanctioned 10 Social Welfare Blocks for Rajasthan and at least 15 more such Blocks are expected to be sanctioned next year.

Drinking water has always been a problem in rural Rajasthan, particularly in the arid areas. To ease the situation, Rs. 25 lakhs have been sanctioned this year and nearly 70 lakhs have been earmarked for next year. A Rural Water Supply Board has been established to speed up this work. Besides, a plan involving Rs. 93 lakhs for water schemes in 10 big towns of the State has been submitted to the Central Government.

It should, however, be noted that Rajasthan being pre-occupied with the problems of integration and reorganization could not make any appreciable progress during the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, and the real work started in 1953-54. The pace of progress has since been accelerated and the total expenditure upto the end of 1953-54 came to Rs. 765·2 lakhs. Against the budgetted allotment of Rs. 817 lakhs in the current year, the review estimates have been placed at Rs. 678·49 lakhs including additional schemes for the welfare of Backward Classes not originally provided in the Plan. Under Power Projects there is expected to be a shortfall of about Rs. 60 lakhs during the current year, the reason being that most of the plant, equipment and material has been ordered under the T.C.M. aid, and it is beyond the control of the State to push up the expenditure.

As regards Community Projects and N.E.S. schemes, the progress made so far, although falls short of the target, is regarded as quite satisfactory when compared with other States. Already, about one-fifth of the population has been covered by 36 Blocks, of which 9 are Community Development and the rest N.E.S. Blocks. During the working out of the next Five-Year Plan, the whole of Rajasthan will come under the Extension Service. Increased production will result in increased employment and the problem of unemployment and under-employment in rural areas will have been solved to a considerable extent.

Among other notable achievements of the Rajasthan Government, is the rehabilitation of displaced persons, for whom nearly 2,500 houses and 1,000 shops have been constructed uptil now and another 800 houses are under construction. Following the Government's

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BIHAR FORGES AHEAD

(*By Dr. S. K. Sinha, Chief Minister*)

Freedom gave us the opportunity to rebuild our Society as we would wish it to be. Our First Five-Year Plan represents the limited target towards the goal that we have set for ourselves. It includes several Schemes of improvement of our agriculture, irrigation, power, roads and industries, improvement of social services like education, health, and the uplift of the backward sections of the people. Our progress in achieving the tasks can be measured quantitatively in terms of outlay of expenditure or physical targets achieved. But economic and cultural values depend as much on our methods and our outlook as on physical achievements or financial cost incurred. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, is not merely a compilation of the individual schemes of undoubted economic or social benefit, but it gave us a preparatory period for introducing the right atmosphere, for promoting the right social outlook and bringing into being the appropriate administrative machinery that would provide the most promising setting for quick continued progress on sound lines in the many future five-year plans to come.

If India lives in villages, Bihar lives almost entirely in rural areas. The population dependent on agriculture has actually risen from 78·8 % in 1931 to just over 86% in 1951, and over a third of them are farmers who cultivate lands, wholly or mainly unowned or are cultivating labourers. The industrial population of this State is among the lowest in India, even though 43% of all minerals by weight and over 30% by value raised in the whole of India comes from Bihar. One steel or fertilizer factory, or a coal mining area does not render a population of 40 million industrial. Overwhelming dependence on agriculture, with little protection against the vagaries of nature, and a small industrial base, has rendered our economy one of the weakest in the country. And, then Bihar has had an unremitting series of calamities in the form of floods and droughts against all statistical expectations, and each of these calamities has meant diversion of a very large staff and funds for urgent relief work. Unemployment and under-employment are acute, and idle man power clossal. Bihar's per capita revenue and expenditure are, thus, among the lowest in India. Social services are much below all-India standard, whether reckoned in terms of percentage of literacy, or number of doctors or beds against population, veterinary dispensaries against cattle population, roads or power generated per capita or any other such index.

Administrative problems are many. The heritage of the permanent settlement had led to a tenuous administrative machinery that did not go below the Sub-divisional level in any department, other than the Police. The average Bihar District Officer is in charge of a much larger population than his opposite number in any other State in India. Educational recruitment and training facilities for civil servants were based on this scale, and we were faced with shortage of administrative and technical personnel. With the abolition of permanent settlement the entire land record system has to be built up. It is a very heavy work indeed, but is the first step in a welfare administration.

In this background, the targets for the first Five-Year Plan have necessarily been modest. The whole plan is only of sixty-six crores, and it gives me satisfaction to say that the financial and physical targets laid down in the Plan are likely to be achieved.

The abolition of Zamindaris has been a tortuous legal process. It has, however, now been possible to take over all intermediary interests in 8 out of 17 districts and the process of acquisition in other districts is in progress. Rights of permanent tenancy in their homesteads have been vested in those who did not have it. Legislation for fixing ceilings on holdings is under examination. Legislation has also been drafted for consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation.

Four Agricultural Research Institutes have been established in the four divisions to deal with day to day problems of the cultivators in their areas. Good work has been done in the survey of soils and determination of manurial requirements in the different parts of the State.

About 72 Veterinary dispensaries are expected to be opened during the First Five-Year Plan and the Dis-

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trict Board Veterinary hospitals are being provincialised. Upgrading of cattle has been given the importance it deserves. Three bull-rearing farms have been started as the shortage of good bull is acute, and over 31 artificial insemination centres and 35 sub-centres have been opened and are proving popular. Key-village centres are operating in 12 places.

The Credit Agricole, a commercial department of the Bihar State Co-operative Bank, has been able to step up the sale of fertilizers all over the State from 5,000 to 25,000 tons a year in the last three years. Over 5,000 multi-purpose co-operative societies have been started to meet the demands of local credit and financial service. The Handloom Co-operatives have achieved significant success and cloth worth Rs. 10 lakhs is selling each month.

Irrigation in South and flood protection in North Bihar are vital needs in this highly agricultural State with little land availability and heavy pressure of population. About 400 miles of embankment involving 30 crores c.ft. of earth work have been done in the course of six months with the help of Gram Panchayats. This is a significantly hopeful sign. A good start has been made in the taming of the Kosi. Medium and minor irrigation have proved extremely popular. Financial provision has proved the only limiting factor in this matter. In suitabl eareas, over 300 tube-wells have been put in to guarantee irrigation.

1,900 miles of metalled roads and 236 miles of kutcha roads were our target in the road plan, and it is gratifying to know that the entire target will be achieved.

The Bokaro thermal Power Station of the Damodar Valley Corporation, which I believe is among the largest



Public support and volunteers labour in Kosi Project was very encouraging.

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in Asia, has gone into commission, and Bihar is drawing heavily on this source. Transmission lines have been planned on a large scale in the whole of South Bihar. In North Bihar Thermal Generation will remain the only source until such time as the hydro electric power is secured from the Kosi and the Gandak projects. Projects of 11 crores have been taken up in the First Five-Year Plan and are going according to plan. About 26,000 consumers in 56 towns and 150 villages will be served through 26,000 miles of transmission wires.

The progress of education has been poor in the past. The percentage of school going children was 27·3 in the age group 6-11 and 10·5 in the age group 11-14 in the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan. Even with an increase of about 4 lacs of children in the younger group and an increase of 14,000 teachers the percentages will reach only 30 and 20 respectively. Grants have been given liberally for teaching science and crafts in Middle Schools. The two universities of the State have been given large grants for increasing 1,600 additional seats in the I.Sc. and 550 in the B.Sc. classes.

Health schemes, State and Central, total up to Rs. 10 crores in the First Five-Year Plan and are progressing satisfactorily. A 250-bed surgical unit, one of the biggest of its kind in Asia, with most modern equipment has been completed in Patna. All sub-divisional hospitals have been provincialised and district hospitals expanded and provided with up-to-date equipment. An integrated system of curative and preventive medicine going into the rural areas has been operating in the flood affected areas of North Bihar and has achieved significant success in controlling malaria that used to follow the annual floods in the Kosi. Good work has been done in public health. The death rate from cholera has come down from 1,300 to 34 per million and that for small-pox from 300 to 16 per million. Mass B.C.G. vaccination to protect the younger generation from T.B. has been taken up extensively, and a large Anti-T.B. Centre has been started at Patna with the help of UNO and UNICEF. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan period every town with a population of 25,000 will have pipe water supply. Over 13,000 tubewells would have been sunk for providing drinking water in the flood affected areas of North Bihar by the end of this year.

Bihar contains the largest number of scheduled tribes and other backward classes constitute 38% of the population of the State. The improvement of these vulnerable sections of Indian citizens is a matter of primary importance. The schemes that have been worked successfully consist largely of educational assistance through stipends and scholarships and the building of hostels. Schemes of grains golas, co-operative societies, drinking water-wells and village roads are the chief items of economic work done for them.

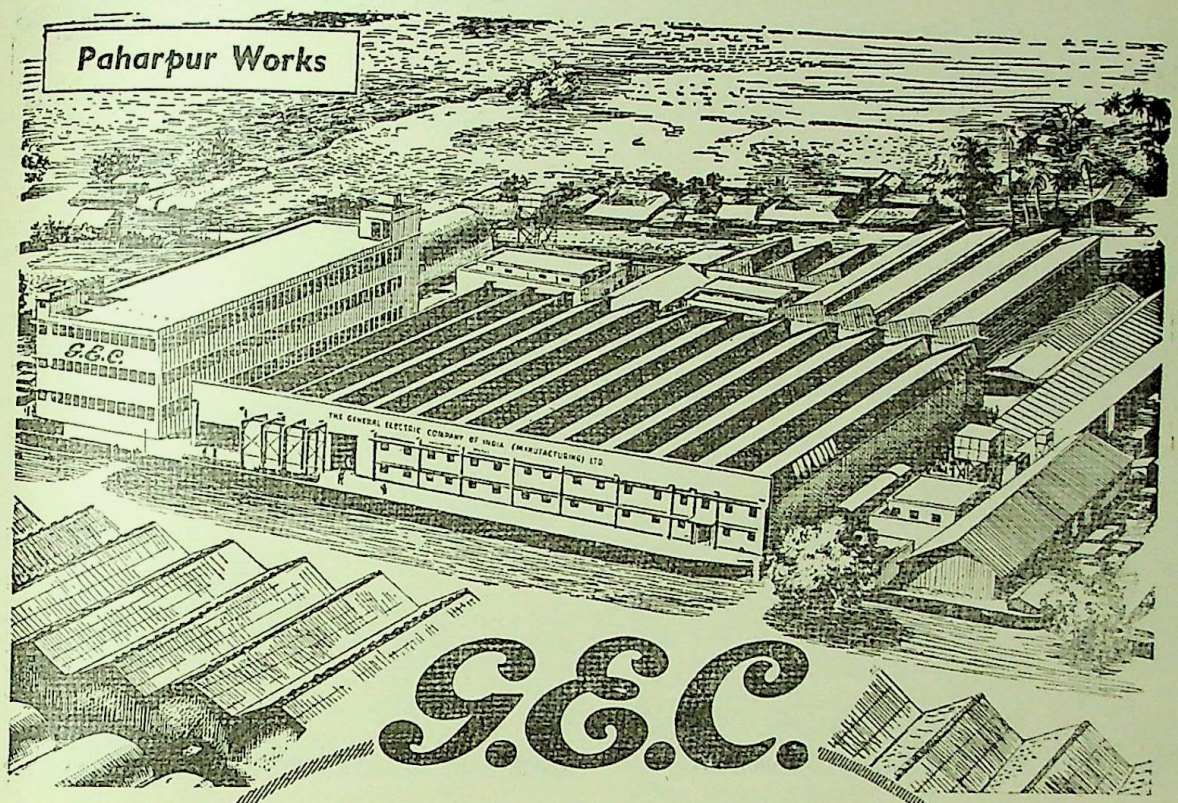
As I have already said, Bihar lives essentially in rural areas. The co-ordination form of rural development in all its phases as contemplated under the National Extension Service form of administration has been a great success. The progress of the local development works schemes which form the preparatory period, the National Extension Services Block which stabilises the administrative machinery for the development of an area with the people's participation in planning and execution, and the intensive form of community development which gives that extra zest and evokes the enthusiasm of the people that form the three logical stages of rural development has, I am glad to be able to say, been most gratifying in Bihar. A quarter of the State would have been covered by 144 National Extension Service Blocks by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period. Both in the achievement of physical targets and in the amount of public participation which is a measure of the people's interest and enthusiasm, the Bihar Community Projects stand amongst the best in India, and that is a matter for gratification.

We are aware that the success of any plan depends a great deal on the availability of the trained personnel to execute the various development schemes, and we have taken bold steps to meet this requirement. Our needs for trained personnel for the execution of schemes in the First and Second Five-Year Plans have been estimated carefully in respect of all categories of staff, and necessary steps have been or are being taken to step up the educational training and requirement facilities of the required personnel.

Seventeen post-matriculate basic agricultural schools have been opened, one for each district to provide training for village Level Workers, and it is hoped some of the surplus students will return to their lands as better farmers with a rural bias. The Sabour College has been strengthened in the post-graduate sections to ensure adequate research staff, and the entire farm work has

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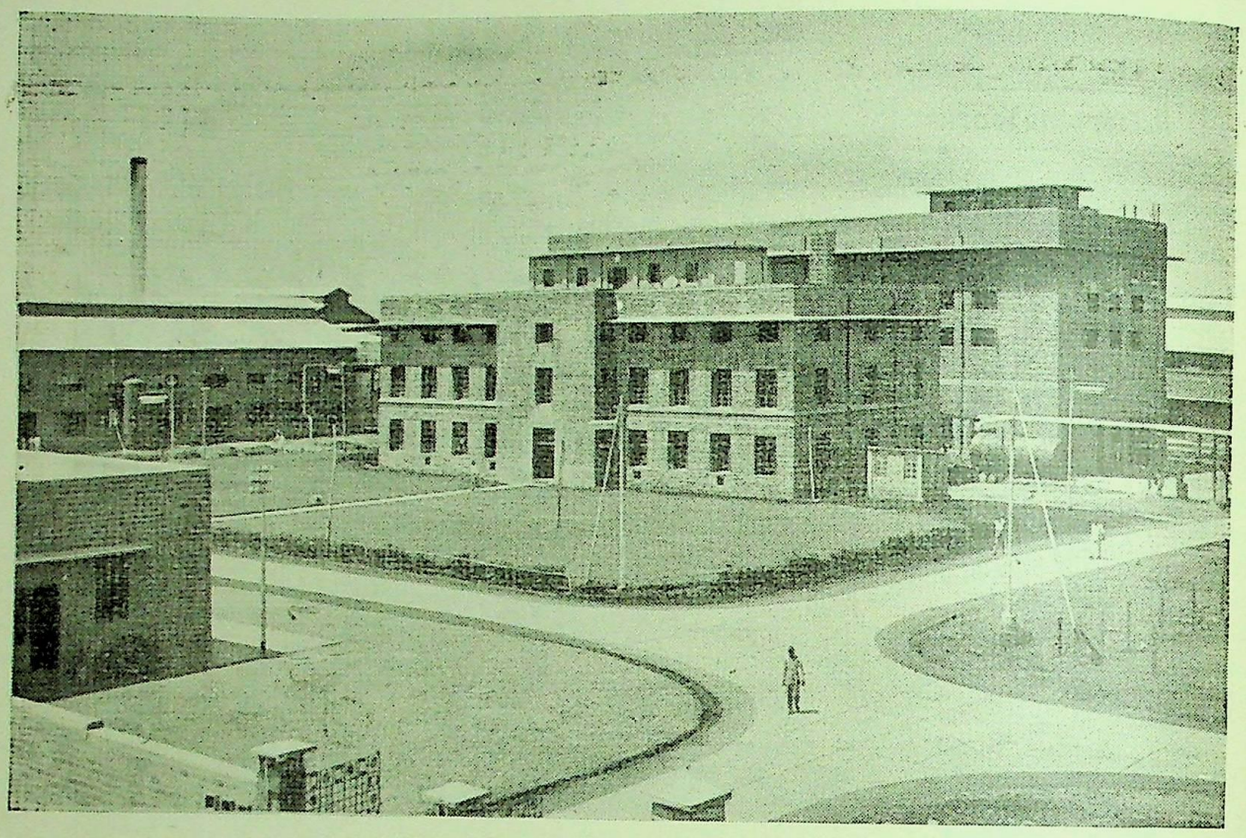
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Designed to produce 6-9 million mega units of penicillin per year, the Rs. 2 crore Government of India, Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., is India's only Penicillin Factory expected to produce 15-16 million mega units. Spread over on an area of 200 acres at Pimpri, 9 miles from Poona, Hindustan Antibiotics is the premier State owned undertaking set up in close co-operation and financial assistance from the (UNICEF) United Nations Children's Emergency Fund and technical aid from the World Health Organisation (WHO/UNTAA).

To this factory is attached a Rs. 15 lakh Research Laboratory and a modern residential colony to house the workers.

Hindustan Antibiotics use highly specialised production methods for processing penicillin. The preparation of the Seed, Culture of the mould, Fermentation, Extraction and Crystallisation from the most important stages for the production of this wonder drug. The Factory is in regular production since 1-8-1955 and will be in full production with effect from 1-1-1956. Regular supplies are available in standard dosages at competitive trade prices.

The products manufactured by Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., conform to highest standards of purity, stability and quality as tested in India and abroad (U.S.A. & U.K.).

Crystalline Penicillin G. Sodium in Unitages of 2 lacs, 5 lacs and 10 lacs.

Penicillin G. Procaine in 15 lacs units.

Penicillin G. Procaine fortified (75% procaine and 25% Sodium), 4 lacs units.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan the factory is scheduled to expand its manufacturing activities by 60% and also undertake manufacture of other Anitibiotics of importance such as Streptomycin and Chloromycetin.

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been entrusted to the students. A second agricultural college has been opened in Ranchi to meet the demand that is expected to arise in the next three years. Shortage of staff has been acute in the Animal Husbandry Department. Double shift has been introduced in the training of veterinary degree course and a short-term diploma course has been started to meet the immediate needs, as also a school has been opened to turn out supervisors after a year's intensive practical training. Technical education in the form of trade schools, diploma courses, and colleges of engineering has been expanded greatly and in a few years we should be able to meet the demands for such personnel. A very large number of training institutions have been started for training women personnel on medical and nursing work. The Administrative Training School at Ranchi is one of the few institutions of its kind in the country where intensive training is being given to our future administrative officers.

Ultimately, the success of the plans will be measured by the social and economic development of the society as a whole, the protection of the vulnerable section and the overall progress of the country. The First Five-Year Plan is in its last year. A review indicates that the foundation has been well laid for the future. The people are increasingly associating themselves with enthusiasm and discrimination. The Government machinery is shaping well to take on its new and manifold task. The review gives one grounds to entertain great hopes for the State and the country as a whole.

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policy to make utmost use of Hindi in official work, some departments have entirely taken to Hindi and several others are expected to follow suit next year. To eliminate delay in the disposal of administrative work in the secretariat and the districts, the recommendations of two official committees have been approved and are being materialized. With the object of maintaining the importance of the capital towns of the former States, the Government, following the recommendations of a Committee, has ordered the shifting of several departments from Jaipur to other cities.

A big and far-reaching step in the march of Rajasthan is the abolition of the inter-State transit duties with effect from April, 1955. For a very long time the agriculturist and the business man of Rajasthan had been handicapped owing to these export and import duties. The abolition of these barriers, undermining the economic structure of Rajasthan, would afford the people of this State the same facilities in trade and commerce which the people of Part 'A' States are enjoying.

The First Five-Year Plan is now in the last phase of its execution. The departmental organizations are working in full swing for the total implementation of the programme, and targets are being set from now for the Second Five-Year Plan, the success of which would be another mile-stone in the progress and prosperity of this classical land.

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BHOPAL SINCE INDEPENDENCE

(*By S. H. Hasan, Publicity Officer, Govt. of Bhopal*)

August 15, 1947, brought in its wake new hopes and aspirations for the people of this country. It witnessed the consummation of age-old sacrifices rendered by countless millions of India to achieve freedom from alien hands. Not all the parts of this vast country were, however, gay or given to observe the Day in a manner befitting the occasion. One such tiny spot on the map of India was Bhopal where the old order had its sway and the people felt only an indirect impact of freedom. Nevertheless, history took its course. The statesmanship of late Sardar Patel won for the 9 lakhs inhabitants their cherished object—that of linking their fate with the wider fraternity of the new Dominion.

Assuming its present shape some 200 years back, Bhopal is part of the Republic for six years now and can justly boast of a progress within a remarkably short time. During the three years of Chief Commissioners' rule, the entire administrative machinery was overhauled and geared to meet the pressing demand of time. The public services were reorganised and their pay scales brought in line with the neighbouring State of Madhya Pradesh. The old and antiquated service rules which provided little incentive to public servants were replaced by the corresponding rules of the Government of India. Likewise, a good many laws of the old State covering nnumerable subjects ceased to be effective and thus for she first time the people of Bhopal shared the benefits of common legislation with the rest of the country.

One phase having thus been overcome, the next started with the installation of popular Ministry on March 20th, 1952. The foremost task that faced the people's representatives in the Government was to concentrate on agrarian reforms, land development and ancillary schemes, followed by the expansion of social services in accordance with the order of priorities laid down in the Five-Year Plan. The age-long Jagirdari system was abolished with a success that has no parallel in similar measures elsewhere in the country. While the Chief Minister, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, was piloting the Bill inside the Assembly chamber, 45 Jagirdars with an annual income of Rs. 4,35,000 voluntarily surrendered their Jagirs to the Government. Similarly, legislative measures have been enforced which seek to protect the interests of tenants and sub-tenants while a survey of land-holdings has been undertaken with a view to determining the size of an 'economic holding' under different soil classifications. This is going to form the basis of further land reforms to secure a more equitable distribution of land in keeping with the objective of a Welfare State. With a fleet of 55 tractors at its disposal, and supplemented by private tractors given to the cultivators, over 30,000 acres of land has been shallow ploughed and by the end of March this year another 10,000 acres of land will be brought to good use. The State will thus complete 40,000 acres against a target of 15,000 acres for the five years under the Plan. As regards deep ploughing, the C.T.O. has completed 3,01,000 acres of land against a target of 3,50,000 acres which will be completed by the end of March this year. Towards the conservation of soil and soil moisture, 80,000 acres of land is going to be covered by the end of the first Five-Year Plan period.

The progress under irrigation is no less striking. The total area under irrigation has increased from 21,000 in 1951 to 60,831 acres in 1953-54. An increase of more than 350% will be obtained when the total goes up to 71,000 by the end of 1955-56. This has been made possible by the construction of a large number of barrages and wells and the installation of pumping sets throughout the length and breadth of the State. Among the major irrigation projects may be cited the Kolar Multipurpose project and Barna Irrigation Project. The former is estimated to cost about Rs. 4½ crores and will yield 17,000 k.w of power while the latter will cost about the same expenditure. The two together will irrigate an area of about 5,80,000 acres of good fertile land beside supplying electrical energy to the entire Nerbudda Valley region. Included in the Second Five-Year Plan, both the Projects have been exhaustively surveyed by the C.W.P.C. Engineers. Meanwhile, the State P.W.D. is completing the survey of Kaliasote Irrigation Project likely to irrigate 18,000 acres of land.

It was calculated that as a result of these measures there should be an additional production of foodgrains

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to the extent of 1,03,000 tons within the Plan period. Actually this target has already been exceeded and the total additional production achieved so far is 1,11,000 tons.

The State's achievements in the sphere of education have been simply amazing. No other State in India will, perhaps, be able to present a similar record in the spread of education and consequent widening of mental vision. This has, however, to be judged against the background of the state of affairs prevalent prior to the integration of the State. In 1949, the entire institutions that went to form the backbone of educational system in the State consisted of one Intermediate College, 4 High Schools, 18 Middle and 207 Primary Schools. These institutions served largely the urban areas while the elementary needs of the countryside went by default. Today there is well-equipped post-graduate degree college providing instructions in practically all subjects, Arts, Science, Law and Commerce. A degree college in Agriculture has started functioning in Sehore. A first class Polytechnic Institute, with degree and diploma course in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering has been imparting education. A Medical College with 50 admissions has been started from August, 1955. The cost of the new Medical College building has been estimated at Rs. 50·90 lakhs. Construction of its hostel building has already been taken in hand.

The number of High Schools has increased from 4 to 18, the number of Middle and Primary Schools to 60 and 1,200 as against 18 and 207 respectively. In addition about 40 Basic Schools have been opened for promoting adult education. The work of constructing primary school buildings has been undertaken on 'village participation' basis. By the end of March, 1956, there will be at least 1,000 such schools dotting the village centres in the State. Simultaneously, there has been an increase of about 350% in the number of school-going children during the last 3½ years or so. These figures are in excess of the targets set out in the First Five-Year Plan and indicate the rapidity with which education is spreading in rural areas.

The progress achieved in carrying out medical aid in far flung areas of the State has also been considerable. The two main hospitals in the city have been improved and expanded. Six new 10-bed hospitals have been constructed at Sanchi, Ichhawar, Begumganj, Obaidullaganj, Shahganj and Berasia. Seven more hospital buildings have been completed at other Tehsil headquarters. Provision has been made for attaching Maternity, X-Ray and Pathology Blocks to these hospitals. The total number of beds in these hospitals has risen from 541 in 1951 to 1,200 upto June, 1955. In relation to the population of the State this will mean that there is one bed for every 800 persons. Besides these regular hospitals, the State has raised one first class T.B. Hospital equipped with the latest amenities and commanding an unrivalled situation. This provides an additional strength of about 200 beds. In order that medical aid should reach the remotest corners of the State, a network of primary health centres is being established. Seventy subsidiary dispensaries are going to be started from March, 1956.

The Community Development Projects and National Extension Service have likewise made considerable headway in Bhopal. The entire area of the State is now covered by Community Project and N.E.S. Blocks. There is no aspect of village life which has not been touched by the development programme. Agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, education, communications, cottage industries and social education figure prominently in the activities of this organisation. As a result of these activities there has been tremendous awakening in the rural areas while the value of Shramdan rendered by people comes to over Rs. 8 lakhs. For the first time there is evidence of spontaneous desire on the part of the villagers to improve their lot and lead a better life. An idea of the work performed under Community Projects in Bhopal can be had by stating a few simple facts. Under these projects, 1,90,484 acres of land has been tractorised, 5,186 compost pits dug, and 255 new wells, 267 barrages and 6 tanks constructed. In addition, 154 old wells, 57 tanks and 9 barrages have been repaired. In the matter of cattle improvement five key village centres have been set up. In education, 91 new school buildings have been constructed and 265 Adult Education Centres, 84 Community Recreation Centres, 318 Vikas Mandals, 258 Youth Mandals, 47 Bal Mandals, 70 rural libraries and 5 Health Centres have been opened. Arrangements have also been made to train villagers in cottage industries which are managed on co-operative basis. So far about 100 such Societies have been established.

Of vital importance for the countryside, the scheme of rural electrification has also been taken up in right

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EDUCATION IN KASHMIR

(*By G.M. Sadiq*)

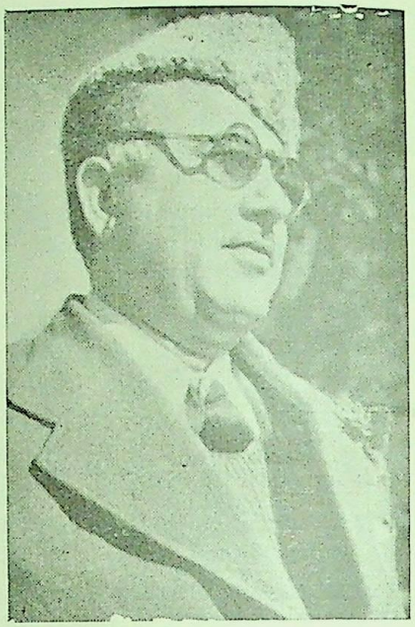
During the past two years considerable progress has been registered in the sphere of education. The present Government at the very outset made a bold declaration of its policy to make education free and universal in the State. Several reforms have, therefore, been introduced to achieve this objective. The far-flung and backward areas of the State have been brought within the orbit of the programme for cultural development. Drive against illiteracy has been intensified in these areas as is evident from the fact that there are at present as many as 2,100 institutions of various denominations functioning throughout the length and breadth of Jammu and Kashmir.

Free Education

Education was declared free from primary to the university stage in the year 1953—a step quite laudable and unique not only in the history of educational development in Kashmir but also in India. This has resulted in an increase of about 70% in the budget for education. Over 1·5 lakh students have benefited from this signal reform. There has been an unprecedented rise in the number of students in colleges and schools which has resulted in an increase of about 40% in educational institutions. Poor and deserving students have now ample opportunities to receive higher education which they could not hitherto avail of. To meet the growing demand for education, 523 new institutions have been started during the period the present Government has been in office.

Extension of Educational Facilities

Many strides forward have been taken in the sphere of Men's education. The total number of institutions for male students functioning at present are as under :—



Primary Schools	...	1,339
High Schools	...	74
Middle & Central Schools	...	169
Colleges	...	8

An arts college has been established at Jammu and the Government Gandhi Memorial College has been converted into a Science College at an additional cost of Rs. 1,20,820 which includes Rs. 75,800 as recurring expenditure. A grant of Rs. 5 lakhs has been sanctioned for the construction of buildings for schools and hostels. Similarly in addition to the normal grants, a sum of Rs. 1 lakh has been allotted for extra apparatus and other equipment for laboratories in various institutions in view of the increasing number of students. The swelling number of science students in the colleges has necessitated a corresponding increase in the strength of the teaching staff for science subjects. Science colleges have been adequately equipped with science apparatus, qualified staff and other requirements.

There are two training colleges (for both men and women) and three training schools where instruction in teaching is given to untrained teachers. Two training classes have been started for the training of new teachers in far-flung areas like Poonch and Kargil.

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More Colleges

The Government have sanctioned the opening of two more colleges—one at Bhadarwah and the other at Poonch. Both the Colleges will be full-fledged and there will be necessary arrangement for teaching science subjects. A sum of Rs. 1,35,024 has been placed at the disposal of the Education Department for setting up these colleges. Science classes will be started in Sopore and Anantnag Intermediate Colleges. Necessary staff and funds to the tune of Rs. 77,512 have been sanctioned for this purpose for a period of two years.

Supervision Work

In view of the growing number of institutions, it has been felt necessary to evolve a system of supervision to ensure not only quantity but also quality of work in these institutions. Accordingly, an educational officer is placed in charge of supervision work in each tehsil. He has also to impart training to new and inexperienced teachers besides attending to the usual inspection work, These officers are specially trained persons who can cope with this important aspect of educational activity.

Women's Education

The Government is contemplating to put Women's education on par with men's. During this short period, efforts have been made to expeditiously spread female education in the State. The number of schools for girls has considerably gone up.

Co-education has been abolished in primary and secondary schools and separate high schools and colleges have been provided for girls. At present there are two colleges, 24 high schools, 234 primary schools and 30 central schools.

Refresher Courses

With a view to increasing efficiency in the method of teaching among teachers, the Education Department has introduced the system of holding refresher courses several times during the year. A refresher course in domestic science has been arranged in June 1955 under the guidance of two professors from Lady Irwin College. The Lady teachers of various schools received training at Nawakadal Girl's High School in domestic activities, such as tailoring, needle-work, laundry, cooking, painting, health and hygiene etc. Similarly a refresher course for trained school teachers was arranged by the Education Department to acquaint them with modern developments in the science and technique of teaching. The services of expert professors of Aligarh University and Jamia Millia were borrowed for conducting the course. The Refresher Course is the first of its kind in the State and it is proposed to make this a regular yearly feature. Refresher Courses will be held at Jammu, Srinagar and other places for the benefit of matriculate and under-graduate teachers. Efforts are also being made to have Refresher Courses for subject-teachers like English, Mathematics, History, Geography etc.

Mobile Schools

In order to extend educational facilities to the backward and nomadic people like *gujars* and *bakerwals*, 10 mobile schools were started in 1954-55. During the current year (1955-56) 10 more mobile schools for *gujars* have been sanctioned. Scholarships have been granted to students of backward areas particularly those hailing from Ladakh. A sum of Rs. 1,11,440 has been provided in the current year budget for grant of scholarships.

The Government have made arrangements in various institutions of India for the higher technical training of the promising students of the State in subjects like medicine, engineering, veterinary, agriculture etc. At the time of selection care is taken to give priority to the claims of candidates from backward classes and communities and representation of girl candidates.

Regional Languages

Urdu will as usual be the medium of instruction in the State. The regional languages like Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Bodhi will be developed to their full stature for the best expression and advancement of the culture of people. Several committees have been set up for this purpose. At the primary stage, instruction is, however, being imparted through the mother tongue of learners.

Youth Activities

In view of the importance of extra-mural activities, the educational authorities are devoting sufficient attention to this side of education. Students are parti-

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cipating in sports like swimming, boating, jumping, races and other out-door activities. Youth camps have been organized at places like Pahalgam, Kangan etc., where youths received training in open-air camp life. Inter-provincial youth camps have now become an additional feature of youth activities in the State. The underlying idea is to afford opportunities to youth of both provinces to know each other by close association and thus develop the spirit of brotherhood.

Steps are being taken to organise Youth Movement in the State with the following main objects :

(*a*) encouraging cultural activities among the youth ;

(*b*) encouraging sports and games ;

(*c*) establishment of information centres equipped with radio sets, libraries and reading rooms etc., for the benefit of youth, and also to spread social education.

The organization responsible for organizing the movement will function under the chairmanship of the Education Minister and the Central Committee will consist of the Minister, Speaker of the Assembly, Development Commissioner, Information Secretary, Education Secretary, Director of Education and Principal, Women's College, Srinagar. There will be Tehsil Committees, besides the Central Committee. The Government have provided Rs. 50,000 for organising the Movement which will have two-fold aims—one to promote welfare activities among students and the other to promote similar activities among the non-student youth. A Committee comprising the Development Commissioner, Information Secretary, Director of Education and Education Secretary has been set up to prepare detailed schemes of youth welfare activities,

Junior Red-Cross Movement

The Junior Red Cross Movement is yet another aspect of social welfare activities carried on by the students of the schools and colleges of the State. It was started at the close of the year 1953 with a membership of 100 and by this time the number has gone up to about 8,000. The members comprise boys and girls of the schools and colleges of the State. There are many instances of good deeds done by the boys of local schools who are the members of Junior Red Cross. In the year 1954 on the Baisakhi festival a number of boys of a local school rescued sixteen persons from drowning in the Dal Lake. Among the life-saving deed by the Education Minister on the occasion of the International Red Cross Day on 8th May, 1955 was a boy eleven years old who had risked his own life to save others. The State Government gives financial assistance by way of a yearly grant of about Rs. 15,000 to the Junior Red Cross institution and Maternity Welfare Institutions besides several other facilities.

National Cadet Corps

The National Cadet Corps organization which had previously a total budget for Rs. 32,000 per annum has been integrated with the Central Organization of Government of India. The new budget as sanctioned by the Central Government stands at Rs. 1,14,500. Two companies consisting of 315 cadets, one from Jammu College and another from Srinagar have been raised besides 2 Girls sub-troops—one from each province. Two fully trained lady lecturers are working with the Girl units.

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HYDERABAD

(*By Rama Krishna Rao*)

The seven years that have passed since its association with the Union of India have seen Hyderabad move forward from a feudal and backward condition to a position of honour and importance among the States that now form the Indian Republic. With the local administrative machinery and with the help of the people, who profferred their co-operation in a generous measure, the foundation of a modern welfare State has been well and truly laid during this period in Hyderabad.

The gradual restoration of communal harmony which had been rudely interrupted by the events immediately preceding the Police Action, the successful prosecution of the fight against terrorist activity in the Telengana area of the State, immediately after the dawn of democracy in Hyderabad, and, later, the smooth changeover effected from Osmania Sicca Currency to the Indian Governmeut Currency, were some of the none too easy matters that engaged the State Government's attention.

The complete democratization of the Hyderabad and Secunderabad Municipal Corporations following elections on the basis of adult franchise marked a major achievement in the sphere of local self-government. In this revolution, not any the less effective because it is unostentatious, the countryside, neglected and uncared for in the past, is taking a significant, and even a predominant part. New ideas as well as roads are cutting the distance, both mental and physical, between town and country, with elected village Panchayats and multi-purpose Co-operative Societies setting the stage for the establishment of a true rural Co-operative Common-wealth.

The work of Planning in the State began, for obvious reasons, much later than in other areas, and so no final shape could be given to the Plan at the time of initiating the programme. New items of work and expenditure were being added from time to time, in the interests of all-round achievement. Also, the time at our disposal was very short. Thus, in our State also, as all over India, the plan was a consolidation of the then existing programmes and the addition of a few new ones where there were none.

A study of the facts relating to the State reveal how typical a chunk of the motherland Hyderabad is. The area of Hyderabad State is 81,668 square miles. The state is divided into 17 districts and 139 taluqas. It has, according to the 1951 Census, a population of 186,55,108. The State ranks seventh among the States of Indian Union in respect of population. 81·4 per cent of the population is rural, living in the 22,600 villages. 127,14,824 people, who form 68·2% of the total population living by agriculture. Only 25·79% of the total population is self-supporting.

It is clear from the facts that the population is mainly rural, depending on agriculture, which does not provide full employment. As in the rest of India, in Hyderabad too, the problem is rural and agricultural. Great emphasis had, therefore, been placed on agricultural and rural development. So, after collecting the necessary facts, recognizing the problems and assessing the local and outside resources, the First Five-Year Plan proposed an outlay of Rs. 40 53 crores under the following heads :—

	In crores
1. Agricultural & Rural Development	Rs. 4·63
2. Irrigational & Power Projects	„ 26·97
3. Social Services (education, medical and public health)	„ 4·70
4. Industries ..	„ 2·94
5. Communications (roads & bridges)	„ 1·29

Out of this, Rs. 10 crores was to be given by the Central Government and the rest found by the State Government.

To the common man the plan can mean anything only if it meets his immediate physical needs, which are, food, clothing, and housing. Then come, Health, Education, Communications and Industries.

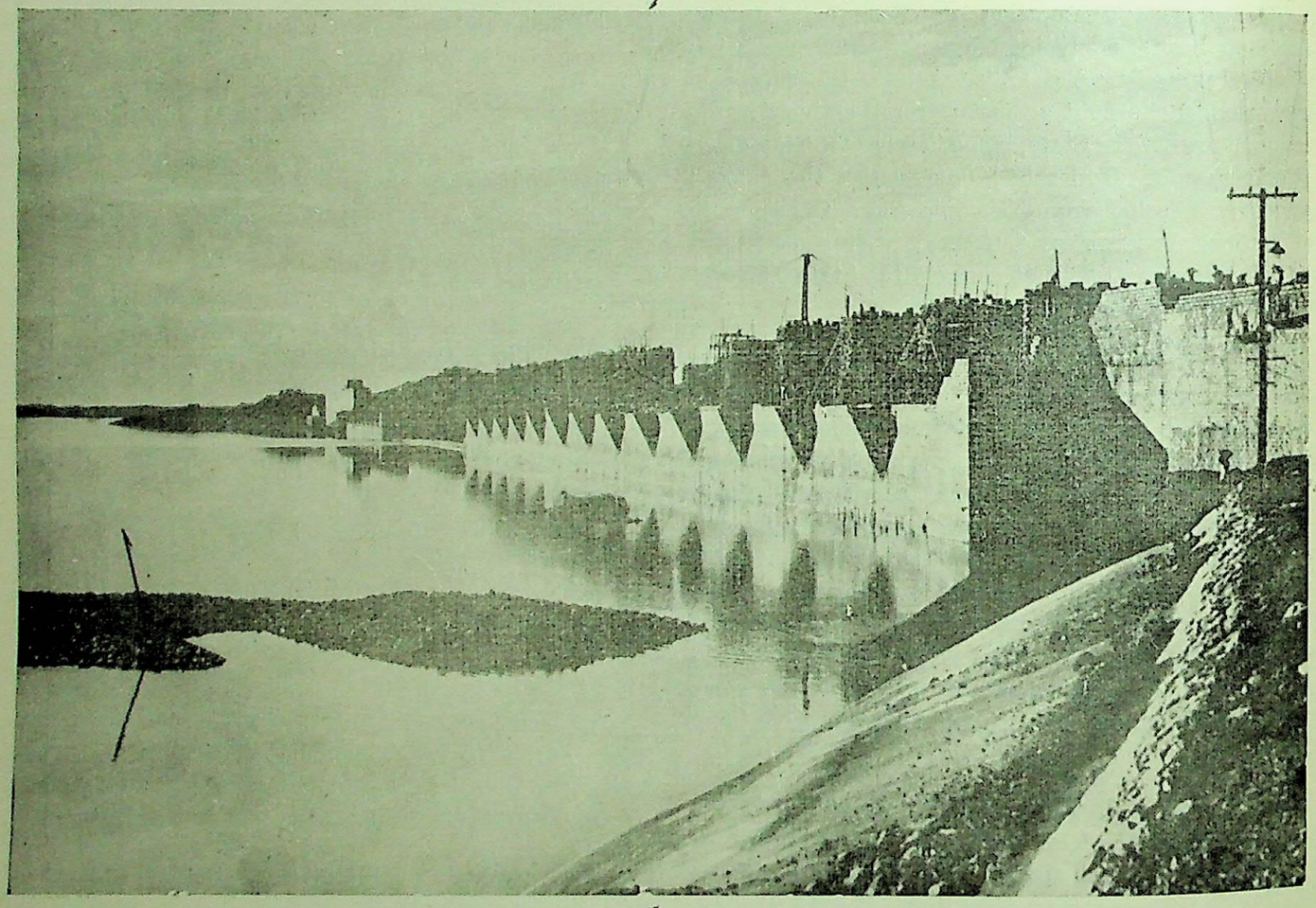
The heart of the matter was the land—its ownership, its contribution, its exploitation, its possibilities, the many and varied problems that had grown round it over the years and cried for a solution.

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In the agricultural class, which constitutes 68·2 per cent of the total population, the largest number of agriculturists are the landless cultivators and the smallest are landlords or rent receivers. The process of abolition of the intermediaries in land tenure in Hyderabad started in 1949. An area almost as large as the former State of Baroda formed the 'Sarf-e-Khas' or Crown lands of the Nizam. These, the Nizam made over to the State, realizing, as he himself put it, that "the times had changed". This meant not only an addition of Rs. 225 lakhs to the State Exchequer, but the bringing of a tract of 8,000 square miles under modern methods of administration. There were other large private estates owned by noblemen—the jagirs, paigahs, and samasthans—and these too were taken over by the Government under an agreed plan of compensation to the owners. Thus both Sarf-e-Khas and Jagir territories, constituting between them one-third of the entire State, were amalgamated with the Diwani or Government administered territory.

The stage was now set for the introduction of much needed fundamental agrarian reforms to rescue the long-suffering peasant from his hopeless state. The Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act (the Tenancy Act, for short) that came into effect on June 10, 1950, is as noteworthy and radical an item of land reform as any that a system of Government committed to peaceful and orderly progress could dare or wish to conceive of and execute. The Act has already elevated 7,00,000 and more of virtual serfs into "protected tenants", enabling them to own, for a reasonable price, the lands that they have been cultivating. Thus, the tillers' dream to own the soil will have come true. The fixing of maximum holdings is another measure against unequal distribution of land. The Act, thus, aims at



TUNGABHADRA PROJECT : This Project would not only benefit Hyderabad but Andhra also.

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the merging of land ownership with cultivation, provides for the prevention of fragmentation of land and empowers Government to enforce consolidation schemes like co-operative farming societies. Meanwhile, fallow and waste lands are being distributed to the landless, mostly to the members of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. These measures were highly appreciated by the National Planning Commission, who have observed: "With the exception of Hyderabad, no State has so far made provision for regulating the standards of cultivation and management of land and assumption of land in case of failure to maintain these standards."

While these measures were being taken for improving the lot of the peasant, his brother in the town was not forgotten. Fully appreciating the situation created by the emergence of organized industries and the awakening of a new consciousness among labour, the Administration lost no time in setting up a machinery for the amicable settlement of labour problems, thus ushering in a new era of labour understanding. The recommendations of the Rege Committee led to the fixing of minimum wages for unskilled workers, and the Government also made these applicable to such workers in its own non-factory establishments. A number of measures have been taken for the welfare of workers and these are bound to make labour a willing and enthusiastic participant in the battle of production, success wherein is the *sine qua non* of national prosperity.

In the sphere of education considerable headway has been made in giving the national language and the regional languages the places that are their due. The principle of equality of opportunity enshrined in the Constitution of India would remain a dead letter if steps were not taken to make education—the kingpin of a democratic State—available to every linguistic group of appreciable size in its mother-tongue. In keeping with this principle, Hindi, as well as the language of the region concerned, has been made compulsory for all students right through from the primary to the high school stage. Basic education has been accepted as the pattern of primary education. There are over a million children undergoing schooling in the nearly 14,000 primary schools of the State. Compulsory primary education has been introduced in certain areas of the State, and over 30,000 children are being schooled in such areas. Schooling facilities are proposed to be extended to villages with a population of less than 500, and when the Plan has come through, there will be no village without a school in the State.

Hyderabad's Five-Year Plan naturally gives the highest priority to projects for food production, with a view to wiping off the States food deficit. The State has important river valleys of the Godavari, the Tungabhadra and the Krishna running across it, and a large area of the State is covered by the basins of these rivers. Possibilities of development of irrigation and power in the State by utilization of waters of these rivers are immense, and work on the plans drawn for the development of irrigation and power, such as the Godavari, Kadam, Nizamsagar in the Godavari basin, and the Tungabhadra and the Rajolibanda projects in the Krishna basin, are already underway. Under the Tungabhadra project alone, 5·8 lakhs of acres of the State will have been brought under cultivation when the Project is completed. With a view to giving an impetus to growing more food, 15 minor irrigation projects, which could be developed with small finance, and which can be completed in a relatively short period, have been taken up. Of these, five have already been commissioned. The new project of Nagarjunasagar, the foundation stone of which was laid on 10th December 1955, by our beloved Prime Minister, will add another 10 lakhs of acres to the irrigated area of Telangana.

Irrigation under tanks has been, since ages, the most efficient method, particularly in the eastern part of the State. It is said that in Telangana there is a tank for every square mile of the country. There are in all 34,700 small and big tanks in the State with a settled ayacut of 13·5 lakhs acres. All these have not been under proper maintenance or repairs. It was, therefore, proposed to repair 2,387 of these with an ayacut of 152,000 acres. So far more than 400 of these have already been repaired with an ayacut of 28,199 acres.

To keep pace with the demands of modern life, the natural resources of Hyderabad are being utilized to produce abundant light and power. Slowly but steadily, light is dispelling darkness and power is speeding the wheels of industry and relieving the worker of his heavy burdens. Hydro and thermal power plants are being installed to meet the ever-increasing need for light and power, which follow rapidly an industrial and social development. The State's objective is to see the early establishment of a grid covering the entire State knit together by the hydro-electric schemes at Tungabhadra, Nizamsagar and Purna, with stations functioning at Ramagundam and Hussainsagar Power House. By the end of the Plan period 30,000 kw. of

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power will have been added to the State's electric potential.

Although the Plan had to be mainly focussed upon increasing production in agricultural and related spheres, industrial development was not altogether relegated to a minor role. For an all-round success, industries, at least certain of them, had to keep pace with development in the main sectors. Rich in mineral resources, such as coal, graphite, mica, limestone, gold, clay, iron and quartz, and an outstanding producer of industrial crops, such as cotton, oilseeds, tobacco and timber, Hyderabad has a high industrial potential. Compared with the 1948 statistics, the 1954 statistics show an enormous increase in production. Cotton cloth yardage increased by 29 per cent. and yarn poundage by 32 per cent. The production of paper increased by 302 per cent, of cement by 121 per cent, of sugar by 98 per cent, of coal by 41 per cent, and of gold by no less than 4,500 per cent. Today some 1,137 factories provide employment to 6,91,888 workers everyday. There are 20 major industries in the State ; textiles, sugar, alcohol, paper, cardboard, artificial silk, gold, coal, cigarettes, metal processing, chemical and pharmaceuticals and fertilizers, cement and cement products, laminated sheets, glass, ceramics, tanning, hosiery, oilseeds, cotton ginning and pressing and matches. Textile industry is the oldest in the State, and the six mills engaged in it employ 2,39,624 persons. On an average they produce 298,81,000 pounds of yarn and 869,63,000 yards of piecegoods annually.

A main concern of the industrial development in the State is the revival and revitalization of cottage industries including small-scale industries. With a view to giving impetus to local industries, schemes for development of *khadi*, tanning and leather goods, hand pounding in rice, bee-keeping, soapmaking from neem oil, hand-made paper making, khandsari sugar and other village industries have been drawn up, and it is a matter for gratification to see that all these schemes are making good headway. Further schemes for the development of glass-bangle industry, cutlery, utility leather goods, and for tanning industry, are under way. Six integrated village industries development centres are being run in the State to help the revival and revitalization of more small-scale industries. The *khadi* and handloom industry has received particular attention, and it constitutes the largest cottage industry. There are over a lakh and a half handlooms in the State which give employment to over seven lakhs of people. Government have also decided to enforce the use of *khadi* and handloom cloth in all Government Departments, thus ensuring a steady demand for *khadi*. To encourage further its sales in other states it is proposed to open two inter-state sales depots, one in Bombay and the other in New Delhi.

Industrial research in Hyderabad has kept pace with other similar institutions in India and abroad, and made valuable contributions.

As means of communication, roads play a vital part in the material and moral reconstruction of a nation. New roads will not only take the amenities of town life to the countryside but will bring the country's agricultural and forest wealth to the town to be harnessed to the needs of man. The State has taken up 34 road works under the Plan, costing about Rs. 2487·80 lakhs. Three bridges have also been constructed as part of the road programme in the State, which have since removed obstruction in through communication, which hitherto existed, between places inside and outside the State. Of these bridges, the Bhima bridge and the Godavari causeway are the most important. The Godavari causeway, completed in 1954, is the largest causeway in the State. The third bridge, a high-level causeway constructed across the Shivana river in Aurangabad district, was thrown open early in this year.

Mere road mileage will not be of help without an organized and fast road transport system. Luckily in Hyderabad, there is a very good road transport system which formerly was part of the old State Railway. The Road Transport Dept. runs a fleet of 775 buses. The daily services of the Road Transport Dept. touch the rail-heads 555 times. On an average, nearly 1½ lakh passengers travel in R.T.D. buses.

Public Health is a vital part of any integrated programme of development and is fundamental to national progess in any sphere. A large number of dispensaries and mobile eye-hospitals, have been set up to bring relief to the peasant's door. Fight against malaria, tuberculosis, yaws, is continuing with vigour. The achievement on the health side has been so rapid that

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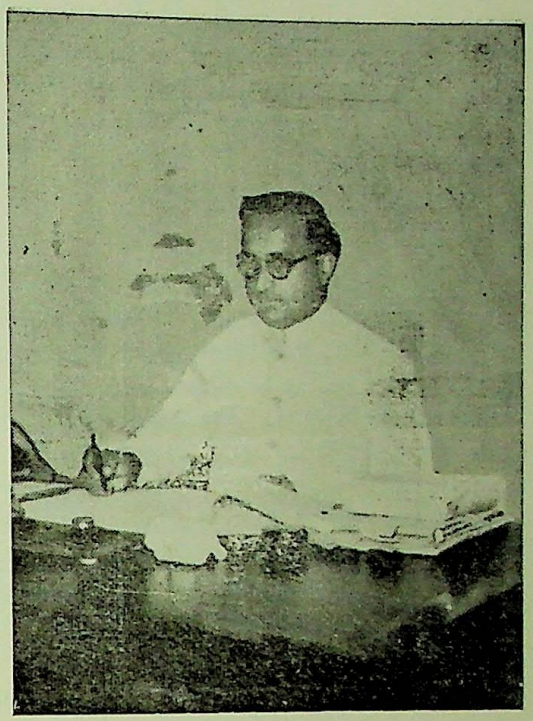


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COORG

(By C. M. Poonacha, Chief Minister)



Coorg covers an area of 1,586 sq. miles with a population of about 2½ lakhs. It is a picturesque country situated on the Eastern slopes of the Western Ghats due west of Mysore State in South India. After the advent of Independence in India, Coorg became a Part 'C' State and a popular Cabinet with two Ministers took over the responsibility of running the administration after the last General Elections in 1952. The State has a Legislature of 24 Members presided over by a Speaker.

After the assumption of office by the Popular Ministry, the State has achieved outstanding Progress in all fields of activity and has earned the approbation of all the Union Ministers and other high dignitaries who have visited this State during the past three years. By the end of the current financial year, which coincides with the termination of the First Five-Year Plan, this State would have implemented in full, the targets set under the Plan. The Planning Commission has acknowledged that Coorg is among the two States in India, the other being Saurashtra, to have achieved this distinction.

Five-Year Plan

Soon after the establishment of Popular Government in the State, the Government took immediate steps to revise the First Five-Year Plan from Rs. 73 lakhs to as much as Rs. 116·86 lakhs and together with the State Plan and assistance received from the Centre, the total provision under the First Five-Year Plan was of the order of Rs. 206·80 lakhs. In the execution of this Plan covering almost every field of activity, the State has gone forward from step to step towards meeting the essential needs of the people. Agricultural and Rural Developments have between them taken as much as Rs. 38·10 lakhs while the Community Projects accounted for Rs. 32·80 lakhs. Irrigation and Power Schemes were of the order of Rs. 42·40 lakhs. The Small-Scale and Cottage Industries Scheme was implemented at a cost of Rs. 4½ lakhs while roads and transport accounted for about Rs. 35 lakhs. Education, which is one of the major social services, accounted for Rs. 27·80 lakhs, while Medical and Public Health received Rs. 17·40 lakhs. Great importance was also given to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and a sum of Rs. 8·80 lakhs was expended for the purpose. The revenue of the State has also increased considerably from the last three years which is evident from the fact that the budgetted revenue of Coorg which was of the order of Rs. 103·85 lakhs in 1953-54 rose to Rs. 117·43 lakhs in 1954-55 and to Rs. 230·60 lakhs in 1955-56.

Community Development Programme

The programmes of the Five-Year Plan coupled with the works launched under the Community Projects and National Extension Service Schemes, have enabled the State to take a big stride towards the attainment of the objective of building up a Welfare State. Coorg was allotted one Development Block under the Community Development Programme in 1952 and in recognition of the good work done by the public co-operation in that Block, the Government of India were pleased to sanction one additional Development Block and one National Extension Service Block for this State. In view of the continued good work done in all these Blocks and the keen interest and co-operation evinced by the beneficiaries, the Government of India were further pleased to sanction the conversion of the National Extension Service Block into an intensive Development

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Block, thereby bringing the entire State under the Community Development Programme. People's participation in all the Blocks has been excellent and one of the main objects of the scheme to make people sink their differences and strive for the common good of the society, has been fully achieved.

Food and Agriculture

Coorg is a surplus State with regard to its food production. The production of rice, which is the staple food crop of the State, has increased steadily during the last three years. The production of rice which was 42,000 tons in 1953 rose up to 50,000 tons in 1954 and thence to 70,000 tons in 1955. The outstanding achievement of the State under the First Five-Year Plan has been its ability to step up food production with such pace as to surpass the target set under the food front. Consequent on the decision of the Government of India rice was decontrolled throughout the State with effect from 10th July, 1954, which in its train, brought the question of prices. As new crop started coming into the market in large quantities, there was a sudden drop in paddy prices as a result of which the Agriculturists became panicky over the disposal of the produce. The State Government took prompt measurss from the rescue of the growers by setting up co-operative Societies in the State to advance loan against the surplus paddy, which assured the growers an economic price for their produce.

Agriculture is the main stay of the people of the State and as such various measures to intensify cultivation at the village level, were taken up by the Agricultural Department of the State. The Japanese Method of Rice Cultivation adopted in the State has been a great success in that 11,000 acres were brought under this method during 1954-55 which is in excess of the target fixed for this State by the Centre by 1,000 acres. During 1955-56, nearly one-third of the area under rice cultivation has been brought under the Japanese system. As a result of the intensive cultivation campaign pursued under the Grow More Food and Crop Competition Schemes, the State's average normal yield of rice has exceeded 2,500 lbs. per acre as against the previous average of less than 1,500 lbs. Three Government Demonstration Farms were opened in the three taluks of the State with a view to conduct research and experiments in modern methods of agriculture and also to evolve the best-suited strains of paddy and other food crops for the State. The area of operation and the activities of these Farms have been expanded considerably to touch every aspect of agricultural development. The various Schemes of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, such as the Rice Breeding Scheme, the Orange Research Scheme, etc., have been implemented in the State and much valuable data have been collected so far. Under the Grow More Food Scheme, the construction of a number of dams, channels, tanks etc., was taken up with a view to provide irrigation facilities, besides the supply of chemical fertilizers and manures to ryots at subsidised rates. The Survey of Indigenous Implements, the Agricultural Statistics Scheme, the Plant Protection Scheme, the Cardamom Nursery Scheme, etc., are some of the other schemes that have either been implemented or in the process of implementation in the State.

Fish Culture is another scheme which has been receiving increased attention of the State Government. Certain amendments to rules under the Indian Fisheries Act of 1897 were introduced and enforced during 1954-55 and the activities under this scheme have been enlarged.

A very important step has been taken during 1954-55 for the preservation of the cattle wealth of the State by



A coffee picker

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the introduction of the Pilot Project for the eradication of Rinderpest. Veterinary aid has been brought nearer to the agriculturists by the opening of several rural dispensaries in different parts of the State. The scheme of grading up cattle through the artificial insemination technique has been started and the same is gaining increased support from cattle breeders. There are already over 400 test-tube calves all over the State. A *Gosadan* Centre and a Dry-Stock Farm for the protection and care of old and infirm cattle have been opened in Hudugur in North Coorg. A Demonstration Dairy Farm has been established at Kudige near Fraserpet, where pedigree cows such as Sindhi, Shaiwal, Gir, etc., and pedigree steed bulls are maintained. A Milk Pasteurization Plant is proposed to be started at this Farm with a view to process the milk collected at this Centre through the Co-operative Milk Supply Union.

With a view to review the working of the Co-operative Movement in Coorg and to suggest ways and means for its improvement, the State Government constituted a Co-operative Enquiry Committee in 1952, which submitted its report to the Government in 1953. Action has been taken to implement the various recommendations made by the Committee and consequently, the Co-operative Movement is now put on progressive lines. There are as many as 417 Co-operative Societies of all types in the State at present. Societies have been formed to promote varied and essential activities and the linking of production and marketing with credit, such as Harijan Seva Sangh, House Construction, Bee-keeping, Production and Sale of Handloom Cloth, Life Irrigation, Small-Scale and Cottage Industries, Joint Farming, etc., Action has also been taken to convert Rural Co-operative Societies into multi-Purpose ones wherever conditions permit, so that these Societies might help to build up and promote the village economy. As the existing rates of interest charged by the Co-operative Societies on the loans advanced by them to the members were rather high and the funds available for the purpose are found to be inadequate, the State Government have taken necessary steps to obtain more funds at concessional rates of interest from the Reserve Bank of India. Besides, under the Community Development Programme various rural development works such as the construction of dams, anicuts, channels, roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, etc., have been taken up throughout the State and most of them have since been completed.

There are no major industries in this State. However, the development of Small-Scale and Cottage Industries so essential for a country which is predominantly agricultural, has received due attention at the hands of the popular Government. A State Industries Advisory Board for Coorg was constituted by the Government for making recommendations for the development of certain rural industries for which scope exists in Coorg. After a careful consideration of the availability of raw materials in the State, the Board recommended that Bee-keeping, Sericulture, Handloom Industry, Poultry, Pottery, Carpentry etc., could be advantageously developed in the near future. Accordingly, the State Government have taken the necessary measures to develop these industries as far as practicable. Substantial progress has been made under the State's scheme of Handloom Development. Two Weaving Schools were opened in North Coorg with a view to train children and other interested people in weaving, spinning and dyeing. To give a fillip to this industry, the State Government are purchasing the Handloom cloth woven in Coorg to meet their official requirements including dresses for the pupils of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the Schools. A Handloom Sales Emporium has also been opened at Mercara during the period.

Apiculture, which is one of the best suited Cottage Industries for the State, has been developed and put on a firm footing with the establishment of a Central Apiary at Bhagamandala and a number of Sub-Stations for the purpose of conducting research and demonstration in modern methods of Bee-Keeping. Bee-hives are being distributed among the interested Ryots at subsidised rates and free of cost among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There are at present 16,500 Bee-keepers in this State using both the old and new type of hives. A quantity of 73,881 lbs. of extracted honey and 1,64,220 lbs. of pot honey was produced in the State during the year. A Progressive Bee-Keepers' Association has been organized during the current year to look after the interests of the Bee-Keepers in the State.

A Scheme for the establishment of Sericulture Industry in suitable areas of the State and another scheme for the establishment of a Pottery Centre in South Coorg, have been drawn up and are in the process of implementation. Poultry Farming has come to stay

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in this State and the Census has shown that there is one bird per head of population. Action is being taken for the expansion of this industry with a Central Farm during the current year. Carpentry, Smithy, Tailoring, etc., are some of the other Cottage Industries which are functioning in this State.

A Saw Mill which has a capacity to saw about 400 c.ft. of timber per day with a furniture workshop attached to it, has been established at Murkal in South Coorg. All under-sized branch pieces and scantlings and defective timber which are not otherwise marketable, are now being used for Government works or converted into useful material in this Saw Mill.

Medical and Public Health

The State Government have been bestowing special attention on improvement of medical facilities in the State. The Medical Establishment which was under the Coorg District Board was taken over by the Government from the year 1953 and the pay scales of the staff were upgraded. Two Group Hospitals have been opened for the benefit of the Plantation Labour as well as the surrounding rural population, besides the opening of a number of new hospitals, and dispensaries both in urban and rural areas. The B.C.G. Campaign which was started in November, 1953 is being pursued with vigour and the total number of people tested so far has exceeded 26,000. Maternity facilities have been extended considerably by opening a number of new maternity centres throughout the State. Maternity and Child Welfare Services have been taken up with substantial financial aid from the Centre. Three Family Planning Centres have also been established under the Family Planning Programme sponsored by the Central Ministry of Health. Separate Hospitals for women and children are also under construction at Mercara and Somwarpet. Steps are being taken to run mobile dispensaries in the near future under the Community Projects Scheme.

The entire State is under Malaria Control. Malaria, for which Coorg was at one time endemic, has been completely eradicated consequent on the D.D.T. spraying operations that are being carried out in a systematic and organized manner reaching every nook and corner of the State. Under Public Health Services, a number of bore-hole latrines and pit-latrines, soak pits, urinals, rubbish pits and swill bins have been constructed in both urban and rural areas. Proper drainage and drinking water facilities have been provided in all the minor townships.

Education

Education has, all along, been receiving the special attention of the State Government. All the District Board Schools were taken over by the Government, with effect from the 1st April of 1953 and the conditions obtaining in them were considerably improved. A Secondary Grade College affiliated to the University of Madras, was opened at Mercara in 1949, which was upgraded into a First Grade College during the academic year 1953-54. The University Commission, Madras, has granted affiliation for opening B.A. Science course in Physics, Chemistry and Natural Science in this College from the academic year 1954-55. There are at present one First Grade College, 11 High Schools, 49 Middle Schools, 77 Primary Schools, 86 Feeder Schools, and 6 Nursery Schools in Coorg. Opening of a Basic Training College, Community Centres, Integrated Library Service, Janatha College, Refresher Course for Headmasters, training of Teachers and workers in the field of Social Education, establishment of Urban Basic Schools and propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi Speaking Areas are some of the schemes which have been implemented under the Five-Year Plan of Educational Development.

The Social Education is now well established with libraries, films and journals. *Yuvaka Krishika Sangha* Units (4-H Clubs) have been established in all the Secondary and Middle Schools. The National Cadet Corps Units in Coorg have done much useful social work and their activities have since been accelerated by raising an Independent Company for this State. The Auxiliary Cadet Corps was introduced first in all the Government High Schools during 1953-54 and this training is now made compulsory for all the students of the age group of 12 and above in all the schools. A manual work programme has been introduced in the schools in Coorg with a view to make the students to realise the dignity of labour. Education upto and inclusive of III Form has been made free, from the academic year 1954-55. The State now stands second in percentage of literacy in the Indian Union. About one fourth of the total revenues of the State is being expended on the development of education in the State.

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Labour Welfare and Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

There are about 60,000 labourers in this State, most of whom are working in the local coffee plantations. In order to look after their welfare, the State Government have implemented several labour welfare measures, besides implementing legislations such as the Minimum Wages Act, the Factories Act, the Plantation Labour Act, etc. Free medical aid, maternity benefits, education for children, canteens, recreational facilities, day nurseries and creches etc., are being provided for the labour in the majority of plantations as required under the Plantation Labour Act. Labour Rallies are being conducted every year in all the important labour Centres with a view to promote better understanding, co-operation and co-ordination between the employees and the employers. In short, the relationship between the Employers and the Employees is very cordial throughout the State.

Various welfare measures on a planned basis have also been undertaken to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State who number about 25,000 and 21,000 respectively. The rules regarding the grant of lands have been amended providing for the grant of land for cultivation purposes free of land and timber value to the Harijans and other landless poor upto the extent of three acres each. During 1954-55, 248 families of Harijans were provided with free tiles, doors and windows and roofing materials for constructing houses. Similar help is being rendered to 388 more families during the current year. In order to spread literacy among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, their children are admitted free to all the schools and provided with free supply of books, dress and mid-day meals. A sum of Rs. 70,000 was spent during 1954-55 for this purpose in addition to a sum of Rs. 1,20,000 expended for ameliorating the conditions of the scheduled castes in general. A sum of Rs. two lakhs was spent during the same year on welfare measures for Scheduled Tribes. With a view to encourage the permanent settlement of these classes of people who are generally, of nomadic habits, several houses have been constructed and colonies established by the Government for their occupation. They are also supplied with plough bullocks, agricultural implements and seed paddy for cultivation and bee-hives and other raw materials for handicrafts etc., at concessional rates. A Committee has been constituted to look after the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and another Committee for Backward Classes in this State to advise the Government from time to time on the ameliorative measures to be undertaken for their welfare.

Transport and Communications

The State Government have been giving necessary attention to provide adequate transport facilities in the State. All the existing main roads are being improved by consolidation and blacklopping besides forming new metalled roads. Under the Community Projects, the State has been connected with a vast net work of village communication roads. Since the inauguration of the first Community Development Block in 1952, a large number of bridges, foot-bridges, culverts, causeways, etc., have been constructed throughout the State.

Electricity Schemes

The power supply at Mercara, the Headquarters of the State which was being managed by a private Company was unsatisfactory and irregular and the concern was, therefore, taken over by the Government in 1953 and was developed so as to ensure a regular supply of electric power to the consumers. Under the scheme for the expansion of rural electrification to create more employment opportunities, electrification of two important towns of the State *viz.*, Virajpet and Somwarpet have been taken up and the work is in progress. The investigation of a major Power Project, known as the Barapole Hydro-Electric Project was undertaken by the State Government in 1953 and the same was completed and the report submitted to the Government of India during the current year. The Scheme estimated to cost about 18 crores of rupees with a power potential 1,80,000 k.w. has since been approved by the Planning Commission for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan.

Prohibition

Partial prohibition was introduced in Coorg in 1949 and is still being continued, the number of people using alcoholic drinks steadily declining year by year. It will be of interest to mention that the number of people who have obtained permits for foreign liquor is less than one per cent and of those that have obtained permits for the consumption of arrack is less than five per cent of the total population. The State Government have

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now taken the final step to enforce total prohibition with effect from the 1st April, 1956 and necessary legislation is being undertaken in this behalf.

Local Self-Government

The Coorg District Board was abolished with effect from the 1st April 1955 and all its functions have been taken over by the Government. At present there are two Municipalities, 8 Notified Areas and 3 Village Panchayats in this State. The Municipalities are smaller townships, one having a population of over 12,000 and the other about 8,000. The Notified Areas are still smaller townships. All the civic needs of the citizens of these townships are being met by these Local Bodies. The State Government have advanced them loans as well as free grants to enable them to implement some of their major development works, particularly for the provision of water supply and health services. With a view to decentralize the administration consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, the State Government have recently introduced a Bill, *viz.*, the Coorg Panchayat Raj Bill, in the State Legislature for the constitution of Gram Panchayats for every village or group of two or three villages throughout Coorg.

Conclusion

The period from 1952 onwards, *i.e.*, after the establishment of popular Government in Coorg which is under review, has been one of intensive activity towards an all-round development of the State. The achievements attained under the First Five-Year Plan under various fields of activity, have been very considerable. The entire State has become more and more plan-minded and there is an awakening in the rural areas for the economic development along modern lines which could be seen from the villagers coming forward and getting together to work the Community Projects and other Development Programmes. With the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan which is before the country, it is hoped, that Coorg will emerge as a real Welfare State on the basis of a socialistic pattern of society which is the declared policy of the Government.

(Contd from page 35)

earnest. As a matter of fact the target accomplished earliest under the First Five-Year Plan was the switching on of the new 2500 k.w Plant in 1953. As part of rural electrification programme, Sehore, Ashta, Obaidullaganj and a good number of villages lying enroute are going to be provided with electrical energy both for domestic consumption and irrigation purposes. The growing towns of Begumganj and Bareli are shortly going to have their own plants of 100 k.w. and 50 k.w. capacities respectively. The scheme envisages an expenditure of Rs. 57,86,000 during the First Five-Year Plan and of Rs. 2,07,10,500 during the Second Five-Year Plan.

The battle for a better order thus continues. The phase of reconstruction and making up the leeway is in full swing. Crowning these achievements is the decision made by the Congress High Command to make the city of Bhopal capital of the proposed new State of Madhya Pradesh. Such resources as the State possesses, and there is no dearth of the same in any respect, will now be utilised for a greater number of people of the new State and Bhopal will thus attain its destiny of being the metropolitan city of the biggest State in the Republic.

(Contd. from page 42)

targets set for the Five-Year Plan have been achieved within 3 years.

The Government's design for prosperity embraces the lowliest sections of the population. Under a long-term plan, the Conds, the Koyas, the Lambadas and the Chenchus - forgotten aboriginal tribes whom fate had apparently condemned to a hopeless life in the jungles—are being reclaimed to civilization. Thus, in the countryside watered by the great Pakhal, Laknavaram and Ramappa lakes in Warangal district, large numbers of Koyas, given land, houses and work, are rediscovering life. They will share with the other inhabitants of the State the advantages and responsibilities of the up-and-coming welfare State.

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EIGHT YEARS OF FREEDOM IN MYSORE

The political independence in India ushered in an era of planning. Mysore has always been in the forefront in planning among the Indian States.

The first popular Ministry in Mysore established in October 1947 set itself to initiation of land reforms, which was carried forward by its successor, nationalisation of bus transport, extension of public health services and undertaking the survey work for new railway lines and new hydro-electric projects and introduction of prohibition in more than half the State.

The second Congress Ministry which assumed office in April 1952 continued the good work of its predecessor. The first major reform it undertook was the abolition of food control which led to increased supply of food stuffs and eventually a lowering of prices. In order to increase output, the Japanese method of rice cultivation was introduced with beneficial results.

Standing out from the routine—though highly important—constructive work of the Congress Ministry is the Samskruti Prasar, taken up in 1952. The purpose of this movement is to revive the cultural traditions which foreign rule and the modern style of life have so gravely damaged. The Chief Minister while explaining the purpose of the movement says : "With the purpose of raising ethical level of our people and inspiring them with passion for righteousness, the Government of Mysore inaugurated the organisation for giving recitals from great Kavyas such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in as many places in the State as possible. The movement is aimed at ennobling one's spiritual life and also at enriching literature. The popularisation of great literature which has ethical and religious significance is the basis of the movement. Large number of lectures, musical performances and the like, by front-rank exponents, are arranged in all the Districts. Selected classics of Kannada literature are published in cheap editions. The response has been enthusiastic.

In September 1952, Government appointed a Committee to examine the system of education in Mysore in all stages and to make recommendations for its reorientation and development. The Committee examined the financial implications of the proposals and the implementation of all the schemes recommended was estimated at an additional recurring expenditure of Rs. 92·07 lakhs in the first year rising to about Rs. 2·73 crores in the fifth year and Rs. 5 crores in the tenth year of the scheme.

The new system of education was inaugurated throughout the State on "Sarvodaya Day", 30th January 1955. Orders have been passed in respect of the organisational pattern, rationalisation of holidays and working days and inculcation of the idea of the dignity of manual labour and social service as an integral part of education. Government have also taken important decisions in regard to administration of the Department with the object of decentralising the administration.

In order to implement Article 14 of the Constitution, *i.e.*, to render primary education universal below 14 years, a plan to make primary education in town and village self-supporting was launched on the 5th August 1955. All the Ministers and many other leading Congressmen went on Pada Yatra through the Districts, asking the public to donate gifts of land to be associated with school, existing or yet to be built. This land will enable the children to learn agriculture by actually practising it, and, administered by competent local committees, will yield sufficient income to maintain a comprehensive network of schools. The plan was in conformity with Gandhiji's teachings on Basic Education and it met with satisfactory response. The Pada Yatris also asked for Vidya Dan from competent persons, retired officials and the like. This movement generated a wave of enthusiasm all over the State.

In pursuance of the policy of distributing land as equitably as possible and of lightening the burden of the cultivator. The Tenancy Act of 1952 has been extended to all the Districts except Bellary, the Mysore Personal and Miscellaneous Inams Abolition Bill and the Mysore Religious and Charitable Inams Abolition Bill were unanimously passed by the Legislature. These Acts will usher in a new era in the history of land tenures in the State and confer occupancy rights on the actual tiller of the land.

A comprehensive scheme of drinking water supply in the urban as well as in the rural areas has been under-

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taken by this Government. Seventy-nine schemes jo urban water supply have been administratively sanctioned at a cost of Rs. 1,78,48,650. The Government of India sanctioned a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs in the shape of loan for the implementation of urban water supply schemes and drainage works during the year 1954-55 under the National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme. As regards rural water supply, it is the aim of Government that every village in the State should be provided with drinking water facilities. The total outlay on Rural Water Supply from 1949-50 to 1954-55 is to the tune of Rs. 43,32,636. A provision of Rs. 10 lakhs has been made in the budget for the year 1955-56 for this purpose.

The three major irrigation projects, namely, the Bhadra Reservoir, the Tunga Anicut and the Nugu Reservoir have progressed satisfactorily. The Bhadra Reservoir is the largest irrigational work so far undertaken in the State. The Project after completion is expected to irrigate about 2,24,200 acres and produce 41,400 kws. of electricity. Under the Tunga Anicut 17,000 acres of land have already come under irrigation and the balance of 5,000 acres will be brought under irrigation when the project is completed by the end of 1956. Under the Nugu Reservoir, nearly 90 per cent of the masonry work has been completed.

Work on the Tunga Bhadra Project in Bellary District is in the final stages. Around 92,000 acres in Bellary District will be irrigated under this project. Distributaries and field channels covering 35,000 acres in Mysore area have been excavated and a sub-division has been formed to attend to the balance of works. The Mahatma Gandhi Hydro-electric Project at Jog has been completed and 324 miles of transmission lines have been laid.

Mysore has long felt the need for adequate and dignified accommodation for the State Legislature in Mysore. In 1953 it was decided to build a new legislative building near the old administrative offices on a fine site near the beautiful Cubbon Park. The foundation stone was laid by Pandit Nehru in 1951. The building was originally designed only to house the two houses of legislature, but has been redesigned to accommodate most of the offices of the Departments of Government. It is an imposing and beautiful structure and is nearing completion.

The industrial progress of Mysore has made the problem of housing the working and middle-classes exceptionally acute. The Congress Ministry has advanced loans for housing for lower paid groups and has undertaken direct building of houses for workers. It has also been faced with the problems of water supply. Considerable amounts were allotted under the first Five-Year Plan for their purposes, and it is possible to claim that the position has been substantially improved. Housing will of course go ahead under the Second Plan.

A country is made great, not by public buildings, wealth, industries or armed forces but by the character of its people and in particular of its leaders. The recommendatio ns of the States Reorganisation Commission threatene l to split the opinion in Mysore and even within the Mysore Pradesh Congress, as it has never been split before. When the first discussion took place, the division of opinion in the Congress as between the status quo an the proposal of a United Karnataka was almost equal, and extended to the Ministry itself. There was strong agitation in the country on behalf of both opinions and there was talk of a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry.

However, when on the 20th, the High Power Committee of the Working Committee issued its directive in favour of united Karnataka, the loyalty of the Congressmen, established by the strong experience of many years, triumphed over factionalism. Except a small group of conscientious objectors, the bulk of the Pradesh Congress rallied to the parent organisation, and on 1st December the final vote of the two Houses of the Legislature gave decisive majorities in favour of United Karnataka. The conscientious objectors, numbering thirty and odd, gacefully refrained from embarrassing the Congress and remained neutral. In a way they also served the cause of United Karnataka. Opinion in favour of retaining the name of Mysore for the enlarged State was almost unanimous, and that against the transfer of the 3½ taluks of Bellary to Andhra was completely unanimous. Happily the unity of the Cabinet, which was at one time seriously threatened, has been firmly re-established.

The foundations for the future progress of Mysore have been firmly laid. An era of expanding prosperity and cultural efflorescence of the ancient land is in prospect.

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MADHYA BHARAT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The State of Madhya Bharat was formed on May 28 1948 with the merger of twenty-two princely States of Central India. During the past seven years of great changes and tremendous undertakings in the country as a whole, the newly formed unit has not only established the firm foundations and superstructure of a democratic administration, but has also made rapid progress towards the goal of a Welfare State. With a distinctive bias today in its schemes of development in favour of amelioration of a lot of the common man it is well set to make its contribution towards fulfilment of the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society.

In the new order that followed in the wake of independence, Madhya Bharat has not lagged behind any of the other States. In certain spheres of activity, specially the expansion of health and medical facilities, reorganisation of Panchayats, in the work of community development and national extension services, improvement of the condition of backward tribes, expenditure on education and in promotion of schemes for labour welfare the spectacular progress, achieved by the State, has been commended by independent and impartial observers.

The area of the State is 46,478 sq. miles and population 79,54,154. The main occupation of the people is agriculture.

The financial position of the State is very sound. The revenue receipts of Rs. 1,082·74 lakhs in 1949-50 have gone up to Rs. 1,868·74 lakhs (which includes Central grant and other resources) in 1955-56. The revenue expenditure has gone upto Rs. 1,886·84 lakhs in 1955-56 as against Rs. 1,119·81 lakhs in 1949-50.

The budget estimates for 1955-56 regarding welfare schemes, include Rs. 173·21 lakhs for irrigation ; Rs. 59·74 for education, Rs. 136·97 lakhs for medical help ; Rs. 80·05 lakhs for Public Health ; Rs. 23·65 lakhs for agriculture ; Rs. 68·77 lakhs for food production schemes ; Rs. 79·71 lakhs for rural uplift ; Rs. 22·32 lakhs for animal husbandry ; Rs. 13·53 lakhs for co-operation ; Rs. 68·70 lakhs for industries and Rs. 122·89 lakhs for electricity schemes.

Land Reforms

In order to improve the economic condition of the tillers of the soil and release them from the clutches of their exploiters, a number of legislative measures have been taken. The Acts for Abolition of Zamindari and Liquidation of Jagirdari were passed as early as 1951. The main consideration by which the Government has been guided is that there should be no intermediaries between the tiller of the soil and the State. Accordingly, ryotwari system of land tenure has now been introduced throughout the State and the tenants and sub-tenants have been given the right to become permanent tenants. They have thus been made to feel for the first time that the land tilled by them is their own.

Food and Agriculture

Improvement of agriculture, which is the main occupation of the bulk of the people, is effected through the application of improved methods and multiplication of irrigation facilities. A major portion of the State suffered from the shortage of irrigational facilities. 24,000 wells, 100 small and big tanks, have been constructed and repaired at a cost of Rs. 92·5 lakhs, and 300 miles of canals at a cost of Rs. 42 lakhs have been repaired and extended. Two dams in the Guna district, on the completion of their construction work at a cost of Rs. 81·2 lakhs, will irrigate 20,000 acres of land. Under the Chambal Valley Development Scheme, seven lakh acres and from Matatila dam being constructed by the U.P. Government 69,000 acres of land would be brought under irrigation in the State. About ten lakh acres of fallow land has been turned into cultivable land during past year. There is no relaxation in the stepping up of the food production drive. A sum of Rs. 68·77 lakhs has been provided for the purpose in the current year's budget, while Rs. 51 lakhs were spent on this account last year.

Veterinary an Animal Husbandry

The Veterinary and Animal Husbandry Department is making headway in the field of construction of dispensary, buildings, establishment of new dispensaries,

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starting of mobile units and development of Madhya Bharat Vaccine and Research Institute at Gwalior and its development wing at Mhow. The Government has also opened a College of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry at Mhow. It is the first regional college in India. The cattle population of the State is about one crore. There are 179 dispensaries and 11 mobile units, 8 key village centres and 17 artificial insemination centres in the State. Two bulls at each district headquarter have been kept for improving the quality of the live stock.

Rural Development

Rural development has received special attention for this aims at bringing about an all-round development of the people living in villages. The first year plan has allotted a huge amount of money which has been distributed among the different schemes formulated for their amelioration in the following manner. Grants-in-aid to Panchayats Rs. 35,95,306 ; construction of drinking water wells Rs. 13,00,704 ; construction of buildings in villages Rs. 11,34,306 ; construction of village roads Rs. 22,91,809 ; other schemes of rural development Rs. 8,46,245 ; purchase of radio sets Rs. 52,000 ; mobile libraries Rs. 2,12,000 ; repairs of step wells Rs. 4,45,000 ; organisation of camps Rs. 16,000 ; additional village roads Rs. 5,00,000 ; and loans to Panchayats Rs. 4,55,000.

Allied to the development schemes, an impetus has been given to the establishment of co-operatives Under the Five-Year Plan, 1348 co-operative societies have been formed as against the fixed target of 1,287. There are 25 co-operative banks. A State Co-operative Bank is also functioning.

Fores

With a view to proper utilisation of the forest wealth of the State, the Government have implemented a number of new schemes. Accordingly, 216 miles of fair-weather roads have been constructed and 320 miles of old non-metalled roads have been repaired. Proper training facilities have been made available at the Forest Training School, Shivpuri.

A 110 mile long and 100 feet wide fire line has been marked for the protection and preservation of forests. Afforestation has been done on 1,830 acres of land and timber trees have been planted on 1,780 acres. Arrangements have been made for the training of Adivasis in industries connected with forest products.

Industries

The State has made a great headway in the field of large-scale and cottage industries. As many as twenty-seven new factories were registered in 1954. At present there are 826 registered factories in the State. Textile industry is the premier industry of Madhya Bharat. The annual output of 16 textile mills amounts to Rs. 34·34 crores worth of cloth. Recently a staple fibre factory at a cost of Rs. 2·50 crores with the production capacity of 15 tons a day has been established at Nagda.

The cottage industries of Madhya Bharat comprise of about 125 types of industries. In order to promote village industries, a Gram-Udyog Samiti has come into existence. Rs. three lakhs were given for developing 25 types of village industries. Sericulture Centres have been established at Depalpur and Sardarpur.

The handloom industry, of which the Maheshwar and Chanderi Sarees are becoming a popular wear outside India, is developing in the context of modern trends in the industry. The age-old and nefficient 15,000 throw shuttle looms are being conver ted into fly shuttle looms. To assist the handloom weavers with finance, purchase of their products and their disposal and publicity, co-operative societies are being formed, and their products displayed and sold in the State Emporia, which have relations with emporia in other States.

The Madhya Bharat Financial Corporation with an authorised capital of Rs. two crores, and paid-up capital of Re. 1 crore has come into existence. The object of the Corporation is to provide financial assistance to medium and small-scale industrial concerns in the State.

Labour Welfare

About 90 thousand labourers earn their living from the mills and factories of the State. For their welfare various schemes are in operation. The work of fixation of minimum wages in different employments is steadily progressing. Employees State Insurance Scheme for the benefit of 45,000 workers in four major inudstrial centres in the State and victimisation aid schemes for

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victimised workers for their legitimate Trade Union activities, have been introduced.

Under the subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme, 640 tenements have been constructed for workers at Indore. 700 at Gwalior and over 1,100 at other places.

Education

Education has always received careful attention of the State Government. Today the number of educational institutions in the State is 7,197 with 4,48,755 students on roll against 3,455 institutions with 2,12,486 students on roll at the time of its formation. Expenditure has increased in these seven years from 60 lakh to about Rs. 2 crores. A provision of Rs. 2 crores and 41 thousands has been made under the Five-Year Plan.

In accord with the general educational policy of the country stress has been laid on the intensification of primary education and the conversion of primary schools into basic schools. Primary education is compulsory for the boys of the age group of 6 to 11 in all places within the radius of 5 to 10 miles of each district and certain pargana headquarters. A large number of existing primary schools have been converted into basic schools and the process will continue with increased vigour. Teachers receive training in basic education at the two basic training schools in the State.

Education of girls is receiving adequate attention. All the districts excepting Jhabua are provided with girl's high schools. There is one degree college, one intermediate college, 24 high schools, 60 middle schools, and 519 primary schools for girls in the State. The total number of girl students is 73,609.

The educated unemployed have been absorbed in primary schools. During last three years 695 teachers were appointed out of them and this year another 700 teachers are being appointed.

With the promulgation of Madhya Bharat Vikram University Act, the existing lacunae in the educational facilities would be remedied. The State will soon have a federative type of University. The State has five degree colleges, two medical colleges, two Sanskrit colleges, two training colleges, two music colleges and two art schools.

Public Health

Prior to the formation of Madhyabharat, there were only 429 medical institutions with a personnel of 3,526. Now there are, at present, 700 medical institutions in the State, out of which 291 are allopathic hospitals and dispensaries, 337 Ayurvedic dispensaries, 62 maternity homes, 16 T.B. Clinics, 11 leprosy clinics, and 6 family planning centres. Medical facilities have been spread all over the State. An area of 66·4 sq. miles is now covered by each dispensary. As many as 3,829 medicine chests have been distributed in rural areas, which are not covered by dispensaries. The B.C.G. units have so far tested 22 lakh individuals out of which six lakhs have already been inoculated with anti- T.B. vaccine. The State has two Medical Colleges with up-to-date buildings and equipment and one Ayurvedic College.

The State is spending huge sums of money on the provision of medical facilities. At the time of the State's formation, the expenditure under this head was to the tune of Rs. 35 lakhs which has now risen to Rs. one crore. A sum of Rs. 1½ crores has been allotted for this purpose under the Five-Year Plan. The note-worthy achievement under this head is the construction of buildings and the equipment of hospitals and dispensaries. At Indore, the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Medical College has been constructed at a cost of Rs. 24½ lakhs and Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Hospital at a cost of Rs. 60 lakhs. The Kamla Raja Child and Maternity Hospital at Gwalior has been constructed at a cost of Rs. 14 lakhs and has a provision for 258 beds.

Public Works

The State P.W.D. has so far completed a bridge at Nisarpur out of the nine bridges sanctioned in the State Plan which provides Rs. 24 lakhs for bridges. Projects for two bridges over Kuary river have been sanctioned. Spade work of the Aoo river bridge over Sunel Bhawani Mandi road has been completed. Nine more new bridges estimated to cost Rs. 25 lakhs are also sanctioned in the State's Supplementary plan. Out of these the work of a bridge over Sipra river at Ujjain has been undertaken. Portions of nearly two hundred miles of various roads included in the Plan have so far been completed at a cost of about Rs. 65 lakhs while the remaining 144 miles are under construction. Besides, two railway over-bridges, one at Gwalior and the other

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at Indore have long ago been constructed and thrown open for traffic.

Construction of buildings of Revenue, Police, Jails and Law Departments is also being undertaken at an estimated cost of about Rs. 81·25 lakhs.

Electricity

The electrification of the urban and rural areas is going on through the expansion of the State-owned power plants and the taking over of the private-owned plants. At Gwalior an additiona 12500 kwt. power plant has been installed and at Indore two plants of 10,000 kw. have been installed which will supply power to Ujjain, Dewas, Mhow and adjoining areas.

Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Tribes

For their welfare a separate department known as 'Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department' has been established.

In the field of legislation, two measures, the Madhyabharat Harijan Removal of Disabilities Act and the Madhya Bharat Scheduled Area Regulation for facilitating their advancement are in operation. Help is being given to them in the form of scholarships and exemption from tuition fees at all stages of education in Government and Government-aided schools, financial assistance for the running of boarding houses and running of adult education centres at every tehsil. Five Harijan and five Adivasi boys would be admitted during the plan period in public schools annually, at the cost of the government.

Under the First FiveYear Plan, a sum of Rs. 30,000 has been given as loan to four adivasi co-operative societies. Co-operative societies are growing—there are now ten Harijan and 60 Adivasi Co-operative Societies, to whom a subsidy of Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 86,000 respectively has been given. They have been advanced loans as well. A sum of Rs. 3,53,000 has been spent in giving training in palm-gur making to Adivasi youths. In order to provide new avenues of employment to Adivasis, the department is running a number of training centres—4 handloom and 14 in carpentary and smithy.

Community Projects

The community development projects have made considerable headway in the State. About one-fourth of the total population of the State has been brought under all types of Blocks. At present there are 25 Blocks in the State but by the end of the next Five-Year Plan the whole State will be divided into 102 N.E.S. Blocks.

There is hardly any aspect of village life which is not touched by the community development programme. Agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry, communications, co-operation, public health, sanitation, education, cottage industries and social education figure very prominently in the activities of this organisation. Training centres for village level workers have been started at Antri (Gwalior) and Indore.

Local Self-government

Madhya Bharat Municipalities Act, 1954, has afforded one uniform law for all the municipalities, which, before merger, were working under different laws of the different constituent States. Municipalities are being given grants-in-aid and loans to help them to meet legitimate expenditure and undertake major public utility works. At present there are 88 municipalities, including four city municipalities in the State.

There are 4,111 village, 223 Kendra, 223 Nyaya and 16 Mandal panchayats in the State. They are given grants-in-aid by the government for water supply schemes, Panchayat Bhawans, village roads, etc.

Transport and Communications

To meet the severe shortage of railways in the State, road construction work is being intensified. Under the plan, an expenditure of Rs. 1·57 crores on the construction of 38 roads and nine new bridges is estimated.

The speedy means of communication at present are the government-owned and private buses. The government owns 322 buses out of which 189 ply on 118 routes covering route mileage of 8,156 and carrying 22,000 to 25000 passengers a day. Private buses number more than 500 which ply on 335 routes.

Five-Year Plan

Madhya Bharat's five-year plan envisages a total expenditure of Rs. 22·42 crores, out of which major portions of allotments for schemes in respect of Agriculture and rural development, major irrigation and power projects, industry, transport and social services have been utilised. The implementation of various undertakings contemplated under the plan is being carried on steadily.

The major irrigation scheme of Madhya Bharat is the Chambal Valley Development Scheme. The scheme, on implementation, would generate 75,000 kw. of electricity and irrigate seven lakhs acres of land. The work on the scheme is going on in full swing.

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TRAVANCORE COCHIN—PROGRESS & ACHIEVEMENTS

Public Health

Government have tried their utmost to open new medical institutions to provide better equipments in major hospitals, to construct isolation wards, to increase the bed strength in existing hospitals and to train up doctors and other medical personnel. The training institutions and hospitals under the Medical College Scheme constitute a notable achievement. On the curative side, there are under the Medical Department, 52 major hospitals including special institutions, 166 dispensaries and 35 grant-in-aid institutions. There are 410 doctors, 577 nurses, 250 midwives and 291 compounders in the Department. The total bed strength is 7,050. Considerable progress has recently been achieved in the provision of special institutions and special wards for the treatment of T.B. and other communicable diseases. No effort has been spared to encourage the indigenous system of treatment. Under the Department of Indigenous Medicines there are 16 Ayurveda Hospitals, 81 dispensaries and 320 grant-in-aid institutions.

On the preventive side attended to by the Public Health Department, schemes for the control of communicable diseases have made much headway. Under the National Malaria Control Programme, two units have been organized and protection afforded to almost the entire population inhabiting the affected areas by residual D.D.T. spraying. A similar scheme for the control of filariasis is also being implemented. Under the mass B.C.G. vaccination programme for the control of T.B. about 12·5 lakhs of people have been vaccinated.

Under the Public Health Department there are about 250 maternity and child welfare centres in the rural areas. In addition to this the Panchayats have employed about 100 midwives. Under the M.C.H. Project sponsored by the WHO and UNICEF four M.C.H. centres attached to modern medicine dispensaries have been started.

The Public Health Department has taken up the rural water supply and sanitation programme and started four Projects in the State.

Prohibition

Soon after the assumption of office, the popular Government introduced prohibition in a few taluks. The area of prohibition was progressively extended. At present 14 out of the 36 taluks are dry areas. Effective steps have been taken for the rehabilitation of ex-tappers by providing them with lands for cultivation and by permitting the tapping of sweet toddy and rendering assistance through co-operative societies for the manufacture of palm-gur.

Communication

In spite of the fact that the State led the rest of India in the mileage of roads per sq. mile (0·82 as against the all-India average of 0·16) it was felt that considerable improvement was required if progress in the development of agriculture, trade and industry were to be maintained at high level. The programme of constructing major bridges at important river crossings and special surfacing of roads has made considerable progress. As against the Five-Year Plan target of 300 miles, more than 650 miles of roads have been newly special surfaced so far. Under the Village Road Development Scheme, over 300 miles of village roads have been improved to an acceptable standard.

Of the total of 5,500 miles of first and second class roads in the State, 632 miles have been monopolized by the National Transport system. Besides providing an efficient transport service with reasonable comfort at cheap rates, the State Transport Department is contributing to the revenue of the State.

Panchayats

One of the foremost achievements of the popular Government was the adoption of the Travancore-Cochin Panchayat Act providing for decentralization of administration through local bodies. There are 550 panchayats in the State elected on the basis of adult franchise. The most important reform effected recently is the transfer of minor irrigation and lift irrigation activities from the Public Works Department to the Panchayat Department with view to strengthening the financial resources of the Panchayats. The revenues derived from markets have been handed over to the Panchayats and they have been permitted to collect entertainment taxes. In addition to the initial grant towards working expenses paid to each Panchayat Government

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have sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 2,750 each for taking up urgent items of work. A scheme for local development works with contribution from the public, the panchayat and the Government has also been introduced. Some 250 panchayats have been provided with radio sets.

Advancement of Scheduled Castes

The population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is approximately one-tenth of the total population. Maintenance of Harijan colonies, rendering financial aid to Harijan students, provision of common buildings, burial grounds etc. encouragement to co-operative societies and other institutions doing amelioration work among Scheduled Castes, amelioration of Hill Tribes, these are the lines on which measures for advancement of Backward Class Communities are implemented by Government. There are 187 colonies with 1,947 houses maintained by the Department. The Harijans are also given poramboke lands on concessional rates for house sites and cultivation.

Besides fee concession Scheduled Caste students are given lump sum grants for the purchase of books and clothes. The annual expenditure on this account is about Rs. 12 lakhs. About 1,800 college students and 16,000 secondary school students receive these benefits. Primary readers are distributed free to about 1,40,000 students. The Department is conducting 55 Pial schools and thereby imparting education to 3,730 children.

Special programmes have been implemented for the amelioration of Hill Tribes. Two mobile medical units are looking after their medical care. Two major and 13 minor Welfare centres have been started. Hill Tribes are supplied with clothes, seeds, seedlings and agricultural implements. Two co-operative societies have been organized and these are encouraged with liberal grants.

With a fast increasing population which made the pressure on the limited supply of land very acute, the per capita area of cultivation being about 30 cents, with a food deficit to the extent of 60%, with only about 44% of the males and 17 per cent of females above the age of 15 having regular employment, with nearly 30,000 youngsters qualifying themselves every year for white collar jobs, Travancore-Cochin, among the Indian States, presented very peculiar and difficult problems to be handled by the popular Government. The food problem caused serious drain on the State coffers thereby limiting the scope for developmental activities. Excluding administrative expenses the total loss sustained on account of food subsidy for distributing rice to the people at a reasonable price level was Rs. 16·76 crores till the end of 1954 of which the Central Government have contributed Rs. 8·57 crores. Any assessment of the achievements made by the popular Government has, therefore, to be based on this background.

Food and Agriculture

As already indicated scarcity of food was the most acute problem which tried the Government to a more serious extent than in any other State in India. Even though certain attempts had been made in the past to increase food production, it was only after ushering in of responsible Government that a well-planned, co-ordinated and intensive programme was launched on a State-wide basis to step up food production. With a view to expanding the area of cultivation to the maximum possible extent a programme of reclamation of kayal lands and waste lands and leasing out of forest lands without detriment to the interests of conservation of forests was implemented. Out of a total area of 58·8 lakh acres in the State 32·5 lakh acres are available for cultivation. Of these 30·5 lakh acres are already being cultivated, the margin of current fallows being only 2%. Though the major crops in the State are paddy and tapioca about 38% of the cultivated area is covered by cash crops like coconuts, cashewnuts, rubber, tea, pepper, coffee etc. The scope of extensive cultivation being limited, the only alternative was to make an all-out effort to increase production by intensive methods, by the provision of assured water suply for irrigation purposes, distribution of chemical and organic manures at subsidized rates, distribution of improved strains of paddy, insecticides and agricultural implements, adoption of crop protection measures, provision of credit facilities and dissemination of scientific knowledge. About 20,000 acres have been brought under the Japanese method of cultivation. Even though thanks to the easing of food situation all over India large stocks of rice began to flow into the State through the normal trade channels the food production drive is being pursued with added vigour. The fact that the production of paddy in the State rose to about 7,46,000 tons in 1954-55 as against 6,25,000 tons in 1950-51 bears

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MADHYA PRADESH

IS POISED FOR AN ERA OF INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY

IRON ... Spadework in the one million-ton steel plant at BHILAI has already begun.

PAPER ... The Nepa Mills, India's first newsprint mill, with a capacity of 100 tons of newsprint per day, has begun to manufacture 100 per cent Indian newsprint.

POWER ... Power plants in the State, designed to produce 100,000 k.w. are supplying nearly 69·30 million units to Industry and 0·28 million units to Irrigation. 206 villages and 53 towns are being supplied power as lines are erected.

CEMENT ... Licence for the establishment of a cement factory at village Mohtara, near Bilaspur, with an initial capacity of 2,16,000 tons of portland cement rising to 3,30,000 tons per year has been granted.

MANGANESE Licence has also been granted for the establishment of a ferro-manganese plant at Tumsar with a capacity of 30,000 tons of ferro-manganese annually.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES ... A Cottage Industries Institute conducts research and imparts training in various crafts. A Rs. 5-lakh scheme helps the unemployed who take a handicraft.

A sum of Rs. 50,000 for development of handloom industry and Rs. 3 lakhs for development of the hurricane lantern industry has been approved by the State Industries Committee during the year 1954-55.

With its rich iron deposits and extensive coalfields vast areas of bauxite, dolomite and limestone, near monopoly of country's manganese yield and a central position, Madhya Pradesh bids to be the centre of basic heavy industries.

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ALL ROUND PROGRESS

FIRST 5 YEAR PLAN'S AGRICULTURAL TARGETS ACHIEVED

CROPS	BASE YEAR 1950-51	TARGET 1955-56	ACHIEVEMENT 1953-54	1954-55
* CEREALS (million Tons)	46.0 *	52.5	57.9	55.3
* PULSES (do)	8.0 *	9.1	10.5	10.5
* SUGARCANE (do)	5.6	6.3	4.5	5.5
* OILSEEDS (do)	5.1	5.5	5.5	5.9
* COTTON (million Bales)	2.9	4.2	4.0	4.3
* JUTE (do)	3.3	5.37	3.1	3.1
* FERTILIZERS CONSUMED (million tons)	2.7	—	5.0	6.0
* TUBEWELLS number)	—	4,000	—	5,600

* Relate to the year 1949-50.

Figures Speak



DA.55/167

On to SECOND 5 YEAR PLAN with confidence

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ample testimony to the success of the food production drive.

The easing of the food situation has, however, adversely affected the interests of tapioca cultivators. Tapioca occupies a very important place in the economic set up of the State, the annual production being about 16,71,000 tons. During the control years and after, tapioca fetched good prices and consequently the area under cultivation also increased. When large stocks of rice began to flow into the State the price of tapioca went down shattering the economic condition of the cultivators. As a measure of immediate relief Government adopted measures for the organization of 200 co-operative societies of tapioca cultivators for purchasing stocks and selling them to Government. Government have also arranged for free distribution of the stock purchased by them to people of the coastal areas. A Tapioca Market Expansion Board has been constituted to advise Government on long-term measures to be taken for the promotion of cultivation and for working out a price support policy.

Irrigation Projects

At the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan the total area served with irrigation facilities including major irrigation, lift irrigation and minor irrigation was only about 2·1 lakh acres or 6·5% of the total cultivable area. The target of the Plan is to irrigate 5,91,680 acres or 18·2% of the total cultivable area. While formerly there was only one major irrigation scheme serving about 56,000 acres the popular Government took up six major irrigation schemes including the one for the stabilization of the existing scheme. These are (1) The Kodayar Extension Project, (2) The Kuttanad Development Scheme, (3) The Peechi Scheme, (4) The Chalakudy Scheme, (5) The Neyyar Scheme and (6) The Vazhani Scheme. The total estimated cost of these schemes would come to about Rs. 930 (the bulk of which is included in the Five-Year Plan) and are intended to serve about 3 lakh acres. Of these the first has been completed. The Thottapally Spillway included in the second which would enable additional food production in the Kuttanad area comprising about 1,21,000 acres by facilitating the discharge of floodwater directly into the sea, has also been completed. The Chalakkudy (first stage) and the Peechi Projects have almost been completed and water let out for irrigation. The works relating to the other schemes are also progressing. A large number of lift irrigation and minor irrigation works have also been executed in aid of the Grow More Food programme.

Electricity Development

It has been realized that the solution of the peculiar problems of the State created by the high density of population lay in the exploiting of the water power resources with a view to providing cheap power for industrial and agricultural needs besides serving the increasing need for domestic consumption. Power schemes account for a provision of Rs. 11·85 crores in the First Five-Year Plan, the total outlay on which is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 30 crores. The target is a total addition of 81,000 kw in installed capacity.

The Pallivasal second stage for increasing the generating capacity of the Pallivasal Station to 37,500 kw has been completed. Madupatty the first cement concrete dam in India of any magnitude (to store nearly 1,900 million c.ft. of water) has also been practically completed. The Sengulam Project costing Rs. 353 lakhs has been completed and 48,000 kw generating plant commissioned. Work on the Poringalkuthu Project estimated to cost Rs. 306 lakhs has registered good progress. In addition to the above projects a new scheme, *viz.*, the Neriamangalam Scheme, estimated to cost Rs. 290 lakhs, has been taken up in 1954-55. The programme under the Five-Year Plan aimed at the distribution of electricity to 800 new centres and the linking up of 50,000 new consumers. Till the end of April 1955 not less than 500 new centres have been electrified raising the number of new consumers by 40,000. The per capita consumption of electricity in the State has now reached about 35 units.

Industrial Regeneration and Employment Potential

The State has sufficient resources by way of cheap water and electricity supply of efficient and intelligent labour, well-developed transport facilities and large supply of raw materials for the development of factory, small-scale and cottage industries. But finance and lack of interest on the part of the public in industrial investment being the bottle-neck, industrial advancement in this State depends on the initiative taken by Government. Most of the major industrial concerns in the State are thus either Government-owned or Government-

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sponsored concerns in which the State has substantial share in the capital investment, the remaining share capital being held mostly by persons from outside the State. The Travancore-Cochin Financial Corporation has proved to be a boon to industries in the private sector.

It will be appropriate in this connection to refer to the problem of unemployment.

A lasting solution to the problem of unemployment could be achieved only by a planned development of cottage and small-scale industries. A separate Department has been formed under a Joint Director of Industries and Commerce to be in charge of planning and co-ordinating the development of small-scale industries. Steps are being taken for the grant of financial assistance as provided under the State Aid to Industries Act. Schemes have been launched for encouraging the manufacture of a large number of consumer goods.

Coir and handloom weaving are the most important cottage industries in the State. Under the co-operative scheme for helping small-scale coir manufacturers the target of organizing 120 primary societies, 25 husk societies and two central societies has almost been achieved. Liberal financial assistance is being extended to these societies under the 64-lakh scheme.

With a view to rehabilitating the handloom industry on a co-operative basis and administering the Cess Fund Scheme, a separate Department has been created. More than 10,000 weavers have been brought under the co-operative fold and grants and loans under the scheme are being given to them. Other schemes including those for palm-gur development, development of khadi, etc. are also progressing satisfactorily.

Housing

Another acute problem created by the fast increasing population is the lack of housing facilities. The popular Government introduced a scheme for providing hous sites and houses to the poor classes. Under the housing scheme about 700 houses have been completed at an approximate cost of Rs. 2,000 each. More houses are under construction. Under the Settlement Scheme, 620 families have been given 5 to 10 cents of land and also building material worth Rs. 250 and a monetary grant of Rs. 50. Under the Colonization Scheme eight colonies have been registered. Under the scheme subsidized by the Government of India for the construction of houses for industrial workers, 50 houses have been completed at an approximate cost of Rs. 2,500 each and another 50 are nearing completion.

Education

With a literacy of 53·76 per cent, Travancore-Cochin ranks first among the Indian States in regard to educational progress. There are 50 colleges in the State including a Medical College, an Engineering College, an Agricultural College and a Veterinary College. Other educational institutions (including primary and secondary schools) number 5,800. The colleges have more than 32,000 students on their rolls. School-going students number 18·6 lakhs. There is one institution each for giving training in social education and basic education. Education has now been made free up to the end of the middle school course.

The recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission are being implemented. Basic education has been introduced in 25 primary schools. The scheme introduced by Government for providing security of tenure and satisfactory conditions of service for teachers in private schools has further been strengthened by raising their salaries and allowances to the level of those of Government school teachers. The Budget grant under education that stood at Rs. 2·64 crores in 1950-51 has crossed the five-crore mark in 1955-56.

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POPULAR SET-UP IN DELHI STATE

(By Gurmukh Nihal Singh)

Prior to the establishment of the democratic set-up in Delhi the State was governed as a centrally administered area by the Chief Commissioner, who was directly responsible to the Central Government.

The people of Delhi State had, therefore, no voice in the administration. Naturally, the administration was neither responsible to the people nor responsive to public opinion.

The peasantry in the rural areas was being governed by an archaic system of agrarian legislation which was an inheritance from the days when the State was originally carved out from the two contiguous units of the Punjab and the U.P. There was instability of tenure and exploitation by uneconomic middlemen. There was not much planning for the development of the socio-economic life in the countryside. Even the first Five-Year Plan, initiated before the popular set-up was more of a hotch-potch effort to combine together a number of ill-assorted schemes which had little relation to the felt needs and requirements of the people. Similarly, in the sphere of health, education, water supply and transport and much more so with respect to electricity, there was general complaint of an utter lack of facilities.

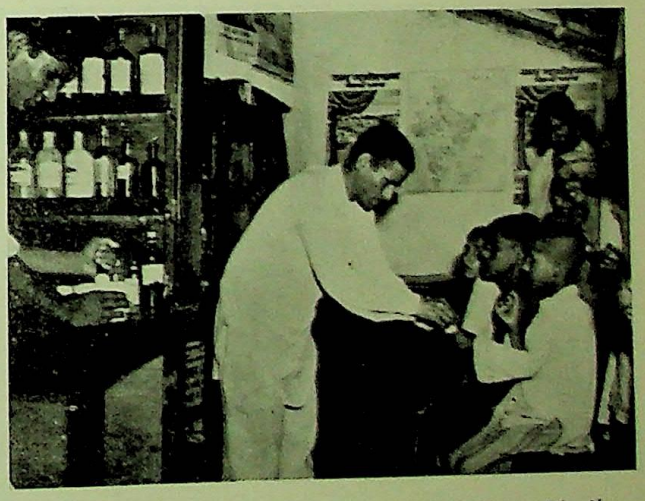
The advent of a popular set-up in the State early in 1952, therefore, created not only a great psychological change for the people but also gave a great impetus to all steps and measures which were calculated to advance the common welfare.

During early four years of popular administration, the Delhi Vidhan Sabha has passed a number of beneficial legislative measures which are calculated to advance the welfare of the people of the State. Some of the important measures passed by the Vidhan Sabha are—The Delhi State Land Reforms Act, The Panchayat Raj Act, The Land Revenue Act, The Bhoodan Yagna Act, Delhi Shops and Establishments Act, Registration of Nursing Homes Act, The Prohibition of Smoking (Places of Entertainment) Act, and the East Punjab Ayurvedic and Unani Practitioners (Delhi) Amendment Act.

Besides these legislative measures the popular Ministry has taken several other steps to increase the efficiency, tone and temper of the administration and make it responsive to public opinion. A large number of Advisory Boards and Committees having representatives and influential elements of the State's population, were set up to advise the Government and different departments with a view to bring their functioning more and more in conformity with the needs and requirements of the people. Some of these boards are : The Development Advisory Board, the Block Development Advisory Board, the Labour Advisory Board, the Taxation Advisory Committee, the Transport Advisory Board, the Basic Education Advisory Board, the Social Education Advisory Board, Social and the Assurance Committee of the Delhi Vidhan Sabha.

In addition there are a number of other advisory boards and committees, associated with welfare and other projects like : Social Welfare and Rehabilitation ; Craft Schools ; House allotment, Rent fixation and Rent remission ; relief to political sufferers ; History of Freedom Movement and control of obscene literature.

The tempo of constructive and developmental activities in various spheres in the State also increased considerably with the advent of the Popular Ministry. As mentioned above a number of legislative measures ini-



A new dispensary at a Social Welfare Project Centre 16 miles from Delhi. The building and other expenses are provided by the village panchayat as a self-help measure

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tiated and completed entirely by the popular Ministry have paved the way for revolutionising the face of the countryside.

Development Work

Besides the legislative measures various schemes under the Community Project Programme and National Extension Service Schemes, inaugurated in October 1952 and 1953 respectively, have contributed very substantially to the improvement of the socio-economic life of the villages. The whole work concerning rural welfare in the field of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, poultry, dairy farming, agricultural chemistry and agricultural engineering is being carried on under the control and guidance of the experts at the State level and with the active help and co-operation of the Gram Sevak at the village level. Between the top and the lowest rungs all is geared to ensure smooth and expeditious work.

Each village in Delhi State can now boast of a Village Development Council which plans for the actual needs of the particular village and fixes the priorities. Nearly two dozen schemes are in operation under the Five Year Plan in the rural areas. The main objective of all these schemes is to assure more and better agricultural and industrial production in the villages through the use of better seeds, fertilizers and implements. The scheme of the consolidation of holdings, the working of which has been temporarily interrupted by the enforcement of the Land Reforms Act, has resulted in changing the face of almost half of the State's three hundred and odd villages.

Due to this scheme and various other schemes under the Community Project Programme and National Extension Service, most of the villages in the State have now better roads and pathways, cleaner houses, more sanitary surroundings, more schools, more health centres and far better facilities for cattle breeding.

Co-operative Movement

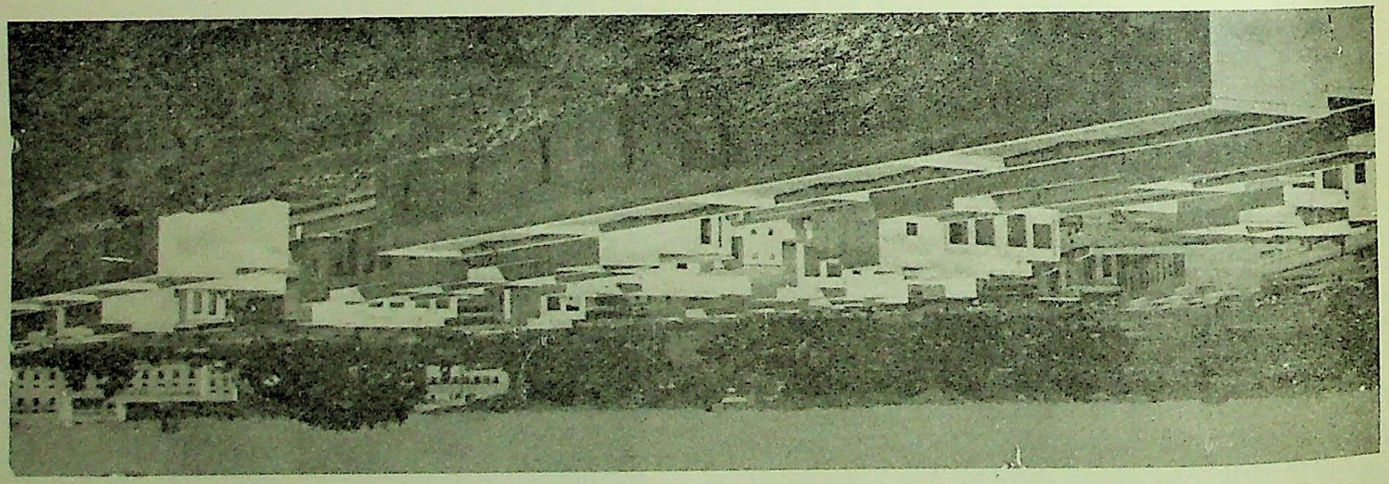
The Co-operative Movement, one of the most vital factors in the improvement of the economic life of the people, has made particular progress in the rural areas of the State mainly due to organised effort under the popular set up. The State has now nearly 1,500 cooperative societies with a membership of about a lac and a working capital of about Rs. 2·25 crores. Various aspects of co-operation such as Thrift and Credit Societies, Multi-purpose societies, Industrial Societies, House Building Societies, Stores and Supply Societies and Vegetable Societies have received encouragement at the hands of the popular Government.

Dairy

One of the most promising scheme initiated by the Popular Ministry concerns the dairy and milk supply. It is designed to ensure adequate supply of pure milk and milk products to the entire population of the urban areas.

Education

The popular government has devoted great thought and effort to the improvement and expansion of education in the State. The whole conception



Seen here are new houses for refugees in Malikaganj, Sabzimandi Delhi. These houses were built by the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation. Efforts to house displaced persons continue and every year funds are allocated for the purpose One of the consequences of Government initiative has been that new experiments have been undertaken by the Government both as regards materials and methods of construction.

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of education has been revolutionised by laying more and more stress on the all round development of the personality of the child and by putting the academic education in its proper place. The change of trend has been applied directly through the basic education scheme, the social education scheme, craft schools and through the Auxiliary Cadet Corps and the National Cadets Corps programmes.

Almost each village in the State has a school and most of the primary schools in the rural area have been turned into basic schools. Free compulsory education has been introduced in the whole of the State. The social education has its net work in almost all the villages of the State. Nearly 50,000 people have been made literate in the villages and post-literacy centres of community centres have been opened for them. Advisory Boards in all spheres of education guide and assist the various programmes. Physical education and recreation programmes through recreation centres, gymnesia and sports centres is also being given increased attention. Text books based on a new and rational syllabus have been prescribed. A new education code has been prepared.



DELHI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK DELHI : One of the lady social workers discussing child welfare in a community home.

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Health

Health is also receiving the first attention of the popular government. In fact, the Popular Ministry has bent all its energies to ensure that conditions are created whereby the incidence of sickness is reduced to the minimum. Integration of preventive and curative medicines is the basis of the health policy of the government, which has striven to knit together the efforts of all local bodies in a concerted campaign against dirt and disease.

About one lac indoor patients and over 60 lac outdoor patients were annually treated in the State Hospitals and dispensaries. The 26 hospitals and 44 dispensaries in the State are woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the State. To tackle this inadequacy in a rational manner, a Medical and Health Reorganisation Committee was set up, which has made very useful recommendations. Steps are now being taken to bring the present number of beds upto 5,000 in the near future.

A constant battle is being waged to control communicable diseases. In this work the periodical sanitation drives have played a notable part. Mass vaccination and inocculation against small pox and cholera have been undertaken with great success. The mass BCG vaccination campaign was an experiment unique of its kind. The incidence of malaria has now been reduced from 180 per 1,000 in 1933 to less than 2 per 1,000.

The progress made in the maternity and child health services has been outstanding. For a population of nearly 20 lacs there are 51 maternity and child welfare centres. The Employees State Insurance Scheme is operating for the benefit of about a lac of persons.

Water Supply

The activities of the joint Water and Sewage Board have been steadily increasing with the increase in population of the capital and the establishment of several colonies for displaced persons around Delhi. To meet the increasing demand for safe water supplies a large modern water treatment plant of 15 million gallon capacity per day was installed at New Water works, North of Chandrawal. This scheme includes a treatment plant, pumping station, large water mains and three reservoirs.

Industries

The industries of Delhi, which play their part in the economy of the city and which absorb so much of its man-power, have also been assisted by the popular Government to increase production and to expand their scope. Financial assistance to cottage and small scale industries under the State Aid to Industries (Centrally Administered Area) Model Rules, 1948 has been extended in the form of loans to dozens of industrial concerns representing various industries. In order that the best available advice on the subject of industries should be at the disposal of Government, an Industrial Advisory Board was constituted at the beginning of 1953 to plan the development of industries in Delhi. The establishment of these small scale industries is one answer to the growing unemployment problem.

Rehabilitation

The Popular Government has tackled energetically the difficult problem of the rehabilitation of displaced persons. The problem of squatters, which for long defied solution, now appears to have been solved. The New Delhi areas have been completely cleared of squatters entitled to residential accommodation. Most of the important localities in the old city too have been cleared of the squatters. Government is taking pains to provide alternative accommodation to the squatters as far as possible near the areas from which they are removed.

The Cheap Housing Scheme under which a plot of land of 100 square yards and a grant of Rs. 500 is given to a family, was introduced for accommodating displaced persons declared ineligible for built-up accommodation. As many as 34 new colonies, 21 markets and shopping centres built so far along with 3 cheap housing schemes provide nearly 50,000 residential and 5,000 business units.

The Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Directorate has been responsible for the care of displaced destitute women and children and for the grant of loans and stipends to needy and deserving students and the grant of business loans and maintenance allowance to displaced persons generally. More than 1,300 women and children are being looked after in the Kasturba Niketan Colony, Lajpat Nagar.

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Incidentally Kasturba Niketan is also serving as a pilot project in the matter of training in National Discipline initiated so ambitiously by the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

By establishing work-cum-training centres for women, and vocational centres for men and women, and by the grant of business loans, the economic rehabilitation of displaced persons living in rehabilitation colonies has been given great impetus.

Apart from the work which has been done in regard to the welfare and rehabilitation of displaced persons, Government has also taken up the welfare of non-displaced persons, destitute women and children and the care of the socially and physically handicapped.

Anti-Untouchability

With a view to root out untouchability and ameliorate the conditions of the depressed and the down-trodden, the popular government has set up two welfare boards, one for the Harijans and the other for the Backward Classes. Among the activities of these Boards are the survey of social disabilities which are suffered by scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes; the framing of proposals to ameliorate the condition of these classes and to remove their disabilities, the ensuring of proper educational facilities for students belonging to these classes and their representation in services under the Government and the local bodies. It has been decided to construct houses for scheduled castes and to repair old wells or to dig new drinking water wells for them in the rural areas.

Education for the Scheduled caste and backward class students has been made free upto the higher secondary standard. In addition, cash grants to the tune of Rs. 1,50,000 have been given to help children of these classes with their education.

Transport

One of the most difficult problems which has arisen as an offshoot of the growth of population in Delhi is the problem of providing adequate transport facilities to and from the many townships which have been created for the rehabilitation of displaced persons.

In the Delhi Transport Service, which is controlled by the Delhi Road Transport Authority, old vehicles have been replaced by new ones and additional heavy vehicles are being put on the roads. To ease the transport situation further, over 2,000 additional vehicle permits of all kinds were issued.

Road Safety

Government has also paid great attention to educating the public, motorists, cyclists, pedestrians and school children in the basic principles of road safety. A Safety Week is also observed every year.

Electricity

The Delhi State Electricity Board which is responsible for the generation and distribution of electricity in the State of Delhi, excluding the New Delhi Municipal area, has constructed new sub-stations at Hauz Qazi, Bahadurgarh Road and West Patel Nagar. Good work has also been done in electrifying many refugee colonies. The Board has also provided relief to industrialists who have been awaiting an extension of electricity to expand their industries and has sanctioned small loads in the city areas and big loads in the factory area of Najafgarh Road and Shahdara area. With the completion of the Nangal Power Project, industrial areas are now assured of increased amounts of electricity.

The Electricity and Power Control Board set up by the Popular Ministry was responsible for quickening the pace of granting and installing lighting and power connections and eliminating all complaints of delay and discrimination.

Recruitment

One of the most important measures taken by the Popular Ministry to increase the efficiency of the administration, was to set up a Central Staff Selection Board. This Board has been functioning since February 1953 and has been able to effect recruitment to the various offices in the State in a manner which has given satisfaction and created confidence.

The Board has also been entrusted with the duty of framing comprehensive recruitment rules in respect of about 300 categories of posts in the State and also for laying down conditions of service of Class II, III and IV employees in the State.

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RAJASTHAN PROGRESS OF 1ST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Rajasthan occupies an area of 1·30 lakh square miles and has a population of 1·53 crores. This vast area comprising a major portion of the desert and having a low density of population with large tracts of scanty rainfall and almost inaccessible sub-soil water and consequently subject to frequency of famines and with poor means of communication is very backward and undeveloped and will take a long period of bold planning.

The Five-Year Plan was first launched in this State in the year 1951-52 just after 2 years of this State coming into existence as a result of merger of 22 princely States and Chiefships. As this State was then engaged in its own peculiar problems of organisation of established administrative set-up, restoration of budgetary equilibrium and the solution of the acute law and order situation that prevailed countrywide, it was not an opportune time for this State to divert its attention to develop mental activities in any great measure. As a consequence to these factors Rajasthan's plan outlay which now stands at Rs. 24·23 crores was originally fixed at Rs. 15·21 crores only. It was subsequently raised to Rs. 16·61 crores. In addition to this plan allotment, developmental schemes sponsored by the Central Government costing about Rs. 38·60 crores are being carried out by the State. Thus the total outlay for the First Five-Year Plan amounts to Rs. 62.83 crores.

The expenditure on the various schemes during the past four years rose steadily. It was Rs. 2·01 crores in 1951-52, Rs. 2·24 crores in 1952-53, Rs. 3·42 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 4·86 crores in 1954-55. The Budget Estimates for the current year are Rs. 9·78 crores.

Amongst the schemes sponsored by the Central Government, Bhakra and Chambal Project are not worthy. The former escheme in partnership with the Punjab Governmnt and the latter in partnership with Madhya Bharat Government will involve expenditure of Rs. 22·65 crores and Rs. 3 crores respectively. These schemes on completion will contribute largely in providing facilities for both irrigation and power.

Agriculture

Plan provision of various schemes under this head is Rs. 215 lakhs. During the last four years of the plan it has been able to promote economic development and efficiency in agriculture and in yielding increased production to the extent that this food deficit region has not only become self-sufficient in food production well ahead of the scheduled time but it has become capable of exporting food grains to other sister States. Besides the various measures launched for the rural economy and agrarian reforms in land system by abolition of Jagirdari, the increased food production has been brought about by bringing additional land under the plough and use of improved seeds, manures and other chemical fertilisers *e.g.*, ammonium sulphates and phosphatic salts. The additional irrigation facilities provided by construction of dams and reservoirs by checking the flow of water of the Jawai, Kalisil, Parbati, Gudha and other minor rivers are in no less measure responsible for making Rajasthan a surplus region in food grains. The position of import and export of food grains during the years 1950-51 to 1953-54 may be well judged from the following figures obtained through the courtesy of Statistical Adviser to the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture :

1950-51	..	..	48,370 tons import
1951-52	..	..	1,08,267 tons import
1952-53	..	..	1,15,000 tons import
1953-54	..	..	1,00,000 tons export.

As a result of increased irrigation facilities and "Grow More Food" activities, production in food grains by the end of 1955-56 is anticipated to be 32·8 lakh tons. Similarly the target of producing 1·66 lakh bales of cotton has already been surpassed and the production is sure to reach 1·80 lakh bales by 1955-56.

Fifteen thousand wells will be got constructed by the plan period.

A full-fledged Agricultural College has been started at Udaipur and has been planned to meet more than half of the requirements of 400 graduates in Agriculture required during the period of Second Five-Year Plan. The four basic schools at Udaipur, Sawai Madhopur, Sumerpur and Kotah have already been strengthened to meet full requirements of 2,000 village level workers

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Animal Husbandry

Originally the Plan provided a sum of Rs. 18·2 lakhs under Animal Husbandry for improvement in the working efficiency of cattle. This was subsequently raised to Rs. 28·3 lakhs and these schemes came into operation for the first time during the year 1954-55.

The targets of 30 dispensaries and 6 mobile dispensaries and 6 mass Immunisation Centres will be achieved during the current year. A first-class well-equipped Veterinary College has been established at Bikaner. A condensed two years diploma course has been started and to overcome the serious shortage of trained Veterinary personnel the college has already been expanded to run a double shift. The need for 169 trained Veterinary graduates and 100 Veterinary Assistants required for Second Five-Year Plan is expected to be met. An expenditure of Rs. 3·98 lakhs was incurred in 1954-55 on various developmental schemes under this head.

Forests

The plan allotment for improvement of forests is Rs. 21 lakhs. Of the 15,000 square miles of forests about 3,000 square miles have been demarcated and settled so far. Arrangements for forest education are now satisfactory. One Forester's Training School at Alwar and three Forest Guards Training Schools at Banswara, Udaipur and Jhalawar were opened during the plan period for training the existing untrained subordinate staff. The course of study for Foresters is one year while that of the Forest Guards is for 3 months only. There are 3 sessions every year for each school and thus 90 students receive training each year in a school. Thus arrangements have been made for training of 270 forest guards and 20 Foresters each year. No significant progress was made in the Forest Research work. Nurseries were started at various places to The expenditure rose steadily from Rs. 2·20 lakhs in the



Chambal Irrigation Project.

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year 1953-54 to Rs. 3·17 in 1954-55 but desired progress could not be made. A sum of Rs. 9·80 lakhs had been provided for development schemes under this head during the current financial year.

Co-operation

Originally a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs was provided for the development of Co-operative Societies and training of co-operative personnel but this provision being inadequate was subsequently raised to Rs. 10 lakhs.

At the time of merger in 1949 the number of co-operative societies in existence was 2,677 only while 5,163 co-operative societies of various types were formed at the end of March 1955 and their working capital has gone from Rs. 194·44 lakhs to Rs. 308·02 lakhs. The movement is now in progress and a good deal is likely to be achieved during the current year. A sum of Rs. 31,000 was given as subsidies to various co-operative societies during 1954-55.

Co-operative Training

A sum of Rs. 0·72 lakhs was provided in 1954-55 for training of the subordinate personnel of the Co-operative Department. About 70 trainees in batches were imparted training during 1954-55 at the Rajasthan Co-operative Training School, Jaipur and a refresher course held at Sri Ganganagar from 23rd to 30th August, 1954 was attended by about 21 personnel.

The total expenditure incurred up to end of March 1955 aggregates to Rs. 1·76 lakhs.

Rural Development

A sum of Rs. 16 lakhs was provided for the plan period. 12 Rural Development centres were established but three of these were merged with Community Development or N.E.S. Blocks. These centres provide facilities for the uplift and welfare of agrarian population round about them. Their activities are multifarious implement development schemes of plantation and creation of village forests. Aerial sowing was tried for the first time in Jodhpur Division during the past two years. and have done much to ameliorate the general conditions of the villages in the matter of adult education and wiping away illiteracy, providing medical relief and sanitation and social reform.

An Aushadhalaya under the charge of a qualified Vaidya has been established at each centre for free medical aid to the villagers. More than 1 lakh villagers were treated at these Aushdhalayas. Libraries and reading rooms have been opened at these centres and about 45,000 villagers made use of the books and papers. Special attention is paid towards village sanitation by cleaning wells and public places. Water of 989 wells was disinfected. In order to improve cattle breeding 30 stud bulls have been provided at these centres. To provide work to the villagers in their spare time they were trained in cottage industries e.g., leather tanning, spinning on *taklies* and *charkhas*, *moonj* making etc. 258 *charkhas*, 6 *karghas* and 6 looms have also been provided at these centres and about 10,768 villagers made use of these *charkhas* and *karghas*. To arrange pure drinking water for the villagers and cattle about 204 wells, 141 tanks and troughs have been either newly constructed or repaired. About 289 model houses were also constructed. The total expenditure incurred up to the end of March 1955 amounts to Rs. 7.61 lakhs.

Community Projects and N. E. S. Blocks

The programme during the First Five-Year Plan is to bring about one-fourth of the rural population of the State under Community Development and N.E.S. This target is likely to be achieved by the end of the plan period. A net work of 15 Community Development and 31 N.E.S. Blocks spread over different places in Rajasthan have done much to infuse and to awaken enthusiasm amongst the rural masses for their full co-operation in the schemes launched. At the time of Shramdan organised in May last the peasants contributed Rs. 49 lakhs as their share and so far their share aggregates over a crore in the shape of people participation. The progress and working of the Community Projects and N.E.S. Blocks is quite satisfactory. An amount of Rs. 66.40 lakhs was incurred on these blocks during 1954-55.

Irrigation & Power

The programme of Irrigation scheme takes a chief place in the developmental activities of Rajasthan. The allotment of Rs. 7·72 crores earmarked for this State which is approximately 30% of the allotment of the State's total plan includes Rs. 2·50 crores for permanent improvement in scarcity areas, 2 crores for medium and minor irrigation works and Rs. 3 crores for the Jawai, Parbati, Gudha and Kalisil Projects.

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UTTAR PRADESH SINCE ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

To Uttar Pradesh, as to the rest of the country, the years that have elapsed since we first celebrated our emancipation from bondage have been among the most eventful years in history. The State has had during this period of tribulation and far-reaching developments to grapple with a host of problems—problems inherited from the past as a liability as well as those arising from day to day under the impact of peculiar contemporary conditions—and at the same time to initiate and go ahead with a number of schemes designed to build up a better order of things. Each one of the problems which confronted us during the early days of our freedom was enough to keep us fully occupied ; together they created a situation which was almost desperate. But infinite faith and courage enabled the people to rise to the occasion, to contend successfully with difficulties and to march forward, so that it can reasonably look back with satisfaction for having given to themselves a pattern of social life which is in many ways very much different from what it was less than a decade ago and which gives us the necessary confidence to look forward with hope.

It would perhaps be convenient to divide the period between 1947 and now roughly in two parts—the first including the years that preceded the launching of the Five-Year Plan and the second coinciding with the Plan period.

Position before Launching of Plan

As is well known, the picture of this State atthe time of our liberation was largely one of a countryside steeped in ignorance and poverty and honeycombed with innumerable citadels of feudalism, of a population rendered almost soulless under prolonged suppressoin and haunted by the incubus of high prices and shortages the war had given rise to. The zamindari system had its heel on the neck of the kisan and denied to him what was his due. Food was scarce and so was almost every other necessity of life. The prices of all commodities were beyond the reach of ordinary people. The law and order situation was complicated by the psychological consequences of the 'two nation theory' and by the activities of subversive elements who found the situation suited for their evil designs to commit offences against life and property. To these was added the mass hysteria that gripped certain areas particularly in districts of Uttar Pradesh bordering the Punjab, Delhi and Rajasthan, which became scenes of communal disturbances as a reaction to what was happening in Pakistan. Hundreds of thousands of persons uprooted from their homes in Pakistan streamed into this State, bringing with them accounts of sufferings which aroused feelings of retaliation. There was at the same time urgent need of giving them adequate relief and such other help as would soon enable them to be on their feet again.

The over-all situation, which was perhaps without parallel in history, was baffling in the extreme and called for energetic action on many 'fronts'. The administration had, on the other hand, been suddenly deplenished by the departure of a large number of experienced servicemen for the United Kingdom or Pakistan. The State was nevertheless able to muster all available resources and to use them effectively. The disturbances were quelled and unremitting vigilance was continued, so that feelings of like nature generated on subsequent occasions did not lead to any serious trouble. Measures against anti-social elements like dacoits were intensified and a number of notorious gangs have so far been liquidated. Immediate relief was given to displaced persons by setting up numerous camps and 'homes'. Educational and employment facilities were liberally given and various schemes, including those in respect of which assistance was received from the Union Government, were undertaken to provide them with permanent accommodation and ensure their re-settlement on land or in trade and industry. Suitable help was also extended to displaced persons from East Bengal who came later.

In regard to other matters, too, carefully thought out policies and programmes, many of which were initiated by the Ministry soon after it was summoned to office in the summer of 1946, were vigorously pursued. Controls were enforced to prevent hoarding and profiteering and to ensure supplies to consumers at reasonable prices. Measures were taken to increase production so that prices might come down. Rural development work was intensified and a concerted attack was launched against poverty, ignorance and disease. Among the new projects started was the famous Pilot Project in Etawah, designed to promote all-round progress in the area and serve as an example. Democracy was extended to villages through the Panchayat Raj system ; the co-operative movement was expanded and given a new turn and the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act was placed on the Statute Book, although the legal controversy started by the Zamindars, apparently because of a failure to read the signs of the times, postponed the peasants' Day of Deliverance till July 1, 1952.

Work During the Plan Period

Many of the schemes which had been undertaken earlier were eventually incorporated in the first Five-

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Year Plan and action on others was also continued. The cost of the Plan, launched in 1951, was initially put at Rs. 86 crores. Since then various new schemes have been added to the large number of schemes originally included in the Plan and the overall cost has gradually gone up to Rs. 132 crores. This does not take into account the expenditure that is being incurred on the Rihand Dam and on the various programmes of unemployment relief. It also does not include the very considerable contribution which the people have made voluntarily, in cash and kind, during the many *Shramdan* drives and which has meant nothing less than the construction of hundreds of school-buildings, seed stores and panchayatghars and of many thousand miles of inter-village roads.

The central objective of the First Five-Year Plan in Uttar Pradesh, as in the rest of the country, is to initiate a process of development which would raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life. To achieve this objective hundreds of schemes are under execution and it will not be possible to dwell on all of them here. A brief mention of some of the achievements during this period may, however, be made to show how far the State has gone.

In 1950-51 the greatest problem that U.P. faced was that of food scarcity. It became necessary, therefore, to give the utmost priority to the achievement of self-sufficiency in foodgrains. A target of 11·5 lakh tons of additional agricultural production was fixed under the Plan and, as is known, it has already been achieved, thanks to the increase in the area under cultivation and in yield per acre as a result of use of better agricultural methods, implements, seeds and manures and a very considerable expansion of irrigation facilities. The annual production of foodgrains today stands at 1,11,44,202 tons, as against 96,96,921 tons in 1950-51. The State has similarly exceeded the target of cotton production, the area under improved varieties of cotton having increased to 1,08,866 acres. The production of jute has also progressively gone up and had reached 3·4 lakh maunds by the close of the year 1955.

In the sphere of animal husbandry, already mass immunization of cattle against common diseases has been achieved in a dozen districts and a large number of key village blocks have been established where an integrated programme for the development of cattle wealth is at present in progress. The number of artificial insemination centres and veterinary hospitals has gone up manifold. The output of biological products has increased appreciably enough to meet the sera and vaccine requirements of not only this State, but also of others in the Union. The Veterinary College at Mathura has been expanded and it is now training 150 students yearly, instead of 60 in the past.

The State has done extremely well in the sphere of irrigation. Most of the irrigation schemes under the Plan have already been completed and we have also taken up some more schemes which were formerly to be included in the Second Five-Year Plan. It is estimated that, as a result of the expanded irrigation programme, by the time the Plan period ends, we will have 22,800 miles of running irrigation channels and over 5,000 State tube-wells. The area under irrigation would go up to 1,04,04,500 acres, constituting a 70 per cent increase over the figures of 1946. Side by side with the question of expanding irrigation facilities, the problem of preventing recurring floods is also now receiving a great deal of attention. A high-powered Flood Control Board was set up under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister in 1954 and various protection measures were considered. Investigations were undertaken in respect of long-term schemes, while construction work was commenced on a number of emergent and short-term schemes.

Under the afforestation programme, apart from the management of large areas of private forests taken over by the Government, over 6,000 acres of additional uncultivated land and 220 miles of new roadside avenues were planted during the first three years of the Plan alone, against a total target of 9,700 acres and 400 miles respectively. Besides, trees of industrial importance have been planted on about 3,500 acres and large-scale plantation has been undertaken under the soil conservation schemes. Special afforestation programmes are under execution in the districts bordering Rajasthan, the sloping kholas of the Ganga-Khadar tract in Meerut district and the Tarai area in Naini Tal. Among the main objects underlying the afforestation of the U.P.-Rajasthan border is immobilization of the Rajasthan desert.

The total installed capacity of Uttar Pradesh in 1951-52 was no more than 1,83,841 kw. A few months from now it is likely to shoot up to 3,13,000 kw. Some of the power projects included in the Plan have already been completed, while others have reached their final stage. Work on some of the schemes will also continue under the Second Five-Year Plan. These include the Rs. 45 crore Rihand Hydro-Electric Project, Small Hydel Schemes in Hill Districts, Ganga Transmission Line Extensions, Sarda Transmission Lines, Eastern Area Thermal Power Stations and the Khatima Hydel Power Station.

The Precision Instruments Factory, which was set up in 1950, is now manufacturing water meters at the rate of 1,000 a month. The factory has also manufactured microscopes. The cost of its products is likely to go down with the installation of automatic machinery expected shortly. The Government cement factory in Churk, Mirzapur district, has been in regular produc-

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tion since September last. It was completed in June, 1954, and had to face some initial difficulties. Up to December 23, 1954, the Factory had produced over 31,000 tons of cement.

Great emphasis has naturally been laid on the development of cottage and small-scale industries. Under the Plan, the State Government have taken various steps to enlarge the scope of cottage and rural industries so as to absorb in them an increasing number of persons. As a result of the introduction of improved techniques of production and provision of increased facilities with regard to finance, supply of raw material and better equipment, finishing, standardisation and marketing, cottage industries today enjoy vast opportunities of expansion. Particular attention has been paid to the development of the handloom industry which, next to agriculture employs the largest number of people in the State. The Khadi Development Scheme has been particularly helpful in providing employment to landless labourers, infirm and destitute women and victims of floods.

The State Government's Directorate of Industries is at present running over 50 schemes—all aiming at promoting small-scale and cottage industries. The Government are also encouraging the private sector and, with their aid, dozens of new industries have been set up. Encouragement has also been given to the expansion of a number of existing industries.

Special emphasis has been laid on small-scale and cottage industries organised on a co-operative basis. We have already established a large number of co-operative production societies, dye-houses and sales depots under the Handloom Scheme and started a pilot project to improve the footwear industry at Agra. A Financial Corporation, which is expected to go a long way in making necessary finances available for the expansion of small-scale and cottage industries, has also been set up.

The progress of the Co-operative movement has been highly encouraging. For all-round economic development, the State now has a network of multi-purpose co-operatives in all the districts. On June 30, 1954, the total number of societies stood at 42,232. The co-operatives had an owned capital of Rs. 1215·02 lakhs and a working capital of Rs. 3236·83 lakhs.

So far as communications are concerned, we have already crossed the physical targets for State road construction laid down in the Plan and consequently a well-integrated highway system, which is bound to benefit agriculture, trade and industry, has emerged all over the State. The total mileage of metalled roads constructed since 1946 exceeds 3,900. Improvements have been carried out on 5,259 miles of unmetalled roads, 208 miles of cement-concrete tracks have been laid and 1,700 miles of roads have been modernised. The programme for the final year, now under execution, includes, besides other works, construction of another 559 miles of metalled roads. A number of schemes formerly intended for the Second Plan, have also now been taken up under the current one. Nationalised transport, the expansion of which has been hampered because of certain legal difficulties which the scheme had to face a number of times, today covers 5,219 miles, as against the Plan target of 6,500 miles.

Under the educational programme, the number of basic primary schools has gone up from 18,000 in 1946 to 32,000 in 1954 and the number of other educational institutions has also increased considerably. Several new schemes have been taken up to achieve a fuller integration of education with the general social and economic environment obtaining in the State. A significant step has been the introduction, in July, 1954, in about 2,500 boys' junior high schools and higher secondary schools of a scheme under which the teaching of agriculture has been made compulsory. The National Cadet Corps scheme has made good progress and a scheme of military education is in force in 20 districts.

The Medical and Public Health schemes have also made much progress and under them, besides the construction of new hospitals in urban areas, expansion of training facilities and launching of intensive drives against diseases like T.B. and malaria, hundreds of Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries have been set up in villages where, for good medical treatment, one had often to travel tens of miles in the past. The maternity and child care service has been further extended. Of the 200 new maternity and child welfare centres sought to be opened during the Plan period, 127 had been established by March, 1955.

Under the labour welfare programme, the opening of a large number of welfare centres in different parts of the State and the construction of thousands of quarters for industrial workers might be considered to be among the most important achievements. Everything possible is being done to cater to the social, cultural educational and medical needs of the workers and their families. The conciliation machinery is working satisfactorily.

The Harijans have been lifted from the backwaters and conditions are being created which would help them to occupy their rightful place in society. The expenditure on their welfare has gone up from Rs. 6 lakhs in 1946-47 to Rs. 74 lakhs in 1955-56. Education has been made practically free for them right from the first primary class to the University stage, and suitable provision has been made to enable them to take up vocations other than their traditional ones. The industrial-cum-vocational training centre at Bakshi-ka-Talab (Lucknow)

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is now imparting free training to 240 boys of Harijans and Backward Classes. Rehabilitation of ex-criminal tribes is also receiving due attention. The Criminal Tribes Act has already been repealed.

Those who have visited villages in Uttar Pradesh must have felt the tremendous changes that have taken place there during the last few years. We have today 36,000 Gaon Panchayats, elected by the villagers themselves, which are responsible for providing necessary civic amenities to the rural areas. We have a net work of Panchayati Adalats dispensing cheap and quick justice. The Prantiya Rakshak Dal constitutes the spearhead of a mass movement for rural reconstruction and the village defence societies are trying to make people defence-minded and provide active workers for the common good. Under the Community Development Programme, which aims at the all-round improvement of life in villages, 26 Community Project blocks have been established, covering an area of 6,000 square miles inhabited by about 26 lakh people. Intensive agricultural and other development work is at present on in these blocks. In addition, a large number of National Extension Service blocks, each serving about 100 villages and a population of 66,000, have also been set up. In these blocks, too, special measures have been taken to ameliorate living conditions. The National Extension Service is to be further expanded gradually and will cover the entire State by the time the Second Five-Year Plan ends. The experience in the blocks has shown that the people are prepared to accept new ideas and techniques provided the approach is correct.

Although a great deal still remains to be done, it is possible to look back with satisfaction at what has already been achieved. The State has undergone tremendous changes. Food is available in plenty and prices have gone down. We are now in the happy position of exporting grains to other States needing them. Cloth production has gone up considerably. Other necessities of life are also easily available and at a lower price than before. Inflation, which once seemed such a great menace, has been eliminated; there is greater capital formation and the production of important goods has gone up by 40 to 50 per cent. Above all, the people have discarded their mood of lethargy—the result of about two centuries of suppression. Pessimism has given way to optimism, the climate of work has strengthened and there is a widespread feeling of fulfilment, thanks to the successful execution of various schemes.

Those who can look at things objectively would agree that the man in the street in Uttar Pradesh is better off today than he was four years back. Some evidence of the improvement in the general economic condition is also provided by the remarkable results which have been achieved during the small savings campaign although the State has had to face natural calamities during this period. The campaign is being conducted with a view to inculcating in the people the habit of saving and also to push up development plans with the aid of small investments. During the last financial year, a target of Rs. 4·5 crores was fixed under this campaign. As against this, the State was able to collect about Rs. 11 crores. This year also nearly Rs. 6 crores have already been collected against a target of Rs. 4·5 crores.

(Contd. from page 66)

Work on the main dam on Jawai Project is almost complete and an area of 14,000 acres of land was irrigated during 1954-55. This project will be fully completed during the current year. The works in progress at the Parvati, Gudha and Kalisil rivers are expected to be completed by the end of the current year. Of the medium irrigation projects Morel and Jaitpura works have already been completed and the rest will be completed by March 1956. Works of permanent improvement in the scarcity areas were started only last year and satisfactory progress is being made. Out of the loan of Rs. 1·75 crores for minor irrigation works advanced by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 188 minor irrigation works at a cost of Rs. 54·75 lakhs have been completed and 40 major irrigation works at an estimated cost of Rs. 72·45 lakhs are in progress. On completion of all these projects irrigation potential of approximately 8 lakh acres of land is likely to receive benefits from them.

The total expenditure incurred up to March, 1955 amounts to Rs. 3·17 crores.

Power

An expenditure of Rs. 1·01 crores was incurred up to March, 1955 against the plan allotment of Rs. 2·92 for thermal power. The plan allotment includes a provision of Rs. 2·50 crores for which sanction was received in February, 1954. Additional amount of Rs. 74 lakhs for rural electrification was allotted only in January, 1955. A sum of Rs. 3·50 lakhs was spent up to September, 1955 in the current year.

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SPOTLIGHT ON ANDHRA'S 2-YEAR PROGRESS

To create greater opportunities for themselves in the administrative, economic, political and cultural spheres and to forge ahead according to their genius, the Andhras had for over four decades, agitated for a separate State to be carved out of the composite Madras State, and comprising of predominantly Telugu-speaking, undisputed and contiguous districts. As a proud, virile and emotional people alive to their rich cultural heritage down the ages, the Andhras' agitation in this respect was uniformly constitutional and peaceful. And in October 1953, their relentless exertions saw the emergence of a brave new State in the South. This was, indeed, a clarion call to the 20 million Andhras to cast aside their lethargy, conservatism and complacency and to address themselves to the tasks ahead with dynamism and faith.

A non-communist coalition Ministry headed by our revered leader and the father of the infant State Andhra Kesari Shri T. Prakasam assumed the reins of administration of the infant State and immediately addressed itself to the great tasks the peace-time scars of partition on the one hand and the nearing of an infant State on the other. And in a hectic but brief period of over 13 months, the Prakasam Ministry, it must be confessed, was remarkably successful in achieving tangible results in both these directions.

Pioneering Achievements

Pioneering and spectacular were the achievements of the Prakasam Ministry and they were indeed not a little due to the characteristic dynamic personality of Shri Prakasam whose approach was as bold as it was forthright. The inauguration of Andhra High Court in July and of the Sri Venkateswara University in September 1954 were indeed significant landmarks in our brief history. In a larger sense, they signified the culmination of the progressive yearnings of a people determined to shape their future.

To commemorate the 1st anniversary of the birth of Andhra on October 1, 1954, the Prakasam Government had declared a state-wide general amnesty releasing all prisoners behind the bars numbering about 6,000 in the State. This act unprecedented in the annals of criminology was hailed as a unique experiment in sociology and it was a success in that, as could now be judged, the crime wave in the State after the amnesty did not show any upward trend. The Prakasam administration also envisaged revolutionary reforms like the 10-rupee kist exemption, free distribution of Banjar lands etc. which could not however be put into practice later because it was feared that the even keel of a deficit state on the road to recovery would be thrown out of gear.

Elections and After

The circumstances that had precipitated the mid-term general elections in Andhra are it is presumed, too well known and too recent to warrant recapitulation. In the eyes of the world Andhra's mid-term general election assumed a new significance ; it symbolised a struggle between the democratic and anti-democratic forces in a communist stronghold and the ballot box became the final arbiter.

The Congress Party rose to the occasion by forging a democratic election-eve alliance with the K.L.P., Praja Party under a common banner known as the United Congress Front. The Communist Party on the other hand supremely confident of a thumping victory went to the electorate alone. Partly because of the united front of the Congress and mostly because of the legacy of the Prakasam administration the electorate returned the Front's candidates in overwhelming numbers and spurned the Communists. The Andhra Election was an eye-opener to the political parties. It exploded the myth of the invincibility of the Communists in their Andhra strong-hold. The democratic parties have realised that their future as well as the State's, lay in their unity and they rose to the occasion accordingly on the eve of the formation of the Ministry. The post-election phase thus assured a long spell of political stability—a prerequisite to planned progress.

First Plan

After the partition of Madras State in 1953, the Plan of the Composite State was split up, and the portion of the Plan relating to Andhra areas has been shaped into a separate Plan for Andhra State with some changes. The State's First Plan after many revisions finally stood at the total outlay of Rs. 69·37 crores out of which Rs. 44·89 crores has been spent in 1954-55. It is expected that approximately 86% of the Plan Provision would have been spent by the end of the First Plan period. During the Presidential rule, preliminaries to the formulation of the State's Second Plan were given final touches under the guidance of the State's Governor Shri C. M. Trivedi. The Administrative machinery was geared up to the requisite pitch under the impetus of the State's Governor, himself a seasoned Civil servant of great experience.

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New Ministry

The new Ministry headed by the present Chief Minister, Shri B. Gopala Reddi, inherited a vigorous administration ready to shoulder the burdens of the Second Plan. In a broad sense the task was two-fold. Implementation of the First Plan is to be brought to a successful conclusion in March 1956 and a good start has to be given to the Second Five-Year Plan, in addition to its formulation. From the percentage of allocation as indicated below, the Plan is a people's plan striving to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number.

Head of Development.	*Outlay during 1956-61*	(*Rupees in crores*). *Percentage of total outlay during 1956-61.*
1. AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT		
Agriculture	7·00	
Animal Husbandry	3·50*	
Forests and soil conservation	1·30	
Co-operation	3·00	
Fisheries	0·80	
Miscellaneous (Consolidation of holdings and resettlement of landless workers).	0·40	
	—— 16·00	12·8
2. NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS	11·00	8·8
3. IRRIGATION AND POWER		
Irrigation	34·00	27·1
Power	22·10	17·7
4. INDUSTRIES	10·00	8·0
5. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS	5·75	4·6
6. EDUCATION	8·00	6·4
7. MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH	8·25	6·6
8. HOUSING	2·00	1·6
9. LABOUR AND LABOUR WELFARE	0·50	0·4
10. WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND BACKWARD CLASSES—		
Scheduled Tribes	1·90	1·5
Scheduled Castes	1·60	1·3
11. SOCIAL WELFARE	0·60	0·5
12. MISCELLANEOUS—		
Development of Capital	2·40	
Broadcasting and Publicity	0·30	
Municipalities	0·50	
Statistics	0·20	
	—— 3·40	2·7
Total	125·10	100

*Rs. 25 lakhs under Animal Husbandry, Rs. 75 lakhs under Transport, Rs. 50 lakhs under Education and Rs. 25 lakhs under Health will be earmarked for village plans.

As provisionally determined by the Planning Commission, the outlay on the Second Plan stands at Rs. 125·10 crores. Of this irrigation schemes account for Rs. 34·00 crores and power schemes Rs. 22·10 crores. In the Second Plan provision had been made under "Irrigation" head to continue the work on the "spill-over" schemes, such as the Rs. 394 lakh Krishna Barrage Scheme, the Rs. 102 lakh Bhairavanitippa Project, the Rs. 18·96 crore Tungabhadra High Level Canal, the Rs. 394 lakh K-C canal etc.

Nagarjunasagar Project

The lion's share of the expenditure is to be incurred on the Andhras' most ambitious Rs. 122 crore Nagarjunasagar Project for which a provision of Rs. 21 crores has been allotted and it will be spent both on the Dam and on the Right Bank Canal. The biggest masonry project in the South, the Nagarjunasagar Project—the foundation stone of which was laid by our beloved Prime Minister Pandit Nehru on 10th December 1955—is a joint venture of the Governments of Andhra and Hyderabad estimated to cost Rs. 122·03 crores to be shared proportionately by the participating States. The entire project when completed over on 9 year phased programme will command on ayacut of 31·83 lakhs of acres in Andhra and Hyderabad, besides developing 75,000 kw. of firm power. Thus the project will make Andhra the Rice Bowl of not only the South, but also of India. A provision of Rs. 1 crore for Vamsadhra Project and Rs. 50 lakhs for investigation connected with the Siddesweram and Pulichintala Projects have also been made in the Second Plan. The completion of all the projects inclusive of the medium and minor irrigation projects in the Second Plan will, it is computed, result in the irrigation of 29·95 lakh acres of first crop and 5 lakh acres of second crop.

Power Projects

The Machkund Hydro-Electric and the Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric schemes are the major power projects in the State. Work on both will be continued during the Second Plan period. It is a matter of pride that the first unit of the Machkund power project was put into

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commission by the Union President recently at Vizag. The basic aim of expansion of power development is to carry power supply to the farthest village in the State. As such, it is anticipated that at the end of the Second Plan period, about 1,564 towns and villages, as against 600 at the end of the First Plan period, will be receiving power supply.

Industrial Development

Although Agricultural and Rural development together with Irrigation has the highest priority in the State Plan, Industrial development is of equal interest to the State, although large scale industry has been left by and large to the Central Sector as supplementary to the efforts of private enterprise. The State Plan envisages the expansion of the Andhra Paper Mills at Rajahmundry from 10 tons to 35 tons a day capacity. The expansion of the Ceramic Factory at Gudur with additional lines of production like the manufacture of high tension and low tension electrical insulators is another important project.

As there are great possibilities for starting more textile mills in the State, particularly in Rayalaseema which is a major cotton growing area, a co-operative spinning mill has been proposed to be started at Tadpatri. In addition, the expansion of production of the Andhra Co-operative Spinning Mills at Guntakal from 5,760 bales of yarn during 1955-56 to 10,464 bales by the end of the Plan period will be taken up by increasing its spindlage to 20,000. Organization of Sugar Factories of 600 to 800 tons capacity on co-operative lines at six centres in the State is also contemplated. The expansion and organization of sugar factories will result in the annual production of sugar reaching 55,000 tons by the end of 1960-61.

As remarked at the outset, the infant State has not yet turned the corner in respect of her finances. The budget estimates for 1955-56 place revenue receipts at Rs. 2198·03 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 2564·34 lakhs thus leaving a deficit of Rs. 366·31 lakhs uncovered. The budget being a Welfare State budget, the expenditure on social services like education, public health etc. will further increase on account of new schemes in the Second Plan. The Government have, therefore, decided to introduce additional taxational measures such as the imposition of ryotwari rates of assessment on inams, enhancement of water rates and wet assessment etc. Accordingly, legislation will be introduced in due course. The total additional revenue from these fresh taxation measures is expected to yield about Rs. 135 lakhs in a full year.

The Community Development work in the C.P. and N.E.S. areas has indeed brought about a most revolutionary but silent change over the hitherto lethargic, and conservative rural folk in the countryside. The ideals of self-exertion for self-elevation and of dignity of labour for the prosperity of the community have been brought home to the masses through the instruments of Community Projects and N.E.S. Blocks in the State.

There are two Community Projects in the State : one in the Kakinda—Peddapuram area and the other in the Kurnool—Cuddapah area, and two Community Development Blocks, one at Ichapuram in Srikakulam District and the other at Vayalpad in Chittoor District. Besides, there are 27 National Extension Service Blocks spread all over the State.

Steady record of hectic constructive activities spread over a brief period of four years and twenty months, reviewed above, can be taken only as a pointer to the vast potentialities of a vital people moving towards a set purpose. Therefore what has been done, though quite impressive, is only a reminder of what remains to be done in diverse fields. And the future will be secure, only if the people—the masses as well as the classes—put their shoulder to the wheel, to usher in prosperity in our life-time.

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ASSAM MARCHES AHEAD

Assam is the sentinel of the North Eastern border of India. She forms the North Eastern frontier of the Union and is surrounded on three sides by inter-national boundaries extending over 2,000 miles. Rich in her fauna and flora and peopled with a variety of mankind, living either in the plains or the seclusion of the hills, in various stages of development, Assam is resplendent with glory rarely to be found in other parts of the country.

Until the advent of freedom, Assam was little known elsewhere except as a land of tea, tribes and forests and was generally regarded as 'backward', and was given the name of 'Cinderalla Province'' by the British so as to give currency to that belief. But it was not on account of her own fault that Assam remained undeveloped. It was rather on account of financial difficulties which confronted her from as far back as 1921 due to iniquitous and inadequate financial adjustment which did not allot to this State sufficient extra sources of revenue to meet additional expenditure, that she was handicapped seriously in her progressive development. Assam looked up to the Finance Commission for righting the wrong under which she had groaned so long. The Chief Minister, Shri Bisnuram Medhi, repeatedly emphasised the urgency of expanding the State's financial resources to meet the growing needs of the administration in the new set-up of things after the attainment of Independence, and for meeting the basic needs of this strategic State.

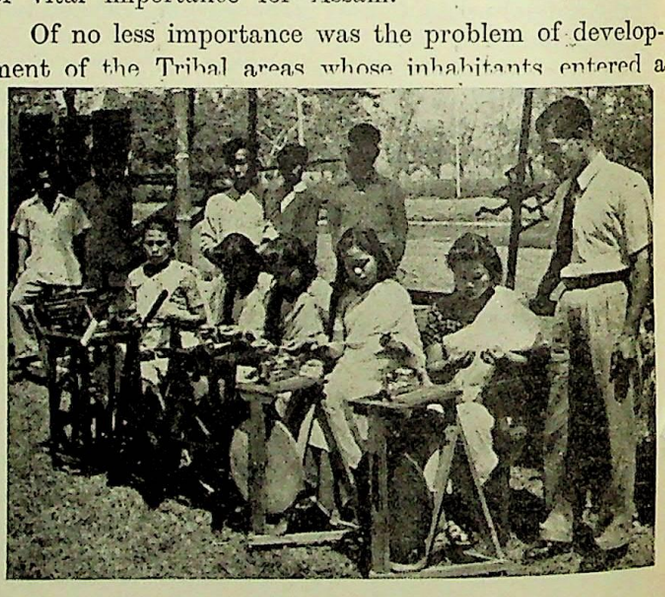
It was with the coming of Independence and the geographical change due to partition that Assam with boundaries lying on several frontiers quickly acquired a position of strategic political importance as the North Eastern Frontier of India and all eyes began to be focussed upon her. The Union naturally became deeply interested in the welfare and development of Assam, and her problems, peculiar as they are, came to the forefront, crying for solution.

The State Government has thus been faced with the necessity of meeting and dealing with a larger share of a variety of problems that has been the lot of the administrative machinery of other sister States—problems that arose from the needs and demands of a poor, undeveloped, frontier State, frequently harassed and impeded by the visitations of natural calamities like the unforgettable earthquakes and the annually recurring floods, and with a population comprised of various peoples speaking different languages and in various stages of development and advancement. The needs and demands of this State became increasingly pressing and irresistible with the attainment of Independence so that it became imperative for the Government of the State to formulate and to put into effect manifold schemes and projects to improve the condition of the people and to establish as nearly as possible a welfare State and also to bring about an all-round toning up of the State administration.

Assam's Problems

Of all problems that seriously affected Assam, the problem of food, persisted in its magnitude and urgency of solution more particularly in the earlier years following the attainment of Freedom. Continued deficiency of food gave rise to serious consequences including political discontentment and was linked up with the wider problem of general agricultural progress and the need of increasing agricultural production in the interest of achieving a higher standard of living for Assam's rural masses as also for finding the means of further industrial advancement which indeed still remains a matter of vital importance for Assam.

Of no less importance was the problem of development of the Tribal areas whose inhabitants entered a



Aboriginal girls are learning silk production in a Silk Weaving Centre in Jorhat, Assam.

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new phase of existence, politically, with the inception of the District Councils constituted under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution which were designed to run the day to day administration of the Tribal districts in accordance with the customs and traditions of the people.

Assam's First Five-Year Plan

The State Five-Year Plan of Rs. 12·5 crores incorporated in the draft outline of the first All-India Five Year Plan was increased to Rs. 17·5 crores in the final report of the Planning Commission published in 1952. Since then some significant developments have taken place and the schemes originally included in the Rs. 17·5 crores Plan were revised in consultation with the Planning Commission. The revision resulted in the size of the general Plan being raised to Rs. 20·84 crores at the end of 1954-55. The additional schemes that were incorporated were mainly schemes relating to minor irrigation (Rs. 140 lakhs), road programme (Rs. 137 lakhs) and permanent improvements to avert scarcity and famine (Rs. 112 lakhs) besides a good number of Central sector schemes in which the State Government have participated. Also were included certain independent items of expenditure for the Assam Medical College, Dibrugarh Revetment Scheme, and a programme for the development of the backward areas in the State. With the lapse of the third year of the first Plan period the State Plan was re-assessed in order to find out what other provisions were needed so that the State Plan is implemented in full. As a result of this re-assessment additional expenditure was provided for schemes relating to the Veterinary department, Forests, Fisheries, Rural Development, Umtru-Hydro Electric Project, Communications, Road Transport and Medical department, etc.

Assam's Second Five-Year Plan

Early in 1955, steps were taken for drafting the Second Five-Year Plan of the State, and after considerable thought and labour a draft Plan involving an expenditure of Rs. 290·7 crores was finally prepared for submission to the Planning Commission.

The various schemes included in the Second Plan were divided into four broad heads, namely --

(1) Completed schemes requiring maintenance only.

(2) Development schemes included in the first Plan requiring completion.

(3) Development schemes outside the first Plan requiring completion, and

(4) New schemes.

After considering the Draft Plan, the Planning Commission came to the view that a State Plan of only Rs. 46·6 crores should be approved. The Chief Minister of Assam expressed surprise that in assessing a tentative outlay for the Second Five-Year Plan of Assam, the Planning Commission had not taken into account the manifold problems of Assam, which problems had resulted from such aspects as the undeveloped nature of the country, its strategic position, sizeable tribal population which had been hard-hit economically by partition, unsatisfactory and inadequate means of transport, and natural calamities like floods and erosion etc. It was felt that on a population-cum-area basis, Assam would deserve much more than what was suggested by the Planning Commission. In the final discussion the Planning Commission agreed to an allotment of Rs. 59·39 crores. The revised Draft Second Five-Year Plan as provisionally accepted by the Planning Commission has now been drawn up. It was. however, felt that the size of the provision made by the Commission would in no way meet the urgent requirements of the State and that some further provision was unavoidable. Accordingly the State Government drew up a supplementary set of plans for inclusion in the Second Plan and the investment planden for on these extends to Rs. 40·398 crores. The total outlay thus planned for of just about a 100 crores, will go some way to alleviate the problems and difficulties of the people of this State, but can in no way be expected



Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, performing the opening ceremony of Aialj Lungleh Road, during his recent visit. This road is 128 miles long and was constructed with the voluntary labour of the tribal people of Lushai Hills.

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to solve al the very urgent shortcomings crying for solutions.

Community Projects

In 1952-53, 2 Community Projects and 2 Community Development Blocks were allotted to the State. Three new Community Development Blocks and 12 National Service Blocks were taken up during 1953-54. In 1954-55, 8 of the N.E.S. Blocks were converted into C.D. Blocks and 3 new N.E.S. Blocks taken up. So far 3 N.E.S. Blocks have been allotted in 1955-56; a few more are expected to be allotted in January 1956.

The Programme now covers 20% of the population, 24% of the villages of the State and 19% of the total area of the State.

The most outstanding achievement in the field of popular co-operation has been in the construction of village roads. Lack of Communication, both in the hills and in many of the plains areas tells heavily on the progress of all kinds of work. During the rainy season communication facilities used to become almost non-existent. This explains the great interest shown by the people in the Project areas in constructing 2,350 miles of new inter-village roads and in repairing over 1,400 miles of existing roads by voluntary labour. In this programme the State has so far expended Rs. 169·4 lakhs in investments jointly with the people whose own contribution in cash, labour and kind is assessed at about Rs. 72·54 lakhs.

Rural Development

Rural development in the State has centered upon economic rural planning, better communications, development of agriculture and cottage industries, provisions of increased educational, medical and veterinary facilities, better housing, water supply and village sanitation.

The formation of Rural Panchayats constitutes an important step in the development of rural areas and as many as 98 Rural Panchayats have so far been established at a cost of Rs. 38,73,000. These Rural Panchayats have greatly assisted development work in rural areas and can claim the credit for the construction of 234 tanks and wells, 1,510 miles of roads and 846 bridges and culverts. Rural Panchayats have also followed the practice of opening farms in many villages initiated in the areas covered by C.P./N.E.S. blocks and have similarly, endeavoured to popularise the use of fertilisers and compost and the Japanese method of cultivation with improved seeds

Their main function of instilling ideas of democracy at the village level has also been ably discharged.

Industrialisation

Assam is rich in industrial resources. Virgin as she is industrially with her vast and unexplored natural resources—minerals, forests and others—the duty and responsibility to develop these potentialities rests mainly with the people of Assam. Government had concentrated at the outset mainly on the improvement of Agricultural practices with a view to increasing food production, as the food problem was given priority in the First Five-Year Plan. The result of an improved food position has brought relief to the people and scope for directing particular attention towards creating a balanced economy in this State, by development of large, medium and small scale industries. In the first plan period attention could only be focussed on the development of village and small-scale industries. The one sizeable effort to create conditions for medium and large-sized industries has been the damming of the Umtru river for generating cheap electrical power.

The State Government intend, during the Second Five-Year Plan period, to establish and expand industries in the State in the sphere of large-scale as well as in the sphere of small-scale and cottage industries on State account, as also in the Private Sector. In the private sector encouragement will be provided by the offer of a number of concessions such as land, communications and power facilities wherever possible as well as financial assistance to a limited extent. A Financial Corporation has already been formed with this object in view in addition to an Apex Co-operative Bank.

Umtru Hydro-Electric Project

The Umtru Hydro-Electric Project site is located near the township of Burnihat, 16 miles from Gauhati on the road to Shillong. This project is expected to yield electric power to the extent of 7,500 kw and will undoubtedly be of great benefit to various industries in the Kamrup and K.J. Hills Districts. With the further control of the upper reaches of the Umtru river it will be later possible to extend the benefit of the Umtru to the neighbouring districts of Nowgong,

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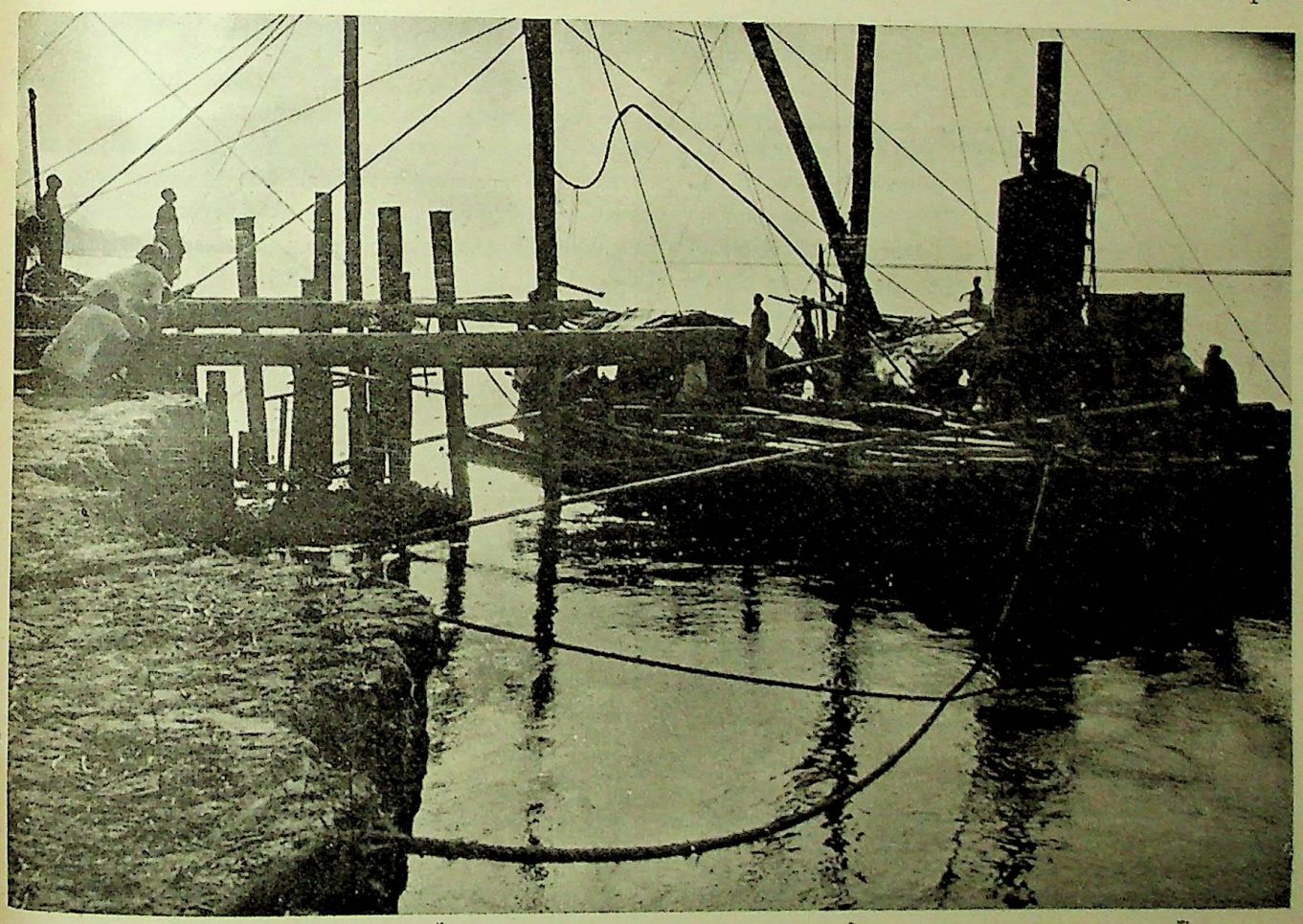
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Darrang etc., and for the future development of big industries like jute, and sugar mills etc. The immediate benefit of the Umtru project will principally go to the tribal people, the common man, the cultivator, the weaver of indigenous silk and the small-scale industrialist. The supply of cheap electrical energy will also give people the scope to develop small-scale cottage industries and thereby to earn a valuable subsidiary income. The Government have also undertaken a small town and rural electrification project costing about Rs. 44 lakhs. Work has already started in a number of places.

Protection against Floods and Erosion

The great river Brahmaputra, which brings plenty and prosperity to the State, is also responsible for untold misery and distress to the people. Since after the great earthquake of 1950 the topography of Assam has so changed that the floods have become annual visitors and more serious in effect and in the extent of damage. Unless the Brahmaputra river and its several turbulent tributaries are brought under control it will not be possible to check floods and erosion. With the help of the Government of India, hydrological data of the main rivers and their tributaries are being collected with a view to control them.

The erosion of parts of the Dibrugarh town has been a problem since 1880, when the youthful Dibru river washed away small portions. The first serious erosion occurred in 1891 when 400 feet of river bank was cut away necessitating the complete removal of railway sidings, goods sheds and other buildings. 1946, 1948 and 1949 witnessed further serious erosions. Then came the great earthquake of 1950, within 6 days of which the furious Brahmaputra started its attack on Dibrugarh. The Iyengar Committee set up by the Government of India in 1952 suggested the construction of a 4-mile long revetment. 1,500 feet of revetment was built in the winter of 1954 only to be washed away in the Septem-



In spite of the fact that Brahmaputra during the monsoon rose to the highest level in thirty years Dibrugarh Flood Protection Works held its ground and Dibrugarh town was safe.

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ber following. Later it was decided to build 5 stone spurs and a number of timber spurs covering a river front of more than 3 miles. The cost of the work figured at Rs. 1 crore 60 lakhs.

The best which experts could devise and which resources permitted has been carried out in the effort to save Dibrugarh town and the futute is viewed with optimism. Here again the spontaneous offer which the people from surrounding areas made of their labour, has earned the appreciation not only of the people and the Government of the State, but from all in the country and many abroad. It has been an example in the field of self-help, a treasured memory of the land.

Tribal Welfare

The partition of India upset the economy of the State and the people of the hills bordering on Pakistan lost markets for their produce and as a consequence were very hard hit. The question of finding alternative markets for them came to the forefront and the problem had to be solved quickly in order to prevent perishable goods being wasted and the untold misery of the tribal people living in the border areas. This meant opening up of trade routes through hill areas and connecting them with markets in the plains and other parts of the hills within the Indian Union. The State Government proceeded with the plan of constructing channels of communication. As a temporary measure air lifting of certain perishable goods was also arranged and food was rushed to the areas of distribution at subsidised rates. In Lungleh, where roads were unknown food had to be air dropped till the people or the Government could construct a life line connecting it with the district headquarters at Aijal. Apart from the speedy development of road communications in the hills areas, the closest attention has been given to the promotion of settled and improved agriculture, development of cottage industries, marketing facilities, for education and other social service facilities with a view to bringing the hill people of Assam to the level of progress and development of the rest of the State's population.

District Councils have been constituted in all the autonomous hill districts, except in the Naga Hills. Some of these bodies have very creditably discharged their duties in the field of welfare activities, whilst all have enacted laws and regulations for the administration of the areas according to their customs and traditions. They are gradually taking over the administration of the subjects falling within their jurisdiction from the State Government as provided for in the constitution.

Thus, despite the problems and difficulties that have faced Assam ever since the setting up of a national regime in the country a great change has been slowly coming over the State, which is visible in the ever increasing tempo of activity in various developmental activities and in the public enthusiasm and co-operation that has been forthcoming in the implementation of the many developmental programmes that the State Government has undertaken from year to year.

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"I plead therefore for tolerance and co-operation in our public life and a joining together of all the forces which want to make India a great and progressive nation. I plead for an all out effort against the poison of communalism and narrow provincialism. I plead for a cessation of industrial conflict and a joint endeavour of all concerned to build up India. In these great tasks I pledge myself and I earnestly trust that it may be given to us of this generation to realize somewhat the dreams that Gandhiji had. Thus will we honour his memory and erect a worthy memorial for him."

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi, February 14th, 1948.

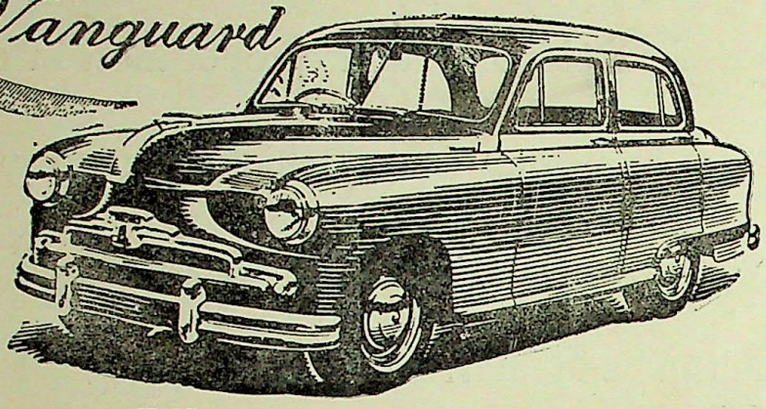
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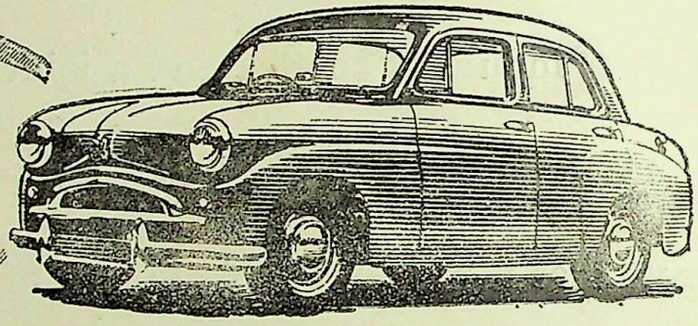
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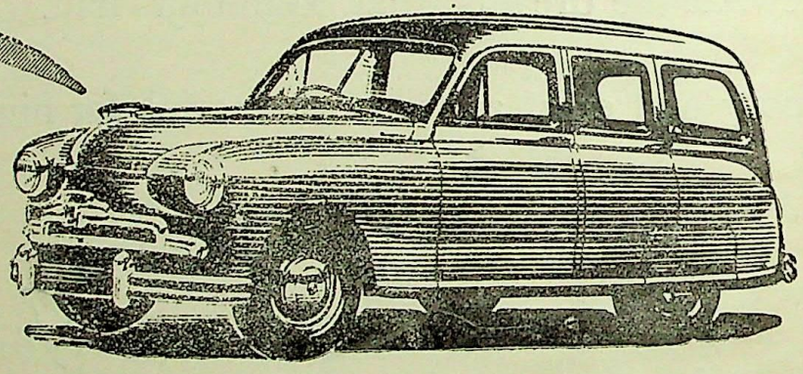


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